188 f.1

A New and Full, Critical, Biographical, and Geographical

# HISTORY

OF

# SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING

*The* HISTORY *of the Succeſſion of their* KINGS,

FROM

*ROBERT BRUCE,*

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH

An Impartial Account of their *Conſtitution*, *Genius*, *Manners*, and *Cuſtoms:* And a Geographical Deſcription of the ſeveral *Counties*, their *Commodities*, *Rarities*, *Antiquities*, and *Commerce*.

TOGETHER

With an APPENDIX of a ſhort but juſt HISTORY of their moſt remarkable WRITERS and LEARNED MEN.

AND

A MAP of each County in SCOTLAND.

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VOLUME the FIRST.

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By *WILLIAM DUFF*, A. M.

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*Pro Rege et Patria.*

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*LONDON:*

Printed for the AUTHOR: And ſold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

MDCCL.

# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

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FROM

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF TIME,

TO THE

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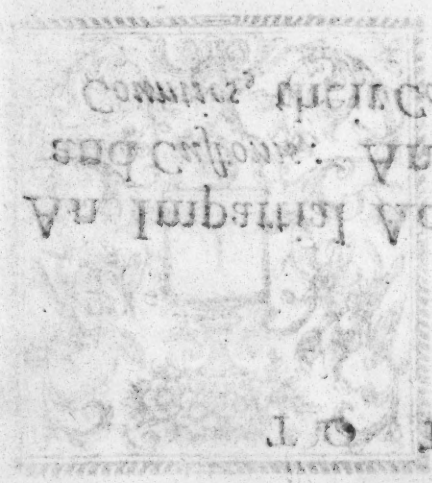

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR: And Sold by all the BOOKSELLERS.

M DCC LI.

## *Errors of the Preſs.*

PAGE 20, Line 31, *for* diſſwading not, *read only* diſſwading. —— p. 23, l. 23, *for* John Annandale, *read* in Annandale. —— *N. B. It is in the ſecond Part of the* Jus Regium, *that Sir George M'Kenzie ſupports the lawful Succeſſion of the Children of Elizabeth More, mention'd in the preceding Part of the Hiſtory.* —— p. 42, l. 3, *for* Piercy's *read* Piercies. —— ibid. l. 16, *for* theſe *read* thoſe. —— p. 43, l. 5, *after* Brother *change the* Colon *into a* Semicolon. —— p. 44, l. 18, *for* Condition, *read* Expedition. —— p. 46, l. 27, *read* compremiſe. —— p. 51. l. 54, *dele the* Parentheſis. —— p. 52, l. 7, *read* the King having offered. —— ibid. l. 9, *change the* Comma *at* for *into a* Period. —— ibid. l. 61, 62, *inſtead of* the King received Notice, *read* the King having received Notice. —— p. 53, l. 27, *for* having *read* hearing. —— ibid. l. 58, *after* them *place a* Period *inſtead of the* Comma. —— p. 56, l. 1, *after the* date *dele the* Period *for a* Comma. —— ibid. l. 33, *for* Qarrels *read* Quarrels. —— ibid. l. 34, *for* Majeſties *read* Majeſty's. —— ibid. l. 47, 48, *after* agreed to, *inſert a* Comma; *and after* Realms *dele the* Semicolon. —— ibid. l. 53, *for* reſeryed *read* reſerved. —— p. 58, l. 37, *for* French *read* Engliſh. —— p. 59, l. 8, *dele* he. —— ibid. l. 53, *at* capitulate *let the* Period *end*; *and* l. 54, *at* Scotland, *ſtrike out the* Period *and place a* Comma. —— p. 60, l. 1, 2, *for* dreaded his Army, *read* dreaded his Highlanders. —— ibid. l. 38, *for* to *read* at. —— p. 99, l. 27, *for* the King therefore now diſcovered, *read only* the King now diſcovered. —— p. 104, l. 23, *for* Calwader, *read* Calender. —— p. 132, l. 25, *for* Moxwell, *read* Maxwell; *and wherever* Moxwell *occurs, read* Maxwell. —— p. 150, l. 1, *for* whoever, *read* however. —— p. 152, l. 2, *for* Earl, *read* Lord Hume. —— ibid. l. 20, *for* who was kill'd; *and inſtead of* who was the Favourite, *read only* was the Favourite. —— p. 173, l. 51, *for* handful Men, *read* handful of Men. —— p. 180, l. 16, *read*, at this Time the Biſhopric of Dunkeld being vacant by the Death of Dr. Cockburn. —— p. 208, l. 48, *for* ſeek, *read* feel. —— p. 216, l. 42, *after the Word* Army, *read* were all taken Priſoners, with many other Perſons of Diſtinction. —— p. 257, l. 33, *for* intruſted, *read* inſtructed. —— ibid. l. 36, *for* little, *read* Title. —— p. 265, l. 28, *for* ſign'd, ſeal'd, and approv'd of, *read* approv'd of, ſign'd, ſeal'd, and deliver'd, &c. —— p. 288, l. 38, *for* came ſeveral vigorous Reſolutions, *read* came to ſeveral vigorous Reſolutions. —— p. 320, l. 37, *for* Earl, *read* Earls of Argyle and Huntley. —— p. 321, l. 31, *for* is, *read* are. —— p. 324, l. 24, *for* emerge, *read* immerge. —— p. 350, l. 4 *from the Bottom, for a* Colon *place a* Comma. —— p. 352, l. 32, *after* enſnare him *inſert a* Semicolon. —— ibid. l. 3, *from the Bottom, for* Mary's Commiſſioners *read only* the Commiſſioners. —— p. 354, l. 1, *to* Le Rhault *add* 's; *and wherever* L'Rhault *occurs, read* Le Rhault. —— ibid. l. 35, *after* deſerted him, *inſtead of the* Comma, *place a* Period. —— ibid. *laſt Line but two, after* Murray, *ſtrike out the* Comma *and put a* Period. —— p. 355, l. 31, *for* found *read* form'd. —— p. 356, l. 12, *after* her Majeſty, *change the* Semicolon *for a* Period. —— ibid. l. 23, *for* theſe *read* thoſe. —— l. 32, *after* Lords, *change the* Period *for a* Semicolon; *and* l. 47, *the* Colon *into a* Comma. —— ibid. l. 62, *dele* were. —— p. 357, l. 20, *dele* under Pain of High Treaſon. —— ibid. l. 46, *for* artful fictitious *read* artful Fictions. —— ibid. l. 52, *dele* and; *and inſert a* Comma *after* Liberty. —— ibid. l. 66, *for* was it, *read* were there. —— p. 358, l. 18, *for the* Period *put a* Semicolon. —— p. 360, l. 1, *for* Ridolphus by enſnaring *read* Ridolphus's enſnaring, &c. —— ibid. l. 22, *for* 1787, *read* 1587. —— ibid. l. 54, *for* afterward ſhe, *read* ſhe afterwards. —— p. 362, l. 43, *dele the firſt* was. —— p. 363, l. 5, *after* Perſon, *ought to be a Note of Interrogation, and before* who *a full Stop.* —— ibid. l. 11, *for* 1585, *read* 1586. —— ibid. ult. l. 1, *for* 1579, *read* 1577. —— *The Pages of the laſt Sheet wrong numbered.*

THE

# PREFACE.

## To my honeſt, candid, and impartial Reader.

I DID not attempt nor undertake to write this Hiſtory of *Scotland* from any motives of Intereſt nor Self. I have not had views of Profit and Advantage to direct and conduct my pen, in the writing and compiling this firſt Volume, which contains the Hiſtory of that antient Kingdom, from *Robert Bruce* to King *James* the Firſt of *England*. My ſtrict regard to Facts and Truth, in an undertaking of ſuch conſequence, has obliged me to narrate the juſt characters of all Parties, to lay open the public and moſt remarkable tranſactions of ſtate in thoſe times, without favouring or excuſing either party when in the wrong. What obſervations and critical remarks I may have interſpers'd, I thought needful, in order to direct and lead the Reader's attention to what was moſt worthy of notice, and to make his reading both agreeable and improving to the mind: For Hiſtory is not a bare and dull narration of facts; Reading can neither be agreeable, entertaining, nor inſtructing, unleſs the Hiſtorian connects properly the facts, yea ſhews the reaſons, ſprings, and grounds of tranſactions; and gives as little trouble as poſſible to his reader, to underſtand, and ſee how, and for what reaſons of ſtate, matters were conducted, as they are narrated. It is likewiſe the buſineſs of a juſt Hiſtorian to point out ſuch facts, and to make ſuch obſervations, as may fix his Reader's attention to ſuch remarkable events, as from them to draw proper morals and obſervations. Hiſtory, properly and accurately written, is a direct mean (as Biſhop *Burnet* juſtly obſerves) to make men wiſer and better. The actions, characters, and ſecret intrigues of ſtate in ages paſt, are

monumental and neceſſary guides, monitors, and rules, for the great events of high life, to future generations: Therefore it is allowed by all of Taſte and Rank, that Hiſtory, written with judgment, ſagacity, and true ſpirit, is a ſyſtem not only of true Policy and judicious Criticiſms and Sentiments; but likewiſe the moſt agreeable and perſuaſive Portraiture and Picture for engaging the affections of the mind to heroic actions and to true morals.

I ſhall not offer any thing in ſupport of the credit of my Hiſtory: But having ſhortly narrated the Plan upon which I have proceeded, and the manner in which it has been conducted, with the encouragement and approbation I have been honoured with, from the Nobility and Gentry, I ſubmit my Hiſtory to a fair, impartial, and faithful compariſon with all others of our *Scotch* Hiſtorians, *viz. Buchanan*, *Leſly*, *Drummond*, *Spotſwood*, *Calderwood*, *Melvill*, *Lindſay* of *Pitſcotty*, *Anderſon*, *Campden*, *Keith*, and *Innes*. My care has been to rectify the Chronology, which in *Buchanan* and others I have found contradictory; to collect in a plain, eaſy, diſtinct, and agreeable ſtile, what I found moſt valuable and authentic in all our Hiſtorians; to reject what was imaginary, minute, or doubtful; and to make my Hiſtory a ſeries of the moſt remarkable and intereſting tranſactions of that ancient Kingdom for the ſeveral ſucceeding reigns which compoſe the period of time in this firſt Volume. I have conſidered our *Engliſh* Hiſtorians, and particularly thoſe of the oldeſt date: If I have differed from them, it is from the neceſſity I am under to follow the power and perſuaſive influence of Evidence. I ask no more of my candid Reader, than, after looking into, and conſidering cooly my predeceſſors Hiſtorians, whom I juſt mentioned, and then comparing my ſtile, connexion, and manner of relating the public tranſactions of the different reigns, with the neceſſary obſervations which I have made where I thought they were uſeful; I ſay, I ask no more of my impartial and candid Reader, than to judge of my Hiſtory according to the dictates of an unbias'd and juſt underſtanding.

I have diſcovered no mercenary ſpirit through the whole of my undertaking, but the reverſe. I have differed from *Buchanan* in many things: He wrote like a prieſt, ſpoke like a votary, dependent on a Patron, and in many places inſerts ſuch low and trifling ſtories, as are only entertainment for the credulous, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious. This Hiſtory has not been promoted, nor ſupported, by a ſpirit, or influence of any party; therefore it muſt ſtand upon the foundation and ſupport of truth, impartiality, and of a diſintereſted, honeſt and well connected narrative of facts, collected and vouched from the beſt Authorities, Records, and original Papers.

*Baker*,

# PREFACE.

*Baker*, *Speed*, *Campden*'s Annals, *Echard*, *Rapin*, and other *Engliſh* Hiſtorians I have conſulted in the Hiſtory of *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, and particularly *Strangewage*; from them I do not differ, but in ſome points, wherein my good Vouchers and Records did direct my Courſe. If I have the happineſs and pleaſure of the approbation of good men; this is the chief advantage I deſire, namely, to ſet men and actions in a juſt light, and to avoid all party-prejudices.

In my Hiſtory of Queen *Mary* I have not given ſo much credit to the *Scotch* Hiſtorians as I have to thoſe of the *Engliſh* nation. I find by *Campden*, *Baker*, *Speed*, *Strangewage*, and their other Hiſtorians *Murray* more blamed if poſſible, than by the *Scotch* Hiſtorians. I find by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians *Mary* excuſed and much pitied, and the failures of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry with their miſconduct againſt *Mary* juſtly repreſented. As to the *Scotch* Hiſtorian, Biſhop *Leſly*, whoſe negotiations at the Court of *London* I have conſulted, whom the *Engliſh* allowed to be an honeſt and ſincere man to his truſt. I ſee plainly by this *Scotch* Hiſtory, which is not diſallowed of, that the *Engliſh* Miniſtry and their fluctuating Councils, were ſo convulſed and divided, that from their divided and oppoſite Syſtems proceeded all the miſtakes of the Court of *London* as to Queen *Mary*. So that if I lay open truth on both ſides, ſupported by even *Engliſh* Records, I cannot be found fault with, as an Hiſtorian, having no intereſt in being partial to any ſide.

*Throgmorton*'s Letters I have not inſerted, referring for the originals to the *Paper-Office* and the *Cotton* Library, and for the authentick extracts of theſe Letters to *Campden*, who ſolemnly affirms he read them and faithfully copied the ſubſtance of them.

Many of the Vouchers to which I refer, I have not inſerted and copied at full length, becauſe they are printed in *Anderſon*'s Collections, in *Campden*, and the other *Engliſh* Hiſtories. Of ſuch ſort are the depoſitions and confeſſions of thoſe who were executed for King *Henry* the Lord *Darnly*'s murder, and the ſeveral Letters, Journals, Records, and other Papers relating to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, while in *England*, which are inſerted at full length word for word in *Anderſon*'s printed Collections, and in *Strangewage*'s Hiſtory. Any one who reads through the whole of my Hiſtory, by a juſt compariſon, will find, that I have done juſtice to *England* as well as *Scotland*, and by no means have concealed the faults nor real characters of that people and nation where truth ſupported me: I have dealt ſo plainly and roundly with both, that I hope I cannot be obnoxious to the imputation of flattery on the one ſide, nor of unwarrantable ſatire on the other. It would have made the reading tireſome, not ſo well connected, nor ſo eaſily retained in the memory, had

had I given at full length theſe original Papers and Records to which I refer. It is ſufficient and all that in reaſon is neceſſary, that theſe Vouchers to which I refer are extant, authentick, and known to be ſo; and moſt of them already printed and allowed of: Some of the curious, remarkable and moſt intereſting, I have inſerted as a proper embelliſhment to the Hiſtory without drawing it out into too great a length. This ſhort Apology, if agreeable and ſatisfactory to my reader, fully anſwers my intentions.

I have done with this ſhort Preface, when I have acquainted my Readers, that my great and chief motive to the writing of this Hiſtory, was the natural and neceſſary affection I bear, and cannot ſhake off, towards my native Land, for the revival of a regard to the Renown and the Glory of the Memory of the Worthies, Warriors and noble Anceſtors of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, and to excite every one of that Nation, to retain ſuch noble ſentiments of public ſpirit, for the honour and welfare of their Country, as may inſpire them with zeal for the increaſe of the proſperity and happineſs of that Nation, remarkable for bravery and fidelity to her Allies, however abuſed: In all ages, I hope, it will be acknowledged to have been an imperial Kingdom: A Nation indeed often ſold, but never to be totally purchaſed nor taken poſſeſſion of.

# INTRODUCTION

## TO THE

# HISTORY of *SCOTLAND.*

THE primary and chief Deſigns of Hiſtory, are to perpetuate the Record of memorable and remarkable Facts and Tranſactions; to preſerve certain Truths from vaniſhing into Uncertainties, and thereby to be both inſtructing and uſeful to Mankind in the preſent and future Ages. Hiſtory is the original Picture to repreſent the Characters of Life; Poetry, both tragic and comic, are but Copies from genuine Hiſtory; therefore a juſt Hiſtory is to repreſent Men, Actions, and Facts, in the moſt exact and lively Manner, with ſuch Beauty, Elegancy, and Power of Language as to fix the Attention and Regard of every Reader. Another Uſe of Hiſtory rightly applied, is to prepare, form, and furniſh the Minds of young Gentlemen of Figure and Diſtinction, to give them lively Ideas of high Life, to fix generous Principles of true Morals, of Government and Conduct in the different Spheres of publick Life, inſtructing by Examples of paſt Ages how to act in like Circumſtances in the different Stations and Offices of Truſt and Power: Therefore I hope to affirm nothing in this HISTORY of *Scotland* but what is authentic, and will ſtand the moſt impartial Enquiry. If ſome Facts and Truths, which will neceſſarily occur, be not agreeable to either Party, I can't help it: If Things have been done which ought not to have been, and Matters omitted which ought to have been done, theſe are to be told and related impartially; to be a Warning to others, and to expoſe public Miſconduct wherever it happens. I ſhall expoſe baſe Practices wherever they fall in my Way, without the ſmalleſt Tincture of Prejudice or Partiality to any Nation, People or Party, but, as national Quarrels and Diſputes, betwixt *Scotland* and their Neighbours, which

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are

are of an ancient Date, muſt occaſion the Relation of a great many Facts and Events not ſo pleaſing; I ſhall ſtudy to narrate every Particular and Incident, with that diſintereſted Candor, which becomes an Hiſtorian: I value and eſteem the *Engliſh* Nation as well as the *Scots*, and therefore it is with Regret, I ſhall be forced to relate many Truths on both Sides, to do Juſtice to the World.

Hiſtory is of no Regard if it be not the Channel of conveying Truth fully, fairly, and with Spirit to Poſterity; therefore I muſt be excuſed if I take Part with neither Side where they are in the Wrong. There have been a ſufficient Number of Writers who have exerciſed their Invention, and employed their Arguments and Altercations copiouſly, in Proof, and Vindication of the Antiquity and hereditary indefeaſible Right of the Monarchy of *Scotland*; the Subtility and Niceties of theſe Diſputes is no Part of my Scheme; I allow of the Succeſſion of Monarchs from the Reign of *Fergus* I. I believe no Enemy to *Scotland* will deny, from what is acknowledged by both Sides, that they were a Kingdom, and not to be totally conquered, except by the Arts of Treachery, Bribery, and corrupt Practices, which creeped in among them by their Correſpondence with the ſouthern Parts of the Iſland, who were always more alert and quick in the Practice and Improvement of the ſerpentine Politicks. Bravery, Fortitude of Mind, Hardineſs of Body, and Temperance in Life, made the Genius of a true *Scotſman*; inflexible in Reſolution, void of Fear, daring againſt his Enemy, and therefore too often unguarded againſt Deceivers: But generous in their Reſentments, tho' acute, becauſe they never reſented, without the Compulſion of loaded and repeated, yea, undeſerved Injuries, Abuſes, Oppreſſion and Encroachments from their Neighbours.

I leave my Readers for the Hiſtory of the firſt ninety-ſix Kings of *Scotland*, to the antient Chronicles of *Buchanan*, *John* of *Fordun*, and *Hector Boœtius*, with Father *Innes*'s Hiſtory: Where enough is ſaid and can be vouched, concerning the different Reigns, the Original of their Monarchy, and the firſt Inhabiters of this once a Kingdom. I begin this Hiſtory from the Æra of the great *Robert Bruce*, who after a Struggle of many Years, thro' Scenes of Adverſity and mixed Fortune, in the Event made all his falſe Friends and Neighbours well remember what the Spirit and Reſolution of a *Scotſman* once was.

**A HISTORY**

*Boitard Fecit.*

*According to Act 1749.*

A

# HISTORY

OF

# SCOTLAND.

## ROBERT BRUCE.

AFTER a Series of ſtrange Viciſſitudes, and Alterations of Fortune. After Difficulties almoſt incredible and invincible, this noble and brave Warrior made his Entry to the Throne, and begun his Reign in the Year of our Lord 1306. In the Year of the World 5276, and in the 1636th Year after the Foundation of the Monarchy of Scotland. Robert, by Right of Blood, and by the Conſtitution of Scotland ought to have had the Sovereignty, when Balliol took Place; for he was the Grandſon of David Earl of Huntington, and Balliol but great Grandſon; only Balliol's Mother ſprung from an elder Daughter, who was married to Allen Earl of Galloway. The Diſpute betwixt theſe two Competitors Bruce and Balliol, did ariſe upon the Failure of the Royal Line, it being extinct in the Perſon of Alexander the third's Daughter, who dying under Age, there remained none who could lay claim to the regal Dignity, but the Deſcendants of David Earl of Huntington, who was Brother to King William. Upon this Diſpute ariſing, Balliol's Party, and the Cummins in Scotland, were the moſt numerous and powerful; Balliol had engaged the Engliſh Intereſt, and Robert Bruce the French.

*Robert Bruce's* Entry to the Throne.

*Balliol* and *Bruce's* claim.

The Controverſy became very high and warm, betwixt the two contending Parties, ſo as to divide the whole Kingdom into two Factions, and therefore, both were forced to come to the Reſolution of referring the Determination to Edward of England, who affected to act as Mediator, but in the Event, ſnatch'd only, and pick'd the Bone from them both. Edward in Shew of Equity, conveened Lawyers to determine the Point, and while they were trifling and delaying Time by their Conſultations, Edward of England, with Addreſs, raiſes up eight more Competitors to confound the Titles of Bruce and Balliol. Bruce refuſing to accept the Crown upon any mean or diſhonourable Conceſſions, Edward declared for Balliol, and ſettled him on the Throne, upon his conſenting to do Homage to Edward, and to acknowledge the Superiority of England: This enraged the Chief of the Nobility of Scotland againſt Balliol, and even made ſome of his former Friends to forſake him, among whom was M^c^Duff, Earl of Fife, who oppoſed

*Edward's* Conduct.

Balliol and Edward with all his Power and Influence; this Quarrell of McDuff's gave Riſe to a powerful Oppoſition, ſo that Balliol found the whole Kingdom diſaffected at his ſervile Conceſſions to Edward, therefore Balliol retracted from his Engagements to Edward, in order to regain the Affections of his People, at which Edward being enraged, patches up a Truce with France, and then marches an Army down to Berwick, from whence he ſends to Balliol directly, and ſummon'd him to appear perſonally to do Homage to the King of England; Balliol to gratify the Nobleſſe of Scotland, refuſed to comply, upon which Edward order'd his Fleet to attack Berwick, and to make a Deſcent, but his Fleet were ſcatter'd and ſhatter'd by a violent Storm, which render'd his Attempt unſucceſsful. He then march'd his Army into Scotland, took Edinburgh and Sterling Caſtles, then proceeded to croſs the Tay: At Forfar his Army and Balliol's met, and engaged, but Balliol was ſoon routed by the Engliſh; the Nobility and People of Scotland having no Spirit nor Affection to fight under the Command of Balliol, and the Cummins, who had proſtituted and degraded their national Honour. Balliol diſcover'd an ignominious Meanneſs of Soul, and the moſt ſordid, abject Complaiſance to grant Conceſſions, in order to graſp at, and inherit Power, which after he had acquired, with the Loſs of ſo much Honour, degraded in the Eſteem of that Nation he was to govern, yea, juſtly hated by the Body of his injur'd and bleeding Country, he render'd himſelf incapable of exerciſing in his Perſon, having received it, as it were, at the Hands of Edward of England, convey'd to him, in the dirtieſt Channel, that the Annals of Hiſtory can record of any Monarch: Balliol purchaſed Government, and Sovereignty, in a Manner moſt unworthy of a Man. He found his Miſtake, and juſtly, too late, he was the Object of the united Hatred of all true Scotſmen; he truſted to his Friends the Cummins, and by their Advice after he had raiſed an Army againſt Edward, and was defeated at Forfar, he ſurrenders himſelf to Edward: So Edward ſerved him in the Manner ſuch an abject Tool merited, for Edward ſent Balliol firſt to England, then to France, as Priſoner, where he died; it is to be reremarked, that the Generation of the Cummins were now, and for former Reigns had been, the moſt powerful and wealthy in the Nation. This Pitch they arrived to by their ſucceſsful Deceit, being Spies always, and Tools to the Engliſh, and ready on every Occaſion to execute every dirty Enterprize, which might reflect, Diſgrace and Diſhonour upon their native Country; but now this Generation and Brood of Mercenaries are nigh extinguiſhed in that Country, which they ſo much abuſed, tho' there be, I am afraid, from other Roots, Branches and modern Trees, ſprung up of as malignant and noxious a Nature.

*Balliol's* Character.

Balliol's baſe and low Mind made him acknowledge the Superiority of Edward of England, which Edward ſecretly and tacitly, as a Man of Spirit, muſt have judg'd abominable; but Balliol's Puniſhment was in his Mind. The Sting of his Conſcience produced an Inflamation and Mortification in his confuſed Soul: He never after was pleaſed with himſelf, was not capable to meditate nor frame any noble Enterprize, nor to execute any Thing with Steadineſs and Reſolution; publick Perfidy, and the betraying of national Honour and Welfare to promote private and paultry Self-Intereſt, being the moſt atrocious and vile of all Crimes in a State.

*Bruce* his Deſcent and Character.

Robert Bruce, was eldeſt Son of Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, by Iſabella the ſecond Daughter of David Earl of Huntington, a Man of a robuſt, healthy Conſtitution, fit for Fatigue: But as I am to act the true Hiſtorian, I muſt relate his Failures as well as his Excellencies.

It is very true, that Edward of England did firſt make Efforts to gain over Robert to his Dependency. In this, he found ſuch Reluctance and Reſiſtance in the Spirit of Robert Bruce, as ſoon, and eaſily convinced him he was to be made no ſuch Tool of, nor to purchaſe Sovereignty in ſo ſervile a Manner; but that he was a Man of Integrity and Conſtancy of Mind: Yet after Balliol's Overthrow, and Edward's uninterrupted Progreſs and Uſurpation, ravaging, plundering, and devouring all Scotland to the North; Robert Bruce, as looking upon his Mother Country in a deſperate Condition, reduced to Slavery, and under the Foot of Tyranny, with Selfiſhneſs and Intereſtedneſs of Spirit, unworthy of a great Soul, remained inactive, and ſeemingly ſatisfied himſelf with enjoying his own private Eaſe, Freedom, and Pleaſure in England; inattentive to the deplorable Caſe of his Mother Country, ravaged by the devouring, inſatiable Appetite of their rival Neighbours. The Spirit of Robert never did awaken from its indolent Lethargy, until it was ſtung with the juſt Reproach and Reproof of that great Man, Sir William Wallace, after the Battle of Falkirk, where the River Carron interveening, Wallace and Bruce had an Interview after the Engagement. The ſtrong and nervous Remonſtrances of Wallace to Robert, juſtly accuſing him of Indolence, Inactivity, and no Zeal for his devoured native Land, did ſo operate upon his Spirit, and ſo affected Robert Bruce, that he could not be ſatisfied in his own Mind, until he diſengaged himſelf of his ſlaviſh Dependence on the Engliſh. But his accepting of ſuch a Command from Edward, as to head an Army of Engliſh, by them to kill, ſlay, and deſtroy his own Countrymen, and thereby to conquer Scotland, was an Action unworthy of the Spirit and Bravery of Robert Bruce: However, it was the Practice, and in latter Inſtances, has been the Rule to ſet on Scotſmen to deſtroy one another, and in this the Scots are juſtly, for their Folly ſtigmatized; for had they always been a Nation faithful, true, without Deceit to one another, and to their national Intereſts, they muſt have been a happy, flouriſhing and formidable People. We find it was not in the Power of Edward and all his Efforts, neither Force nor Stratagem could accompliſh the Overthrow of the brave and honeſt Sir William Wallace, until that Monſter Monteith, his own Countryman and boſom Friend, became Judas Iſcariot. This ſure was a double Triumph to Edward, we have had many warn-

*Wallace* and *Bruce* have an Interview.

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ing Pieces of like Nature, even of later Times; ſo that it is full Time for Scotſmen to be wiſe, from the Examples of our Predeceſſors, and to unite in promoting the Honour, Glory and Happineſs of their Mother Country, and one another.

Robert Bruce having found out, by a ſingle Queſtion put to Edward, what his good Intentions were toward him, judg'd it neceſſary to truſt him no longer; for Robert only demanded of his then Patron Edward, if he would fullfil his Promiſe of reſtoring him to the Crown after the Overthrow of Balliol, to which Edward made Anſwer, "*What Sir, have I nothing to do but to win or gain Kingdoms for you?*" In this Robert was juſtly rewarded, for he to preſerve his own Lands in England, did join in with Edward, and in Expectation of getting the Kingdom by the Power of Edward, went into all the Meaſures of the King of England, to execute the Conqueſt and Overthrow of his native Country. But Robert now finding Matters at a Criſis, and that it was not ſafe nor expedient to truſt longer to Edward's Faith, he makes a ſecret Agreement with John Cummin Earl of Buchan, who was Couſin to Balliol, their Mothers being Siſters, and Daughters to Allen Earl of Galloway, that he ſhould have Cummin's Lands, and Poſſeſſions in Scotland, and John Cummin ſhould have Robert's whole Eſtate in England, and that Cummin's Intereſt and Friends ſhould be thoroughly engaged to promote Robert to the Government of the Kingdom. The Cummins being always falſe, and John Cummin thinking this the proper Time to root out and overthrow Bruce; John Cummin makes known the ſecret Contract betwixt Bruce and him to Edward, who upon Notice of it, determined to impeach Robert of treaſonable Practices, and reproach'd him with Treachery: The Earl of Montgomery finding Edward the King enraged at Robert, and determined to cut him off, out of perſonal private Friendſhip to Robert, ſent him ſome Pieces of Gold ſecretly, and a Pair of gilt Spurs, as if he had borrow'd them of him the Day before: Robert Bruce upon Receipt of this Preſent from my Lord Montgomery, takes the Hint, and in the Night call'd for a Smith, whom he made directly ſet on new Shoes on three Horſes backwards, there was Snow on the Ground, ſo the Tract led always the reverſe Road: Early next Morning, with only his Chaplain and one faithful truſty Servant, Robert went for Scotland with all Speed, and in ſeven Days he got ſafe to his Caſtle at Lochmaben, in Annandale, where Robert Fleming and David Bruce his Brother met him. The Day before his Arrival, Robert met a Courier going Poſt, with Diſpatches from Cummin to Edward, and having intercepted all the Letters, found one remarkably villainous; in which among other Expreſſions, were theſe Words, "Robert ſhould be ſpeedily put to Death, that there was Danger in Delay:" Robert having now full Proof of Cummin's vile Practices, and his Deſign to cut him off; upon reading this Letter rode ſtraight way to Dumfries, and found Cummin in the Franciſcan's Church, where he confronted him with his own Letters, which Cummin denying impudently, Robert in high Rage, run him thro' the Body with his Dagger and left him there; ſo Cummin juſtly fell a Victim to his own Perfidy. No Prince could well gain a Crown with greater Difficulties than Robert Bruce: He was proclaimed King without the Defence or Support of an Army, having none but a Few of his Friends and their Servants to attend him, and with theſe for ſome Time, he withſtood not only the great Power of England, but the contending Parties of his Adverſaries at Home.

*The Reaſon of Robert's ſudden Departure from the Court of England.*

Edward of England ungenerouſly raiſed a great Army, and ſent them againſt Robert, to overthrow him in the infant State of his Monarchy; Robert however was determined to oppoſe Edward with full Vigour, and therefore on his March from Athol to Argyle, Robert, tho' he had only gather'd together a few of his Friends, gave Battle to Edward's Army; but after he had fought deſperately and valiantly with his little Army of Friends, being overpower'd by ſuperior Numbers, was after a very obſtinate Reſiſtance routed: After ſeveral ſharp Skirmiſhes following upon this, Robert's Friends were harraſs'd and ſcatter'd, ſo that Robert was obliged to fly for his Life, and to take Refuge in the Hills and Mountains: And at length, retired to a Friend's Houſe in the Weſtern Iſles; but ſuch was the Bravery, Reſolution and Steadineſs of this noble Spirit, that Robert watch'd every Opportunity to aſſert his Right, and to tire out and weary the Engliſh: Even when he was forced to live in Diſguiſe, he was well employ'd in preparing his ſecret Engines and Deſigns to annoy his Enemy Edward of England. Edward committed an Act of barbarous inhuman Cruelty againſt Robert's two Brothers, having murder'd them after they had been taken Priſoners, which was an Act unworthy of a Prince, a Conqueror, or any great and generous Soul. Thomas and Alexander Bruce being thus murder'd by Edward; Edward's Rage next extended itſelf againſt two brave Fellows of publick Spirit for their Country, Walter Logan and Simon Fraſer, whom the Cummins betray'd, and deliver'd up to Edward, who carried them to England, where they were executed and butcher'd.

*Robert for ſome Time durſt not appear.*

James Douglaſs, lineal Succeſſor to Sholto Douglaſs* the firſt of this brave and illuſtrious Name, not at all diſcourag'd with the hard and rugged Fortune of his Friend Robert Bruce, notwithſtanding his preſent low and depreſs'd Condition, raiſes a Body of Men and joins Robert, animated with juſt Indignation at the barbarous Uſage of William Douglaſs his Father, whom Edward had carried Priſoner to England, where he died of Sorrow under his Confinement, and likewiſe juſtly reſenting Edward of England's haughty Behaviour to himſelf. William

*The Douglaſſes join Robert Bruce.*

* *Sholto Douglaſs* was the firſt of the *Douglaſſes*, raiſed to Honours and Eſtate by *Salviathius* the King, for ſaving his Life in the bloody Battle againſt the *Iſlanders* and *Highlanders*, wherein *Sholto Douglaſs* was ſo valiant, that he headed a Party of the King's Army, defeated and ſlew all *Donald Bane*'s Army, and *Donald* himſelf, after that *Donald* had put the King's Army into Diſorder.

Lam-

Lambart Biſhop of St. Andrew's, when he came to wait of Edward of England, at Stirling, brought this James Douglaſs with him to Edward, to recommend him to his Majeſty's Protection, and interceded hard in his Favour to have his paternal Inheritance allow'd him, which Edward of England abſolutely refuſed, and with Haughtineſs and Diſdain, anſwer'd, he would make no Uſe of the Son of ſo ſtubborn a Father. Edward's Diſpleaſure at the Father, William Douglaſs, was heighten'd even to Rage, becauſe he never would yield to the Superiority of Edward, nor acknowledge his Superiority over Scotland; James Douglaſs being young, and full of Spirit, meditated upon being avenged of Edward, which he was fully, before his Death; after that Edward had diſmiſs'd Lambart the Biſhop, and his Pupil James Douglaſs, with Contempt; Douglaſs watch'd his Opportunity, and upon Notice that Robert Bruce, with his ſmall Army was in the Merns, the County next to Forfar, he carries off Lambart the Biſhop's Horſes and Money, and rode directly for Bruce, and having join'd him with his Party, was of ſingular Service to Robert Bruce, in promoting all his future Succeſſes.

Edward in the Midſt of his Triumphs and haughty Exactions, was ſeized with an Illneſs which proved mortal; but before I cloſe his Life as to Scotland, I ſhall recapitulate only the Heads of his chief Actions in Scotland, in the Time of Robert Bruce.

Firſt, After he had overthrown Balliol, who was a King of his own Formation, he over-run Scotland, to the North, and the Iſles, which never were of his Conqueſt; then he return'd toward England victorious; but no ſooner got the brave Sir William Wallace Time then he got together a Body of Troops, and directly went againſt the Engliſh with Succeſs, diſpoſſeſſing them of the ſeveral Forts and ſtrong Holds in his Way; upon this Edward being enraged, levies a great Army, and marches into Scotland, yet he had not ſucceeded, if it had not been for the Nonſenſe and Pride of the Scots Nobility, who were envious and zealous of Wallace's Glory and Honours, the Army having declar'd him Regent of Scotland; therefore there aroſe ſuch Diſcord and Animoſities in their Councils againſt Sir William Wallace, becauſe he being only a private Gentleman, was by his Valour and publick Spirit, elevated to the chief Command; that tho' Edward's numerous and victorious Army was in Sight, they could not agree. Edward having good Intelligence of their diſconcerting Meaſures, attack'd the Scots Army at Falkirk, March 10, 1302, where a moſt bloody Action happen'd, and the Scots after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, were obliged to retire, having loſt ſome of the beſt of the Nation in the Engagement; particularly one John Stewart, McDuff Earl of Fife, and Sir John Graham; the fatal Loſs of this Day, was in great Meaſure imputed to Cummin, who commanded a Wing of the Scots Army, for he broke off, and left the reſt of the Army to be ſacrificed by the Engliſh Forces: Here it was that Robert Bruce commanded a Part of the Engliſh Army under Edward. After this Battle Wallace took no Command, nor did he act further as Regent; the Nobility of Scotland choſe Cummin, who raiſed a powerful Army, and at Roſline, four Miles from Edinburgh, attacked the Engliſh Army next Year, in which after long Diſpute and much Bloodſhed, Cummin's Army routed the Engliſh Army thrice in one Day; on which they retreated into England, until Edward got himſelf reinforced, then he return'd with a moſt numerous Army, laying all Waſte before him, and left Scotland in ſuch a Condition, that he thought it was impoſſible for them ever to ſhake off his Yoke.

*Wallace*'s Defeat, and his Reſignation, thro' the Envy of the Nobility.

The memorable Defeat at *Roſline*.

This triple Defeat, which Edward received at Roſline by the Scots Army, under the Command of the Cummins, ſo enraged him, that upon his Return with his numerous Army, he made all the Nobility in Scotland take the Oath of Allegiance to him, and he carried away all the Records and Regalia. But Wallace never would ſwear Allegiance to the King of England, and therefore fled to the Highlands.

However, Wallace being ſtill alive, raiſed Parties, and went out harraſſing and diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of Forts and Garriſons, which made Edward return to Scotland with ſtill a more powerful Army, which he march'd as far as Stirling, and having taken the Caſtle, he went no further, but return'd with his victorious Army: And now it was he effected the Fall and Overthrow of Wallace by the Treachery of Monteith: After the Death of this great Man, it was, that Robert Bruce, as I mention'd already, had retired to Scotland, and got himſelf proclaim'd King, in order to ſhake off Edward's Yoke and relieve his Country.

Tho' Robert's firſt Attempts were weak, and without Succeſs, and tho' the Earl of Pembroke had defeated Robert Bruce, (as mention'd) betwixt Athol and Argyle, and thereby Robert was ſo reduced, that he was forced to fly for his Life, and to take Sanctuary in the Weſtern Iſles: Yet Robert ſoon after, when Edward had return'd as Conqueror to Carliſle, and winter'd there, got from his Retirement and hiding Place; and after he had gather'd together the Remains of his ſcatter'd Army, he reinforced them with new Levies, and having diſciplin'd them with utmoſt Diligence, he march'd againſt the Engliſh Army, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, who then was Commander in Chief of the Engliſh, and Edward's Lieutenant in Scotland, and having attack'd the Engliſh Army, under the Earl of Pembroke, cut them all to Pieces, took my Lord Pembroke Priſoner, and ſo diſpirited the Engliſh, that they with little Reſiſtance, gave up ſeveral Forts, Towns and ſtrong Holds they were poſſeſſed of. This ſo exaſperated Edward, that he determined to make Scotland a Deſolation from Sea to Sea; and in order to this he aſſembled a moſt powerful and fine Army; but by the Time he arrived at Carliſle, he was taken ill of a Dyſentry or bloody Flux, which ſoon brought him to his Grave. Upon his Death-bed, ſuch was his Inveteracy againſt the Scots, that he deſired of his Son to continue the War

The *Engliſh* under *Pembroke* defeated near *Seaton*.

War againſt Scotland; and ſuch was his Vanity from his conceited Opinion of himſelf, and his Succeſſes, that he added to his Son the following Words among his dying Expreſſions: *Let my Bones be carried before you, for ſure I am, the Rebels will never dare to ſtand the Sight of them.* It was at *Borough on the Sands* he died, a ſmall Town in Cumberland, the 17th of July, 1307.

*Edward's* Advice to his Son.

Edward being dead, Robert Bruce made good Uſe of his Time, in retaking the ſeveral Towns and Garriſons poſſeſſed by the Engliſh: However Edward of Carnarvan, now Edward II. continued the War againſt Scotland, tho' not with the ſame Succeſs that his Father did, Robert Bruce gaining Ground every Day, being only interrupted for ſome Time by a Fit of Illneſs which had endanger'd his Life: John Cummin, who wanted to have Robert dead, ſpread all over the Country, that Robert Bruce was actually dead, and ſo Cummin raiſes an Army with Deſign to have himſelf proclaimed King. Robert Bruce being inform'd of this Deſign by his Friends, got his Friends and an Army together, and, tho' weak and ſickly, puts himſelf at the Head of his Army, ſupported by a Man on each Side of his Horſe; no ſooner did the Cummins, and their Party of Engliſh Auxiliaries obſerve Robert on Horſeback at the Head of his Army, than they fled and diſperſed. After this Diſpute was over, Edward enters Scotland, with a powerful Army, but Robert Bruce with his Army, ſo tired him and rooted him out by harraſſing his Army, that he forced Edward to return without hazarding any Action. The very next Year James Douglaſs (whom Edward's Father had ſo deſpiſed and inſulted) making two ſucceſsful Incurſions, enter'd into England with a Body of reſolute Fellows, and after defeating all the Parties of the Enemy, who oppoſed him, plundered their Country, ſerving them with their own Hoſpitality, and then with his Party returned loaded with Plunder and triumphant.

*Stirling* ſurrenders to *Robert Bruce.*

Edward Bruce now beſieg'd Stirling Caſtle, which was the Place of the greateſt Strength in the Hands of the Engliſh; it was bravely defended by Mowbray the Engliſh Governor, who at laſt capitulated upon theſe Terms, that he would ſurrender the Caſtle if he did not receive any Relief in a Year's Time, to be reckoned from the Day of the Capitulation. Robert Bruce was diſpleaſed with ſuch a Conceſſion and Delay, yielded by his Brother to Mowbray the Governor; but he adhered to the Articles, that he might not detract from his Brother's Honour. Mowbray having acquainted Edward with his Situation, and how he was beſieged, Edward raiſed the whole Strength of England, and having got his Forces together, he marched with an Army of 100000 Men into Scotland, as it were to take Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom: King Robert having Notice of theſe mighty Preparations, raiſed an Army of 40000 Men, and was indefatigable in exerciſing and diſciplining them in the Art of War, chiefly the right Uſe of the broad Sword and Target; and this was the firſt Time that the Scots were regularly trained up to fight broad Sword and Target. When Edward's Army approached, and was within a ſhort Way of the Scots Army, Edward made a general Review of his whole Army, and found they muſter'd 100000 effective Men. Robert Bruce having addreſſed himſelf in an eloquent, affectionate, and encouraging Manner to his whole Army, charged every Man, whoſe Death might be the Loſs or the Ruin of a Family, to turn out and return Home; that he would chearfully and freely excuſe them; which generous Behaviour of Robert diminiſhed his Army 10000, who all returned to their Families; ſo that now the Scots Army conſiſted of 30000 choſen Men, reſolute brave Fellows, who determined to conquer or die. Robert having employed all the Night preceding in fervent and devout Prayer to God, for Conduct and Reſolution to act, his Mind was prepared, ſerene, and full of Vigour and Courage the Morning of the Engagement.

The famous Battle of *Bannockburn.*

The 23d Day of *June*, 1314, both Armies met at Bannockburn, two Miles from Stirling, and engaged: Edward's Army being far ſuperior in Numbers, advanced furiouſly with a great Body of Horſe, but Robert Bruce had concealed and covered artfully the Moraſs, and laid an effectual Trap for the Engliſh Cavalry, having drawn long and deep Ditches a-croſs the Road, betwixt his Camp and the Enemy's Army, and covered theſe Ditches with green Turf, made level with the reſt of the Ground: Under the green Turf in the Ditches were fixed Spikes pointed upward, and otherwiſe like the Cheavaux de Friſe, to lame and gall the Engliſh Cavalry in their Approach. When the Engliſh Horſe advanced to charge with Fury, down they came tumbling, and throwing their Riders with Precipitation.

While the Engliſh Horſe were thus put into irrecoverable Diſorder, ſticking in the Moraſs, Robert's Infantry charged them with ſuch Violence and Fierceneſs, that the whole Flower of the Engliſh Army were almoſt cut to Pieces: King Robert in Perſon led on the Center of his Army, in which were choice Troops: Sir Thomas Randulf, Earl of Murray, commanded the right Wing, and Sir James Douglaſs the left. King Edward of England behaved well, and fought bravely himſelf in Perſon, but moſt of his Army were raw, undiſciplined Militia, and the whole of his Army uncapable to reſiſt and fight againſt the Scots Army, Sword in Hand, with their Targets; for they were quite unacquainted with fighting againſt Sword and Target; therefore their Spears, or Bows and Arrows, were of little Uſe to them: Robert was Maſter of the Field, having 55000 Engliſh killed, and of the Scots 10000. Edward was ſo routed, that he could not get together a ſufficient Gaurd for his Perſon to carry him off: He owed his Eſcape to the Favour and Friendſhip of the Earl of March, who generouſly ſheltered him ſecretly in his Caſtle, and ſent him privately away in a Skiff to Berwick, by which he got ſafe off. This Victory being compleat, King Robert was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of the

*Edward's* Defeat and Eſcape.

Lambart Biſhop of St. Andrew's, when he came to wait of Edward of England, at Stirling, brought this James Douglaſs with him to Edward, to recommend him to his Majeſty's Protection, and interceded hard in his Favour to have his paternal Inheritance allow'd him, which Edward of England abſolutely refuſed, and with Haughtineſs and Diſdain, anſwer'd, he would make no Uſe of the Son of ſo ſtubborn a Father. Edward's Diſpleaſure at the Father, William Douglaſs, was heighten'd even to Rage, becauſe he never would yield to the Superiority of Edward, nor acknowledge his Superiority over Scotland; James Douglaſs being young, and full of Spirit, meditated upon being avenged of Edward, which he was fully, before his Death; after that Edward had diſmiſs'd Lambart the Biſhop, and his Pupil James Douglaſs, with Contempt; Douglaſs watch'd his Opportunity, and upon Notice that Robert Bruce, with his ſmall Army was in the Merns, the County next to Forfar, he carries off Lambart the Biſhop's Horſes and Money, and rode directly for Bruce, and having join'd him with his Party, was of ſingular Service to Robert Bruce, in promoting all his future Succeſſes.

Edward in the Midſt of his Triumphs and haughty Exactions, was ſeized with an Illneſs which proved mortal; but before I cloſe his Life as to Scotland, I ſhall recapitulate only the Heads of his chief Actions in Scotland, in the Time of Robert Bruce.

Firſt, After he had overthrown Balliol, who was a King of his own Formation, he over-run Scotland, to the North, and the Iſles, which never were of his Conqueſt; then he return'd toward England victorious; but no ſooner got the brave Sir William Wallace Time then he got together a Body of Troops, and directly went againſt the Engliſh with Succeſs, diſpoſſeſſing them of the ſeveral Forts and ſtrong Holds in his Way; upon this Edward being enraged, levies a great Army, and marches into Scotland, yet he had not ſucceeded, if it had not been for the Nonſenſe and Pride of the Scots Nobility, who were envious and zealous of Wallace's Glory and Honours, the Army having declar'd him Regent of Scotland; therefore there aroſe ſuch Diſcord and Animoſities in their Councils againſt Sir William Wallace, becauſe he being only a private Gentleman, was by his Valour and publick Spirit, elevated to the chief Command; that tho' Edward's numerous and victorious Army was in Sight, they could not agree. Edward having good Intelligence of their diſconcerting Meaſures, attack'd the Scots Army at Falkirk, March 10, 1302, where a moſt bloody Action happen'd, and the Scots after an obſtinate Reſiſtance, were obliged to retire, having loſt ſome of the beſt of the Nation in the Engagement; particularly one John Stewart, McDuff Earl of Fife, and Sir John Graham; the fatal Loſs of this Day, was in great Meaſure imputed to Cummin, who commanded a Wing of the Scots Army, for he broke off, and left the reſt of the Army to be ſacrificed by the Engliſh Forces: Here it was that Robert Bruce commanded a Part of the Engliſh Army under Edward. After this Battle Wallace took no Command, nor did he act further as Regent; the Nobility of Scotland choſe Cummin, who raiſed a powerful Army, and at Roſline, four Miles from Edinburgh, attacked the Engliſh Army next Year, in which after long Diſpute and much Bloodſhed, Cummin's Army routed the Engliſh Army thrice in one Day; on which they retreated into England, until Edward got himſelf reinforced, then he return'd with a moſt numerous Army, laying all Waſte before him, and left Scotland in ſuch a Condition, that he thought it was impoſſible for them ever to ſhake off his Yoke.

*Wallace*'s Defeat, and his Reſignation, thro' the Envy of the Nobility.

The memorable Defeat at *Roſline*.

This triple Defeat, which Edward received at Roſline by the Scots Army, under the Command of the Cummins, ſo enraged him, that upon his Return with his numerous Army, he made all the Nobility in Scotland take the Oath of Allegiance to him, and he carried away all the Records and Regalia. But Wallace never would ſwear Allegiance to the King of England, and therefore fled to the Highlands.

However, Wallace being ſtill alive, raiſed Parties, and went out harraſſing and diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of Forts and Garriſons, which made Edward return to Scotland with ſtill a more powerful Army, which he march'd as far as Stirling, and having taken the Caſtle, he went no further, but return'd with his victorious Army: And now it was he effected the Fall and Overthrow of Wallace by the Treachery of Monteith: After the Death of this great Man, it was, that Robert Bruce, as I mention'd already, had retired to Scotland, and got himſelf proclaim'd King, in order to ſhake off Edward's Yoke and relieve his Country.

Tho' Robert's firſt Attempts were weak, and without Succeſs, and tho' the Earl of Pembroke had defeated Robert Bruce, (as mention'd) betwixt Athol and Argyle, and thereby Robert was ſo reduced, that he was forced to fly for his Life, and to take Sanctuary in the Weſtern Iſles: Yet Robert ſoon after, when Edward had return'd as Conqueror to Carliſle, and winter'd there, got from his Retirement and hiding Place; and after he had gather'd together the Remains of his ſcatter'd Army, he reinforced them with new Levies, and having diſciplin'd them with utmoſt Diligence, he march'd againſt the Engliſh Army, commanded by the Earl of Pembroke, who then was Commander in Chief of the Engliſh, and Edward's Lieutenant in Scotland, and having attack'd the Engliſh Army, under the Earl of Pembroke, cut them all to Pieces, took my Lord Pembroke Priſoner, and ſo diſpirited the Engliſh, that they with little Reſiſtance, gave up ſeveral Forts, Towns and ſtrong Holds they were poſſeſſed of. This ſo exaſperated Edward, that he determined to make Scotland a Deſolation from Sea to Sea; and in order to this he aſſembled a moſt powerful and fine Army; but by the Time he arrived at Carliſle, he was taken ill of a Dyſentry or bloody Flux, which ſoon brought him to his Grave. Upon his Death-bed, ſuch was his Inveteracy againſt the Scots, that he deſired of his Son to continue the War

The *Engliſh* under *Pembroke* defeated near *Seaton*.

War againſt Scotland; and ſuch was his Vanity from his conceited Opinion of himſelf, and his Succeſſes, that he added to his Son the following Words among his dying Expreſſions: *Let my Bones be carried before you, for ſure I am, the Rebels will never dare to ſtand the Sight of them.* It was at *Borough on the Sands* he died, a ſmall Town in Cumberland, the 17th of July, 1307. *Edward's* Advice to his Son.

Edward being dead, Robert Bruce made good Uſe of his Time, in retaking the ſeveral Towns and Garriſons poſſeſſed by the Engliſh: However Edward of Carnarvan, now Edward II. continued the War againſt Scotland, tho' not with the ſame Succeſs that his Father did, Robert Bruce gaining Ground every Day, being only interrupted for ſome Time by a Fit of Illneſs which had endanger'd his Life: John Cummin, who wanted to have Robert dead, ſpread all over the Country, that Robert Bruce was actually dead, and ſo Cummin raiſes an Army with Deſign to have himſelf proclaimed King. Robert Bruce being inform'd of this Deſign by his Friends, got his Friends and an Army together, and, tho' weak and ſickly, puts himſelf at the Head of his Army, ſupported by a Man on each Side of his Horſe; no ſooner did the Cummins, and their Party of Engliſh Auxiliaries obſerve Robert on Horſeback at the Head of his Army, than they fled and diſperſed. After this Diſpute was over, Edward enters Scotland, with a powerful Army, but Robert Bruce with his Army, ſo tired him and rooted him out by harraſſing his Army, that he forced Edward to return without hazarding any Action. The very next Year James Douglaſs (whom Edward's Father had ſo deſpiſed and inſulted) making two ſucceſsful Incurſions, enter'd into England with a Body of reſolute Fellows, and after defeating all the Parties of the Enemy, who oppoſed him, plundered their Country, ſerving them with their own Hoſpitality, and then with his Party returned loaded with Plunder and triumphant.

Edward Bruce now beſieg'd Stirling Caſtle, which was the Place of the greateſt Strength in the Hands of the Engliſh; it was bravely defended by Mowbray the Engliſh Governor, who at laſt capitulated upon theſe Terms, that he would ſurrender the Caſtle if he did not receive any Relief in a Year's Time, to be reckoned from the Day of the Capitulation. Robert Bruce was diſpleaſed with ſuch a Conceſſion and Delay, yielded by his Brother to Mowbray the Governor; but he adhered to the Articles, that he might not detract from his Brother's Honour. Mowbray having acquainted Edward with his Situation, and how he was beſieged, Edward raiſed the whole Strength of England, and having got his Forces together, he marched with an Army of 100000 Men into Scotland, as it were to take Poſſeſſion of the whole Kingdom: King Robert having Notice of theſe mighty Preparations, raiſed an Army of 40000 Men, and was indefatigable in exerciſing and diſciplining them in the Art of War, chiefly the right Uſe of the broad Sword and Target; and this was the firſt Time that the Scots were regularly trained up to fight broad Sword and Target. When Edward's Army approached, and was within a ſhort Way of the Scots Army, Edward made a general Review of his whole Army, and found they muſter'd 100000 effective Men. Robert Bruce having addreſſed himſelf in an eloquent, affectionate, and encouraging Manner to his whole Army, charged every Man, whoſe Death might be the Loſs or the Ruin of a Family, to turn out and return Home; that he would chearfully and freely excuſe them; which generous Behaviour of Robert diminiſhed his Army 10000, who all returned to their Families; ſo that now the Scots Army conſiſted of 30000 choſen Men, reſolute brave Fellows, who determined to conquer or die. Robert having employed all the Night preceding in fervent and devout Prayer to God, for Conduct and Reſolution to act, his Mind was prepared, ſerene, and full of Vigour and Courage the Morning of the Engagement. *Stirling* ſurrenders to *Robert Bruce.*

The 23d Day of *June*, 1314, both Armies met at Bannockburn, two Miles from Stirling, and engaged: Edward's Army being far ſuperior in Numbers, advanced furiouſly with a great Body of Horſe, but Robert Bruce had concealed and covered artfully the Moraſs, and laid an effectual Trap for the Engliſh Cavalry, having drawn long and deep Ditches a-croſs the Road, betwixt his Camp and the Enemy's Army, and covered theſe Ditches with green Turf, made level with the reſt of the Ground: Under the green Turf in the Ditches were fixed Spikes pointed upward, and otherwiſe like the Cheavaux de Friſe, to lame and gall the Engliſh Cavalry in their Approach. When the Engliſh Horſe advanced to charge with Fury, down they came tumbling, and throwing their Riders with Precipitation. The famous Battle of *Bannockburn.*

While the Engliſh Horſe were thus put into irrecoverable Diſorder, ſticking in the Moraſs, Robert's Infantry charged them with ſuch Violence and Fierceneſs, that the whole Flower of the Engliſh Army were almoſt cut to Pieces: King Robert in Perſon led on the Center of his Army, in which were choice Troops: Sir Thomas Randulf, Earl of Murray, commanded the right Wing, and Sir James Douglaſs the left. King Edward of England behaved well, and fought bravely himſelf in Perſon, but moſt of his Army were raw, undiſciplined Militia, and the whole of his Army uncapable to reſiſt and fight againſt the Scots Army, Sword in Hand, with their Targets; for they were quite unacquainted with fighting againſt Sword and Target; therefore their Spears, or Bows and Arrows, were of little Uſe to them: Robert was Maſter of the Field, having 55000 Engliſh killed, and of the Scots 10000. Edward was ſo routed, that he could not get together a ſufficient Gaurd for his Perſon to carry him off: He owed his Eſcape to the Favour and Friendſhip of the Earl of March, who generouſly ſheltered him ſecretly in his Caſtle, and ſent him privately away in a Skiff to Berwick, by which he got ſafe off. This Victory being compleat, King Robert was confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of the *Edward's* Defeat and Eſcape.

Kingdom. The Engliſh being now entirely routed, and rooted out of the Kingdom, the Nobility of Scotland aſſembled at Aire, where they ſolemnly renounced all Subjection and Obedience to Edward King of England, and took the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to Robert, as their lawful King, denying and diſclaiming all the Pretenſions of the Cummins and Balliols.

*Randulf* and *Douglaſs* knighted in the Field.

Sir Thomas Randulf, and Sir James Douglaſs, for their Bravery and good Conduct, were knighted under the royal Banner, or Standard, as Knight's Bannerets; which was eſteem'd more honourable than the Title of Earl or Baron at that Time; and they were continued by King Robert in the Command of the Army as his Chief Generals.

After the Succeſs and Repoſe Robert had purchaſed by the Battle of Bannockburn, he conveened the Nobility of the Kingdom to determine their Rights of Inheritance; but this produced a Diſcontent, and from thence a Conſpiracy; however, after the Condemnation and Execution of ſome of the Chiefs, this was quell'd. The Engliſh being now in a bad State, and torn to Pieces with inteſtine Convulſions, Commotions and Factions, applied to the Pope to mediate a Peace with Scotland. Upon which a Legate from Rome, was ſent immediately armed, with all the Threatnings and Denounciations, yea, Thunder-bolts of the holy See, who inſiſted upon making Peace with England upon Pain of the higheſt Diſpleaſure of his Holineſs; but the Scots, inſtead of complying, march'd an Army after the Nuncio into England, as far as Stanmore. Edward the ſecond, after this, made ſeveral Attempts to diſlodge the Scots, but ſtill was repulſed with Loſs: Sir James Douglaſs and Sir Thomas Randulf, making repeated Incurſions into England, always returned victorious, and by this Time, the Name of Robert Bruce was terrible to England. At York Sir James Douglaſs and Sir Thomas Randulf engaged the Engliſh Army, which was far ſuperior, and here they made terrible Slaughter of the Engliſh, ſome Hundreds of Prieſts were kill'd this Day, for they came in a Body and join'd the Army, to animate the Engliſh, but their Prieſt-craft not only deceived the People to their Deſtruction, but likewiſe made themſelves a Sacrifice; this was call'd the White Battle, becauſe the Prieſts were all in their Surplices and Canonicals, under the Command of the Archbiſhop. After this, Edward II. raiſed the whole Poſſe of the Nation againſt Robert: However, Robert by Stratagem brought Edward into a Snare, for Robert counterfeited a Retreat, and driving all the Cattle and Sheep into the inacceſſible Paſſes of the Rocks and Mountains, lodg'd his Army in the Hills, ſo that Edward could not attack them. So Edward penetrated, without Oppoſition, into Scotland, taking ſeveral Forts and Garriſons; but upon his Return, Robert was in the Rear of Edward's Army, and follow'd them until he came up with them at York; the Engliſh being fatigued, deſpirited, and almoſt ſtarv'd for Want of all Proviſions; Robert attack'd them with Fury, routed them, and took all their Baggage: This very nigh finiſh'd the Wars of Edward II. againſt Robert *. For Edward at length being wearied and worried out with continual Loſſes, gave over all Pretenſions to Scotland.

The Pope mediates a Peace with *England*

The White Battle of *York*.

*Edward* again defeated by *Robert*.

The *Hamilton* Family.

It was about this Time, that one Hamilton came into Scotland, and took Robert's Protection, having eſcaped from England for killing one of the Spencers. King Robert received him with Kindneſs, and beſtow'd on him ſeveral Lands in Clidſdale, and this was the firſt of the auguſt Family of Hamiltons in Scotland.

King Robert by this Time was pretty much wore out with Fatigues and Toil of War, therefore he committed the Adminiſtration of Government and weighty Affairs chiefly to Sir James Douglaſs, and Sir Thomas Randulf. King Robert having thus eſtabliſh'd himſelf in the Kingdom, and being on the Decline of Life, ſettled the Crown upon his Son David, Prince of Scotland, and failing Iſſue of his Body, to Robert, Son to Walter, High Steward of Scotland, the firſt of the Stewart's Family. When Robert Bruce had clear'd the Country of the Engliſh, and ſettled all Matters at Home, he appointed his Brother Edward to ſucceed, upon Default of Male Iſſue of Robert his Grandſon; and by the Invitation of ſome Iriſh Gentlemen, aſſiſted likewiſe with ſome Troops, Edward Bruce was ſent over by his Brother, King Robert, to be ſettled King of Ireland, but he and all his Friends and Forces in the Attempt were cut to Pieces. Then King Edward having ſummon'd a Parliament to meet at Northampton, a Peace was concluded with King Robert, according to which Treaty, King Edward of England, with his Parliament, did renounce all Pretenſions for ever to the Crown of Scotland, allowing Cumberland and Weſtmorland to be the Boundaries for Scotland, provided that David, the Prince of Scotland, ſhould marry Joan the Daughter of the King of England, Edward's Siſter. This Peace was concluded and ratified in 1328, and ſettled Matters for ſome Time.

*Edward Bruce* with all his Men kill'd in making a Deſent on *Ireland*.

What brought on this Peace ſooner, was, Randulf Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglaſs, were ſent with a ſtrong Army into England by Robert, to harraſs the Engliſh, who at this Time were diſturbed with Troubles and Factions at Home, and at War with France; Edward III. upon this raiſed an Army of 60000 Men, and march'd to attack the Scots Army, but both Armies kept in Sight of each other a Fortnight, without coming to a general Action; at length the brave Douglaſs, with two hundred Horſe, ſurpriſed the whole Engliſh Camp, and it is affirmed, that he cut two Ropes of the royal Tent, where their King was, which made the Engliſh decamp, and Douglaſs had the Conduct to ſecure to himſelf a ſafe Retreat from their whole Army.

* *N. B.* The Loſs of this Battle of *York* was imputed to Sir *Andrew Barclay*, Earl of *Carliſle*, who for it was in future Diſgrace.

After

After this the Truce follow'd for three Years, and this ended in the Treaty of Peace with the Marriage of Edward's Siſter to David Bruce, King Robert's Son.

After this, King Robert ſent over Sir James Douglaſs to John Balliol, now Priſoner in France, with rich Preſents, and Balliol juſtly reproaching himſelf with his mean Practices, and acknowledging the juſt Merit and Right of Robert to the Crown, becauſe of his Valour and Bravery, and reſtoring his Country to its Glory: He voluntarily ſent over to Robert Bruce a full and ample Renounciation of all his Right and Pretenſions to the Crown of Scotland. *Balliol* ſolemnly renounces his Right to *Bruce*.

When Robert, thro' Age, and bodily Decay of Strength, was ſenſible of his approaching Diſſolution, he call'd for his Son, and his Grandſon Robert, Son to Walter Stewart, High Steward of Scotland, to give them his laſt Advice for the Honour and Welfare of his Kingdom, which he did in the three following Articles: The firſt was, never to let any one Man be ſole Superior, and Commander of the Weſtern Iſlands, called the Ædudæ; and ſecondly, never to hazard the whole Strength of the Nation at once againſt the Engliſh; thirdly, never to make long Truces, nor truſt too much to their Promiſes; for, ſaid Robert, they are very good Friends when they can't do you any Hurt, but will advance their Intereſt wherever they can without Regard to Honour, Law or Conſcience: Having thus ſpoke, and his Affairs being ſettled, Robert gave in Charge to his faithful Friend, Sir James Douglaſs, to carry his Heart to the holy Grave at Jeruſalem, to have it buried there, which Douglaſs faithfully executed, and for which, to this Day, the Coat of Arms of the Douglaſs's is a Man's Heart, ruby-enſign'd, with an imperial Crown proper, which Coat of Arms was given to Sir James Douglaſs on this Occaſion; but on his Return, having join'd the Spaniards, and their King againſt the Saracens, he was unhappily ſlain in an Ambuſcade by the Saracens. Hume, in his Hiſtory of the Douglaſs's, affirms he was ſeventeen Times victorious againſt the Engliſh, and had, while in Spain, gain'd thirteen Victories over the Saracens. *Bruce*'s laſt Advice to his Son.

Robert Bruce was an illuſtrious Perſon, of ſingular Valour and Bravery of Mind, fortified with manly Virtue, and a Spirit of Religion, and when once engaged upon the Theatre of Life, having Freedom to act, he demonſtrated with what Conſtancy and Intrepidity of Soul he was capable to meet the greateſt Hardſhips, and to go thro' the moſt acute Sufferings, Afflictions, and Diſappointments. After reigning 24 Years, on the 9th of July, 1329, he, wore out by Fatigue, by Age and Sickneſs, departed this Life. *Bruce*'s Character.

Robert being dead, Randulf, with the other Nobility, perform'd with great Magnificence the funeral Obſequies of the deceas'd King; and after this was over, they carried young David, the King's Son, tho' but eight Years old, to Scoon, and crown'd him with great Solemnity, the 24th of November, 1330. His Burial.

Robert Bruce was twice married, firſt to Iſabella, Daughter to Donald Earl of Mar, by whom he had only one Daughter, named Marjory, married to Walter Stewart of Scotland, and Father to Robert II. His Marriages.

His ſecond Wife was Elizabeth, Daughter to Richard di Burgo, Earl of Ulſter, in Ireland, Mother to David Bruce, Prince of Scotland, now King.

DAVID

# DAVID II. *firnamed* BRUCE.

*David's* Coronation.

DAVID II. being crowned with great Solemnity, after they had received the Pope's Permiſſion and Approbation, Randulf Earl of Murray, now Regent, took upon him the whole Adminiſtration of Government, but Edward and the Engliſh, knowing and having full Proof of Randulf's ſteady Integrity, and his ſtrict Attachment to the Honour and Glory of his Nation, and having fully experienced his rooted Averſion to any Dependance on the Engliſh, ſecretly laid a Deſign to cut off Randulf, tho' they were at Peace with the Scots Nation: Randulf was much afflicted with the Stone and Gravel, and being now in great Danger from it, thro' his advanc'd Age and Weakneſs, a Monk or Fryar (purpoſely hir'd for that Effect, by Edward) did publiſh and ſpread abroad his Fame, as a Perſon who could infallibly cure the Stone in any Perſon. This gave him an Opportunity of being called for to the Regent, and of Acceſs to his Preſence. Upon his being employ'd, the Monk inſtead of proper Medicines, gave Randulf, the Regent, a Doſe of Poiſon, upon which the Monk eſcaped and fled to Edward, aſſuring him he had done the Buſineſs.

*Randulf* poiſon'd by a Monk.

Here it may be obſerved, that wherever any ſecret Villainy, or attrocious Crime, is to be ſlily and cunningly executed, which requires no perſonal Bravery, in all Ages the Romiſh Prieſts, and Tools of the Popiſh Faith, are the fitteſt Inſtruments for perpetrating Acts of the moſt atrocious Wickedneſs; and therefore have been chiefly in all Ages employ'd and truſted by Princes and great Men, where Villainy was to be executed with Addreſs, and the Cloak of Sanctity.

*Scotland* invaded by *Edward.*

Edward now thinking he had got rid of his greateſt Oppoſite, the Regent of Scotland, and the young King in his Infancy, he judged this the proper Opportunity to be avenged of the Scots, therefore he levies an Army with all Diſpatch, and came to the Borders of Scotland. Upon which the Regent Randulf, Earl of Murray, marched a powerful Army againſt him; for the Doſe of Poiſon lurking in his Body, had not yet taken Effect; Randulf not being able to ride, was carried in a Litter, becauſe of his Age and Infirmity. Edward being informed that Randulf in Perſon commanded the Scots Army, he ſent a Herald to Randulf the Regent, whom the Regent received very cooly, and with a ſtern Countenance he told him, Edward, *his Maſter was guilty of the Breach of ſolemn Faith, Honour, and good Neighbourhood, without Provocation, and that he did not ſtand to the Peace.* *Edward* diſappointed of his Expectations, and finding to his Surprize Randulf alive, by the Report of the Herald, he returns with his Army Home directly, ſeized the Monk, and burnt him alive.

The Earl of *Murray* dies.

Randulf likewiſe returned with his Army, and when he came to Muſſelburgh, four Miles from Edinburgh, the Poiſon he had in his Body operated ſo upon him that he died directly.

The Earl of *Mar* and *March* made Regents.

After his Death, the Earls of Mar and March were appointed Governors and Regents; after they took upon them the Regency, Edward meditated Confuſion and War for Scotland, therefore he ſecretly ſends over Lord Beaumont to Edward Balliol now in France, to perſuade him that it would be an eaſy Matter to conquer Scotland: Edward Balliol upon this is perſuaded to come over to England; and having procured from Edward of England eight thouſand land Forces and Shipping, he ſet ſail with a great Number of Engliſh Nobility, among whom was the Earl of Stafford; he was immediately, upon his landing at Kinghorn, joined by the Cummins, who headed a great Body of Men; the Engliſh Generals were, Beaumont, Talbot, and Mowbray; Alexander Seaton, upon his landing, having made ſome Oppoſition, was defeated by Balliol.

*Edward Balliol* comes to *Scotland.*

The Regents Mar and March raiſed an Army, and encamped at the River Ern, two Miles from Perth; but they truſting too much to their Numbers, and being too ſecure, through the Fault of their Spies, and Scouts; Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, divides his Forces from thoſe of Mar, and encamps ſome Miles off from the Earl of Mar's Army on the other Side the River Ern, they were ſurprized in the Night by Balliol's Army, who ſilently paſſing the River, attacked Mar's Army in their Camp, and cut them almoſt all to Pieces: The Earl of Mar himſelf was killed: There were among the Slain a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen, among whom were the Earls of Carrick, Marſhal of Scotland, and Hay, Lord High Conſtable of Scotland; what remained of their Army fled; upon which Edward Balliol proceeding in Triumph to Perth, and thence to Scoon: He, in the Year 1332, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King, and was crowned at Scoon.

*Andrew Murray* made Regent.

However, the Nation was not in a peaceable State, for the Party of the Bruces were ſtrong and reſolute; they therefore choſe a new Regent, Andrew Murray, the King's Couſin, and for Safety ſent over the young King David, with his Queen, to be with Philip of France, who

who uſed them very affectionately: Then the Bruces and their Party ſent their circular Letters to all their Friends and Aſſociates over the Kingdom, to ſpirit up ſuch as they thought too cool and indifferent, and to encourage their old and faithful Friends, to make yet a Stand for the Honour and Recovery of their Country, and to revenge the Slaughter of ſo many brave Men, who had been loſt at the Battle near Perth, upon the Banks of the River Ern. The firſt who roſe and took the Field upon this, againſt Balliol and the Engliſh, were the Keiths, and the Lindſays, who loſt about eighty Gentlemen at the late Battle, with James and Simon Fraſer, the Bruces and the Douglaſſes, who having got together a conſiderable Body of Men, did march directly to Perth, and beſieged it the eleventh of September 1332. The Siege laſted for three Months, longer than was expected, but at the End of the third Month, it was taken by ſtorm. Duncan M^cDuff, Earl of Fife, whom Balliol had taken Priſoner at the Battle of Ern, and whom Edward Balliol had forced to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to him, to ſave his Life and Family; he being Governor of Perth for Balliol, was by Andrew Murray, Regent, after the taking of Perth, ſent Priſoner with his Lady and Family to the Caſtle of Kildrummy in Mar. Andrew Murray of Tullibardin, who was the Perſon who ſhew'd Balliol's Army to the Right, fords over the River Ern, and directed the Enemy how to attack the Earl of Mar's Army in the Night; he, in Reward for his Treachery, was executed; and the Book of Paſley affirms, according to Buchanan, that the Walls of Perth, and all the Fortifications round the Town, were razed, and quite demoliſh'd to the Ground; and this appears moſt probable, becauſe the Regent's Army being yet ſmall, and not in caſe to detach Garriſons or Parties for the Defence of Towns, to weaken too much the main Body of his Army, it was moſt expedient to lay all the Towns taken quite naked and open. When this Event of retaking of Perth happen'd, Balliol was in Annandale, receiving the Homage of the Nobility and Gentry of that and the neighbouring Counties. Balliol's ſudden Run of Succeſs ſo diſpirited even David's Friends, that Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and Galloway, did ſubmit themſelves to Balliol, thinking King David's Affairs in a deſperate Situation. Balliol, by the Run of ſudden Proſperity, became ſecure and haughty, look'd upon his Enemy with Contempt, and neglected thereby any neceſſary Precautions againſt future Oppoſition. Andrew Murray, the Regent, having good Intelligence of Balliol's preſent Situation and Diſpoſition, took the Opportunity to ſend Archibald Douglaſs (Brother to the great Sir James Douglaſs, who died in Spain) into the Neighbourhood of Annandale ſecretly, and along with him William Douglaſs, Baron of Lidſdale, and Lord Lieutenant of that Diſtrict; John Randulf, Son of the late Earl of Murray, with Simon Fraſer, with about a thouſand Horſe, who all came to Mauffet; and making no Delay, after receiving good Intelligence of Balliol's Situation, in the Night marches with all Expedition, and ſurrounded Balliol in his Sleep, ſurpriz'd him, and oblig'd him, half naked, to make his Eſcape on a Horſe, without Saddle or Bridle. Several of Balliol's beſt Friends were kill'd in this Attack, and Alexander Bruce, of Carrick, who had receiv'd Balliol's Protection, was taken Priſoner; but by the Interceſſion of John Randulf, Earl of Murray, was pardon'd. In this Action, Henry Balliol behav'd bravely, notwithſtanding the Fright and Surprize of the Attack, had diſorder'd his Men, he headed them, made them form and return to the Charge, kill'd and wounded a Number of Douglaſs's Men; yet, being overpower'd, after a moſt valiant Defence, he was ſlain, and died with the concurring Applauſe both of the Enemy and his own Men, for his gallant Behaviour this Day. Balliol loſt of his Friends in this Attack the brave John Mowbray, Walter Cummins, and Richard Kircher, who were kill'd in the Action: This happen'd the 23d of December 1332.

The Bruces and their Party gather their Friends and take the Field.

*Perth* retaken by *Bruce*'s Friends.

*Balliol* ſurpris'd and defeated.

The Succeſs of this Attempt recruited the Spirits and Vigour of the Bruces, and Douglaſſes, who upon this Event made Andrew Murray, Regent, conveen'd the Nobility and States of the Nation, who were of their Side, to meet, and without Delay, to deliberate, and determine what was moſt expedient to be executed directly, to prevent the Succeſs of Balliol's Return, or the Danger of any Attack in his Favour from the Engliſh. The chief Nobility and Gentry of Scotland met together, were of Opinion, and unanimouſly agreed, that Balliol was no more than a Dependent upon Edward of England, a Tool to ſerve his tyrannical Views, and a Perſon who would be always at the Direction, and under the Authority of the Engliſh; therefore they, with one Voice, declared him an Enemy to his Country, and to them, and ſo reſolved to make all poſſible Preparations to reſiſt him, and the Engliſh. They knew Edward of England's firſt Attempt would be upon the Frontier, and therefore they directly reinforced the Garriſon of Berwick with a large Body of Troops, and appointed Sir Alexander Seaton Governor of the Town, and Patrick Dunbar Governor of the Citadel or Caſtle, according to Buchanan, who defended the Place with unſpotted Bravery, Conduct, and Reſolution, tho' attack'd by Sea and Land.

The Nobility of *Scotland* meet to determine what was fit to be done.

William Douglaſs, Baron of Lidſdale, being eſteem'd a Man of great Conduct and perſonal Courage at this Time, was entruſted with the Defence of all Annandale, and the Neighbouring adjacent Counties.

Andrew Murray in Perſon marches with his Troops to Roxborough, where Balliol was then with his Friends; Sir John Randulf, Earl of Murray, was ſent into France, to King David, to acquaint him and King Philip with their late Succeſſes, and the preſent Poſture of Affairs in Scotland, with Inſtructions likewiſe to ſollicit, in the warmeſt and moſt moving Terms, the Aid and Aſſiſtance of Men and Money from Philip of France, to promote and accompliſh

*Randulf* goes to *France* to the King.

the Liberty and Peace of the Kingdom, which they were contending for, and to have their King reſtored. In the mean Time, a Cloud overſpread their apparent Proſpects, for Andrew Murray, the Regent, having attack'd Balliol and his Army at Roxborough, near the Bridge, defeated the Engliſh Forces; but Murray purſuing the Enemy too far, and they flying into the Town of Roxborough for Shelter, Murray the Regent was ſhut out, and had the Gates of the Town barricado'd againſt him by the Party of his own Men, who had got Poſſeſſion of the Town, by which the Regent was expoſed to the flying Parties of the Enemy, and fell into their Hands, and was taken Priſoner, which Allay chang'd the whole Fate of the Day. At the ſame Time, William Douglaſs having attack'd another Party of the Enemy, was, after a ſharp Engagement, wounded and taken Priſoner, which ſo diſpirited his Men, that the Enemy put them to Flight. Upon this aroſe private Feuds and new Factions among the Nobility of Scotland. Edward now, as he loved to fiſh in troubled Water, taking the Advantage of Balliol's being reduced, and unable to ſtand his Ground, without the Support of a Neighbour Prince, and likewiſe knowing the Diſſention among the Nobility, induc'd and entic'd Balliol to accept of his Protection, and to bind himſelf by a ſolemn Oath, to acknowledge his Dependence on him, and his Superiority to act according to his Directions, and to be entirely at his Command. Upon this, Edward directly, without Regard to Honour, to the Faith of Treaty, and to his Tyes by Blood and Alliance to the King of Scotland, who was married to his Siſter, declares War and enters Scotland, as an Enemy at once, with an Army to conquer and to lay all Waſte by Fire and Sword; the ſlender Pretext he had for this unmanly, diſhonourable and unprincely Behaviour, was, that he had ſent his Ambaſſador to make a Demand of Berwick Town; but this Demand was only a Sham to pick a Quarrel. However, the Scots Nobility and the Regent made Anſwer, that Berwick was always the Property of the Kings of Scotland, and only by the Violence and Iniquity of Edward the firſt, had been diſmember'd from their Kingdom; that King Robert Bruce had retaken it, and by his Valour and good Conduct, had put the Town of Berwick upon its antient Eſtabliſhment, and to corroborate this, Edward himſelf, the then reigning Monarch of England, with his Eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, had made a full Renounciation of this and of all other Pretenſions to this Town of Berwick, or any other Town in Scotland, which they claim'd. Therefore, they the Nobles, Barons, and other Eſtates of the Scots Nation, were highly ſurpriz'd how the Honour of a King, and royal Dignity ſhould deviate ſo far from Truth and mutual Compact, as to make ſuch an unjuſt and unreaſonable Demand, when his Majeſty the King was abſent; they therefore, the Ambaſſadors from the Kingdom of Scotland, moſt earneſtly, and with the utmoſt Decency, did intreat of his Majeſty King Edward, to conſider with Equity and Impartiality, and out of princely Honour, not to hurt his Brother Monarch in his Nonage, nor to attempt to ſtrip him of any Part of his Dominions, eſpecially when married to his own Siſter; and they further added, that it was very ſurprizing, all Circumſtances in Reaſon perſuading to the contrary, that he, the King of England, ſhould firſt immediately after a Peace, attack them with ſecret and fraudulent Attempts, and then with open Force and Violence to invade their Country. The Ambaſſadors likewiſe ſubjoin'd, that they were order'd to acquaint his Majeſty, that they would accept of all reaſonable and equitable Terms of Peace, but rather than make any baſe or ſervile Conceſſions, they would ſacrifice Life, Fortune, and all that was valuable. Upon this, the Embaſſy having return'd without Succeſs, Edward carries on the Siege of Berwick, both by Sea and Land, with all poſſible Vigour; having a numerous Army, he continued to ſtorm and attack the Place Day and Night; but at length the Beſieged found Means to protract the Siege, by ſetting Fire to the Engliſh Fleet, which they deſtroy'd almoſt intirely. In this Attempt, one William Seaton, natural Son to the Governor of the Town, loſt his Life, univerſally lamented by all for his Bravery. The Governor's ſecond Son having ruſh'd too far out upon a Sally, fell into the Hands of the Engliſh, and was taken Priſoner. The Siege laſted almoſt to the third Month, and now the Garriſon for Want of freſh Supplies, were forc'd to capitulate with the Enemy; the Terms of Capitulation were, that unleſs by the third of the Calends of Auguſt, which is the 29th of July, the Garriſons were reliev'd, then they would ſurrender the Place to the Engliſh Army, and as Hoſtages for the fulfilling their Agreement, gave up the Governor's eldeſt Son Thomas Seaton to Edward. While this was tranſacted at Berwick, there was a full Meeting of all the Nobility and Eſtates of the Kingdom, to conſult of proper Meaſures for the immediate Defence of the Kingdom, and of repelling the Power of Edward. The Regent, Andrew Murray, being Priſoner, the firſt Thing they did, was, to chuſe Archibald Douglaſs, for their Captain-General, and to him they gave the Command of the Army, with Orders to march into the bordering Countries of England, to harraſs and lay waſte their Country; by this Means to make Edward raiſe the Siege of Berwick: But Douglaſs having Intelligence of what paſs'd at Berwick, alter'd his Rout, and march'd directly up to the Enemies Army to give them Battle, and by that to raiſe the Siege of Berwick. This he ventur'd upon, contrary to the Advice and Opinion of the wiſeſt Men of the Scots Army, who inſiſted upon it, as moſt expedient, to keep from a general Action, but to harraſs and diſtreſs Edward's Army by Marches and Countermarches, to draw them off by Stratagem from Berwick; however, Douglaſs, for Fear of the Imputation of Cowardice, did determine to hazard a Battle. Edward, upon Intelligence of the Approach of the Scots Army under the Command of Archibald Douglaſs and James Douglaſs, Earl of Angus, tho' the Day fix'd for

*Andrew Murray*, the Regent, taken Priſoner at *Roxborough*.

*Edward* perſuades *Balliol* to accept of his Protection, and to ſubmit intirely to him for Aid and Support.

Ambaſſadors ſent to *Edward*.

The Governor of *Berwick* capitulates and gives his Son as a Hoſtage.

*Douglaſs* raſhly hazards a Battle with the Engliſh, and is defeated with great Slaughter of the Nobility.

ſor the Surrender of Berwick was not yet come, yet ſends a Meſſage directly to Alexander Seaton, Governor, to let him know, that if he did not immediately deliver up the Town of Berwick to him, he would hang up his two Sons, whom he had Priſoners, in his View. Alexander Seaton being naturally much affected by this cruel and threatning Meſſage, and taking into Conſideration, for the little Time allow'd him, what Anſwer he ſhould give to King Edward, his tender Heart melting with paternal Affection, was nigh condeſcending to the imperious, tyrannical Demands of Edward, in order to ſave the Lives of his Sons; but his Wife, with heroick Virtue, with Reſolution, and publick Spirit, even to a Prodigy, interpos'd, and with the following Speech, determin'd her Huſband, Alexander Seaton, not to give up the Town, but to make Trial, if Edward was capable of acting with ſuch inhuman Brutality, and of butchering theſe two young Gentlemen, contrary to the Laws of Nations, and Rules of War; ſhe ſupported and comforted the Mind of her Huſband in theſe Words! *If you purchaſe the Lives of your Sons with the Sacrifice of your Country, you bring laſting Ignominy on your Family, for a temporary Satisfaction you will have perpetual Diſgrace; how far can you truſt the Promiſe of any ſuch Tyrant, who never fulfilled any Engagements to this Nation? We have more Children, and can beget more, and theſe our Sons now in the Hands of this bloody Tyrant muſt die, they may die ſuddenly or by Accident, and may hereafter do ſhameful Actions, to cauſe Sorrow to you; if you diſgrace or betray your Country, and its Honour to Day; the Shame and Reproach can never be waſh'd nor wiped off. Be then compoſed and reſolute, ſtand to your Truſt, and let not the Thoughts of this bloody Tragedy diſpirit your Mind; let Fidelity to your King, the Love of your Country, and your Regard for the Dignity and Character of your noble Anceſtors be the Motive to govern your Conduct.* Edward, after he had from his butchering, bloody and low Mind, executed the two Seatons, march'd with his Army to Halydoun Hill, a little above Berwick, to wait for the Scots Army, under the Command of Douglaſs. Douglaſs raſhly when in Sight of the Engliſh Army, marching his Army to take Poſſeſſion of a Hill oppoſite to the Engliſh Camp, in order to form his Army on the Hill, was attack'd by the Engliſh Army, who came down upon him, intercepted his March, and pouring down upon him with Fury, Showers of Darts, and Heaps of Stones; thereby ſo annoying the Scots Army, that before they came to cloſe fighting, they were diſpirited and put into ſuch Diſorder, that it was impoſſible for them to ſtand the Fury of the Engliſh Charge, Sword in Hand. This bloody Day did cut off moſt of the Chief Nobility of Scotland, who fought with Rage and Bravery not to be expreſs'd, to ſave their Country: Archibald Douglaſs, the General and Vice-roy, was ſlain in the Onſet; this is Buchanan's Relation, who further adds, that there were according to ſome 10,000, and by the Account of others 14,000 kill'd, and almoſt the whole of the Nobility of Scotland, who had eſcap'd the Battle of Duplin, by the River of Ern; James, John, and Allan Stewart, Uncles to Robert Stewart, who after was King of Scotland, together with John and Simon Fraſer, Hugh Earl of Roſs, Kenneth, Earl of Sutherland, Alexander Bruce, Earl of Carrick, were the chief Perſons who were kill'd in the Field of Battle. This fatal Battle happen'd in the Year 1333, upon St. Magdalen's Day.

*Seaton's Lady's heroick Spirit.*

*Seaton's Sons butcher'd.*

Upon this Defeat, Alexander Seaton, Governor of Berwick, being reduced to diſpair, and receiving no Reinforcement, nor Supply of warlike Stores nor Proviſions, was forc'd to ſurrender, upon Edward's Terms, the Town of Berwick; and Patrick Dunbar, at the ſame Time Governor of the Citadel, ſurrender'd; both were forc'd for their Safety, and to preſerve their Families, to take an Oath of Fidelity to Edward, and to receive his Protection; but Edward, out of Reſentment, oblig'd Patrick Dunbar to repair the Caſtle of Dunbar, which he had demoliſh'd purpoſely, that it might not be a Place of Defence for the Engliſh. Edward having ſettled Matters, and now elated with Victory, left Balliol, with Edward Talbot his great Favourite, and a Man of Spirit, to govern Scotland, and to reduce any remaining Garriſon who ſtood out. Talbot commanded the Engliſh Auxiliaries, who were left to the Aſſiſtance of Balliol, but chiefly with Deſign to make a compleat Conqueſt of Scotland, which Edward thought now would be no hard Matter to accompliſh, the moſt of the Nobility being cut off; however there remain'd a few Forts and Garriſons, which defended themſelves bravely, againſt the Engliſh; Dunbarton, Kildrummy, Urquhart, and the Caſtle in Loch-Leven, and ſome other ſmall Forts were not reduc'd. The next Year the Pope and the French King Philip did undertake to mediate a Peace betwixt England and Scotland, and for effecting of it ſent over their Ambaſſadors to Edward of England, with Offers of Terms for a full Accomodation of all Differences with Scotland; but Edward imagining he had now ſo broke the Spirit of the Scots Nation, ſo reduc'd them, and waſted their Country to that Degree, that it would never be in their Power to make any Attempt to recover their Rights and Liberties; therefore Edward denied any Audience to theſe Ambaſſadors as Mediators, and rejected all Offers of Peace: However, at a Time leaſt expected, and by Events not foreſeen, there offer'd ſome favourable Opportunities to pave the Way for the Overthrow of Balliol and his Faction; for upon a ſlight Occaſion Balliol and his Party divided, and from this aroſe Heart-burning, Diſſention, and Hatred of one another, which was a favourable Event to Bruce's Party.

*Berwick* thro' Diſpair ſurrender'd.

*Edward* refuſes all Mediation for a Peace.

John Mowbray the Succeſſor of the famous Mowbray, the Favourite of Edward I. enjoy'd large Poſſeſſions, and a very opulent Eſtate, which Edward had ſettled in Scotland upon his Anceſtors; and John Mowbray having recover'd this Eſtate by the Favour and Intereſt of Balliol, ſoon after dies without Male Iſſue; upon his Death, Alexander Mowbray, his Brother, lays

lays claim to the Eſtate, to the defrauding of his Nieces, the Daughters of the deceas'd Brother: Edward Balliol took Part with Alexander the Uncle, but the Engliſh Faction all united to aſſert the Right of the Daughters. Talbot, Beaumont, Cummin, Earl of Athol, and all his Friends oppoſed Balliol in this Affair; however Balliol gave Judgment in Favour of Alexander, the Ladies Uncle. Upon which Talbot's Party, and the Cummin's, all deſerted Edward Balliol; this form'd a powerful Conſpiracy againſt him, but Balliol thro' Fear of ſo powerful an Oppoſition, recall'd his Sentence, gave to Beaumont, who married one of John Mowbray's Daughters, the Lands he claim'd by his Father-in-Law, and reconcil'd himſelf to the Cummins, by giving Robert Stewart (who after was King) his Eſtate and Effects all to the Cummins, which juſtly purchas'd the Reſentment and Indignation ever after of Robert Stewart againſt Balliol, which Balliol found after pretty warm and acute.

*Balliol* embarrais'd by the two contending Par ies for *Mowbray*'s Eſtate.

Upon this Andrew Murray the Regent, who was lately return'd from his Confinement in England, and had been ranſom'd by a large Sum, joins in Confederacy with Alexander Mowbray, whom Balliol had forſaken, to gratify the Power of the Cummins, and they two, with Robert Stewart, firmly united to ſhake off the Power of Balliol and the Engliſh, and to raiſe all poſſible Oppoſition againſt them; however, Balliol takes care to ſecure moſt of the Forts and Garriſons near to Renfrew, and in that County; and having order'd Matters as he thought proper, without much Controul, he ſet ſail for the Iſle of Bute; and having repair'd and fortified the Caſtle of Rothſay, he appointed Allan Lilly, whom he before had made High Sheriff or Steward, to be Governor of this Garriſon, and then he uſed all poſſible Means to apprehend Robert Stewart, the next Heir to the Crown, that he might be cut off; but he narrowly eſcap'd, by Means of William Heriot and John Gilbert, who convey'd him ſecretly in a Boat over to Dunbarton Caſtle, and committed him to the Care of Malcom Fleming, Governor of the Caſtle. Balliol having order'd all Matters in the Iſle of Bute, returns and landed on the neighbouring Continet; after which, he firſt attack'd and took Dunoon Caſtle, and then reduc'd the whole of Coval.

*Murray* and *Robert Stewart* unite againſt *Balliol*.

The Nobility and Gentry being ſurpriz'd, and not in Caſe to reſiſt, make their Submiſſion to Balliol. Next Spring Balliol forms a Deſign of reducing the Fort in Loch-Leven near Kinroſs, but finding it not ſo eaſily accompliſh'd, he committed the carrying on the Siege to Sir John Stirling, as Commander in Chief, having under him Michael Arnot, David Weems, and Richard Melvil. They with a Body of the Army were left to reduce the Place, but Sir John Stirling and his Officers, regardleſs of their Enemy, as being only a few St. Andrew's Men, who defended the Fort, under the Command of Allan and James Lamond, after they had tried all Means poſſible to take the Caſtle by Force and Storm, at length thought to effect their Deſign by Stratagem. The Caſtle is on all Hands ſurrounded by the Lake, and ſtands upon a ſmall Rock or Iſland in the Lake, and was acceſſible only by Boats, or an old Bridge to one Side which was gallantly defended by the Lamond's Brothers, and the St. Andrew's Men: From the Lake goes out a large River; the River Head or Beginning was a very narrow Channel betwixt two Rocks: Here the Engliſh, under Stirling's Command, erect a Battery, and another at the End of the Bridge, and thinking they might drown the Bridge by an Overflowing of the Lake, they amaſs'd great Heaps of Rubbiſh, Earth, Turf, and Stone, which they choak'd up the River with, at the very Entry, where the Channel was narroweſt; by this the Courſe of the River was quite ſtopt, and no Way for the Water of the Lake to run off, but by ſpreading and overflowing all round the Fortification, ſo as to put their Garriſon under Water, and ſo ſtarve the Beſieg'd, or make them periſh by the Floods. To make their Scheme the more effectual, they erected a Bulwark to prevent the Water, by any Flood, forcing into the Channel of the River out of the Lake, and on each Side of this Bulwark was their Encampment: Thinking themſelves now certain of gaining the Fort, they were ſecure and eaſy, deſpiſing the ſmall Number of the Beſieg'd, as incapable to annoy them; however, the Seaſon being hot and dry this Summer, the Floods not coming, diſappointed the Engliſh; however, the Beſieg'd being quite block'd up, and in no Caſe to procure Relief, Sir John Stirling, with his Officers, thinking all ſafe and ſecure, having left a ſufficient Guard for Defence of their Camp, and the Bulwarks they had erected, go to Dumfermling to ſee a great Fair, which was held there annually, in the Month of July, upon St. Margaret's Day, it being likewiſe a Holy-Day in Honour and Commemoration of Queen Margaret, who was canoniz'd as a Saint, and lay buried in the Abbey Church at Dumfermling: This Queen Margaret was Queen to Malcom III. and Siſter to Edgar of England. While Sir John Stirling and his Officers and Men were employ'd in their Diverſions and Pleaſures at Dumfermling, the Beſieg'd in the Caſtle of Loch-Leven having Intelligence how Few remain'd in the Camp, and watching their Opportunity, they prepar'd ſmall Boats, with proper Engines and Materials, and about Midnight, Allan and his Brother perforate the Bank and Bulwark, ſo as to make Way for ſome of the Water to paſs through by different ſmall Breaches; the Force of the Water ſoon enlarg'd theſe Breaches, ſo as to make Way for the Water coming down with a ſtrong Current and great Rapidity: The Water thus clearing its Way; when once it had made a Breach, pour'd down with ſuch a Flood and Torrent, as to overflow all on each Side, and carry off all before it; by this Stratagem the Camp of the Enemy was overflow'd, Tents, Men half aſleep, Proviſions, Baggage, Cattle, and all carried away with the Flood and deſtroy'd.

*Balliol* forces the Nobility on Surprize to ſubmit.

The Caſtle of *Loch-Leven* nobly defended and at laſt quite reliev'd from *Balliol*'s Army.

The Stratagem to relieve the Caſtle of *Loch-Leven*.

When

When Balliol's Forces were thus ſupriz'd in their Camp, and in the utmoſt Confuſion, ſaving their Lives from periſhing in the Flood, the Beſieg'd made a Sally upon them with Fury, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Country People, they renew'd their Sally ſo ſucceſsfully, that the Engliſh all fled to ſave their Lives, leaving all their Stores, Tents, Proviſion and Baggage to the Beſieg'd, who by this provided themſelves ſufficiently for a long Siege: The next Sally the Garriſon made, was upon a Party of the Enemy, which were at Kinroſs, whom they attack'd and cut to Pieces. Upon Notice of theſe Proceedings, Edward ſends down into Scotland a powerful Army and Fleet: The Fleet was all ſhatter'd and broke to Pieces in the Firth, upon the Rocks on the Coaſt, by a violent Storm: The Army enter'd Scotland by the Weſt, and came to Glaſgow, but Edward finding neither General nor Army to reſiſt him, and having no great Opinion of Balliol's Conduct nor Wiſdom to accompliſh Matters, committed to Cummin, Earl of Athol, the whole of his Affairs in Scotland, made him his Lieutenant, and General of the Forces left in Scotland, to ſubdue all who remain'd unconquer'd.

*Balliol*'s Forces and Encampment at *Loch-Leven* carried off by Stratagem.

*Cummin* made *Edward*'s Vice-roy.

The firſt Thing Cummin, Earl of Athol did, after receiving his Power and Authority from Edward, was to take Poſſeſſion for himſelf of all the Lands, Eſtates, and Effects of all the Stewarts, which were very large and opulent, in the Iſles of Bute, and Arran, and the County of Renfrew, and the beſt Part of Kyle and Cunningham; next he confirm'd Allan Lilly, Balliol's Friend, as Governor of Rothſay Caſtle, and High Sheriff, or Steward of Bute: After this he forces the neighbouring Counties to do Homage to him as ſuperior: This being over, Cummin goes in Perſon with his Army into the North, enters Buchan, and proceeds to Murray, reducing all before him as he went, and amaſſing to himſelf immenſe Riches, beyond that of any Subject; but whatever he executed, and whatever Commiſſions or Grants he gave, were always made out in the Names of Edward of England, and of Edward Balliol. Now the Bruces and the Stewarts were ſo rooted, ſo perſecuted, and quite depopulated, their Friends and Followers ſo ſuppreſs'd and ſlaughter'd, that there hardly remain'd any but Boys and Children, who duſt mention Bruce as their King, or acknowledge him.

*Cummin* robs the Family of the *Stewarts*.

When thus they were at the loweſt Ebb, the enterpriſing Genius, and brave Spirit of Robert Stewart, not diſhearten'd nor depreſs'd with his rugged Fortune, and the low State to which his Friends and he, through Tyranny and Oppreſſion, were reduc'd, meditates an Attempt to gather together his Friends and Well-wiſhers in the Abſence of Cummin, then in the North: He communicates his Deſign to the Campbells firſt, who at this Time were a very powerful and numerous People, and their Chief, Collin Campbell, a Man of Spirit, Bravery, and Integrity to his Country, directly raiſes four Hundred brave Fellows, with which he join'd Robert Stewart; they march'd directly, attack'd and took Dunoon Caſtle.

*Robert Stewart*'s deſperate Attempt, yet ſucceſsful, the *Campbells* join him.

Upon the Noiſe of Robert Stewart and the Campbells taking the Field, all the Inhabitants of Bute, roſe to come over to them; upon this Allan Lilly, Balliol's Sheriff and Lieutenant for Bute, gathers his Men, who were well arm'd, to diſperſe the Mob and Multitude who had got together; the Multitude being without any Head, and moſtly unarm'd, with the Surprize of Lilly's Attack, were put into Confuſion; however, they kept together, and had the Conduct to retire all in a Body to the Top of a Hill, where having amaſs'd Heaps of Stones and other Weapons; Lilly with his Party, deſpiſing an undiſciplin'd Mob, marches up the Hill to attack and defeat them, but they ſhower'd down ſuch immenſe Heaps of Stones, by Slings and Hand, that they kill'd Lilly in the Attack, deſtroy'd moſt of his Men, and put the reſt to Flight, having taken the Lieutenant Governor of Bute Priſoner; by this the Mob got the Arms of the Enemy, with which they ventur'd to attack the Caſtle of Bute, which ſurrender'd to them: This Succeſs encourag'd Thomas Bruce, Earl of Carrick, with all his Men to take the Field, and march to join Robert Stewart, with the Campbells; immediately after, came up the People of Kyle and Cunningham, and William Caruthers of Annandale, who never ſubmitted to the Engliſh. Theſe with all their Friends and Adherents, jumping out of their lurking Places, go directly to join Robert Stewart, being animated by the Arrival of Randulf, Earl of Murray, who was juſt come from France, and had brought them Aſſurances of ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from this Quarter: Having now got together a conſiderable Body, they were in high Spirits, and determin'd to execute ſome Enterprize of Conſequence; they therefore firſt put their Army in proper Order, and having the Concurrence of Godfrey Roſs, High Sheriff of Aire, a Man of Influence and great Conduct, they got all Renfrew, Aire, Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, and the Neighbourhood in general, to declare for Robert Stewart and the Bruces, againſt Balliol and the Engliſh.

The Neighbouring Counties all throng to him.

*Lilly* defeated by a Mob and his Men diſarm'd.

The Mob take the Caſtle of *Bute*.

The Friends and Followers of Andrew Murray, following this Example, forc'd the whole of Clidſdale to declare for King David, againſt Balliol and the Engliſh; ſuch as did not join voluntarily, were compell'd. Theſe Beginnings of Succeſs gave a new Face to Affairs, and reviv'd the Spirits of the Bruces, Stewarts, and their Adherents, ſo that having call'd together the Eſtates of the Kingdom, who were of their Side, they, in full Meeting, elected for Regents or Vice-roys, Robert Stewart, tho' a Youth, with John Randulf, whoſe Father and Brother, Earls of Murray, had ſignaliz'd themſelves with ſo much Bravery and Integrity in the Cauſe of their Country. Upon this it was agreed by the Nobility and other Eſtates, in their Meeting, that Robert Stewart ſhould be ſent with a Body of Men to the North directly, in Purſuit of David Cummin, Earl of Athol, who with his Engliſh Forces, ravag'd and laid Waſte all his own native Country, wherever he came. Upon the Approach of Robert Stewart with his

*Robert Stewart* and *John Randulf* created Vice-roys or Regents.

Army, the Country People, oppreſs'd with the Exactions and Severity of the Engliſh Yoke, from all Quarters repair'd in Crowds to Robert Stewart, and join'd his Standard: Cummin, upon this, finding himſelf deſerted and forſaken, retir'd with his few remaining Forces to Lochaber, to which Robert Stewart purſued him cloſely, and at laſt came up with him, at a narrow and difficult Paſs, where being ſhort of all Proviſions and warlike Supplies, Cummin was forc'd to ſurrender to Robert Stewart, who forc'd Cummin (to his great Mortification) to take the Oath of Allegiance to David Bruce his King. Cummin likewiſe, in order to get into Favour, made ſuch ſtrong Proteſtations, Profeſſions and Promiſes to Robert Stewart, as to gain his Confidence ſo far, that Robert returning, ſubſtituted Cummin in his Command. Cummin upon this ſhews himſelf violent, and hearty for the Cauſe of David Bruce, tho' at the ſame Time only a Diſſembler. Mean Time, John Randulf return'd with his Army into Lothian, having along with him his old and faithful Friend William Douglaſs, who was juſt come from England, after a long Confinement in Goal, by Neighbour Civility. William Douglaſs being now at Liberty, with Heart and Hand join'd Randulf, revenging his hoggiſh Male-treatment while Priſoner in England, by ſufficient Slaughters of his cruel Enemies; among other Events which favourably concurr'd for the Revival of the oppreſs'd Scots Nation, was the Return at this Time of Andrew Murray, who had been Priſoner ever ſince the Action of Roxborough, and was newly ranſom'd from the Engliſh, by a large Sum of Money. Having now a ſufficient Number of Generals to command, the Regents and Vice-roys ſummon'd all the Nobility and Eſtates to meet at Perth, to deliberate upon the Affairs of the Kingdom; but notwithſtanding there was a very full Meeting of the Nobility, yet nothing could be agreed or ſettled, becauſe of the Heart-burning and Diſſention betwixt William Douglaſs and David Cummin: The Foundation of of this Grudge was, that William Douglaſs inſiſted upon it, that it was by the ſecret Arts and deceitful Practices of Cummin, that he had been detain'd ſo long Priſoner in England; however Robert Stewart ſupported Cummin; but the reſt of the Nobility to a Man, almoſt all of them, took Part with William Douglaſs, and what incens'd the Nobility chiefly at Cummin, was, that he came to Perth at this Time with ſo ſplendid and brilliant a Retinue, as if he intended to eclipſe all the other Nobles of the Kingdom. He carried ſuch a numerous Train of Attendants with him, as made him rather dreaded than regarded, by all the other Nobility; they likewiſe having full Experience of his wavering and inconſtant Mind, that his Ambition was unbounded, were almoſt perſuaded, that Cummin would join the Engliſh Army upon their entering Scotland, and they had receiv'd certain Intelligence, that the Engliſh were preparing to march an Army directly into Scotland; accordingly, in a little Time, Edward of England, carrying along with him Balliol, invades Scotland, both by Sea and Land, with a formidable Fleet and Land Army; his Fleet conſiſted of 160 Sail, with which he came up the Forth. Edward in Perſon, at the Head of his Army, marches directly on for Perth, laying all waſte by Plunder and Rapine as he went; upon his Arrival at Perth, he halts, in Expectation of Cummin's coming up to join him, for upon Notice of the Approach of the Engliſh Army, all the Nobility and other Eſtates of the Kingdom, were diſperſed and had retir'd from Perth. Randulf the Regent, upon David Cummin's Defeat and being taken Priſoner in Lochaber, having march'd againſt John Cummin, who took upon him and uſurp'd the Sovereignty of the Weſtern-Iſles, without coming to an Action, was forc'd to conclude a Truce with John, not being in Caſe to force him into his Meaſures. Having thus ſettled Matters in the North, as well as he could, amidſt theſe Commotions and Invaſions, returns Southward, and in his Way finds his Collegue the other Vice-roy Robert, dangerouſly ill, ſo that the whole Burthen and Weight of managing and conducting the Affairs of the Kingdom, at this critical Conjuncture, preſs'd upon Randulf alone. In this Situation, and being far inferior in Force to the Engliſh Army, he durſt not riſque a Battle, but wiſely determin'd to harraſs and diſtreſs the Enemy, by ſkirmiſhing and counter-marching, and attacking their detach'd Parties. Having receiv'd Intelligence that the Guelders were in full March as a Body of Auxiliaries thro' England, towards Scotland, to reinforce Edward's Army, he by forc'd Marches, having ſhun'd the Engliſh Army, and got betwixt them and the Guelder's Auxiliaries, who were advancing to join the Engliſh; William Douglaſs of Lidſdale, Patrick Earl of March, and Alexander Ramſey, experienc'd and brave Generals, with their Men, join'd Randulf; upon this Junction they advanc'd toward the Engliſh Auxiliaries, and at their Approach, they with Fury attack'd them, routed them after great Slaughter, and what remain'd of the ſcatter'd Army of the Guelder's Auxiliaries, having taken Shelter in the Ruins of an old Caſtle, on the Top of an adjacent Hill, were forc'd, for Want of Proviſions and all Neceſſaries, to ſurrender as Priſoners of War, to Randulf, the Vice-roy, who treated them with great Humanity. Randulf on Account of his ſtrict Friendſhip with, and Regard for Philip Valois, not only ſupplied the auxiliary Priſoners, the Guelders, with all neceſſary Proviſions, and diſmiſs'd them to return Home, but venturing to eſcort and accompany them himſelf, he fell into an Ambuſcade of the Engliſh, who ſurpriz'd him, took him Priſoner, and carried him to Edward, who at this Time lay with a powerful Army before Perth, beſieging it. Upon this Event, David Cummin having come up to Edward, and finding that the Fortune of War ſeem'd to incline towards his Deſigns, he with Joy and Triumph at the Capture of Randulf, comes to Edward, and addreſſes him with Offers of Service to the Engliſh: And in the firſt Place he undertook to extirpate the Bruces

*Robert* goes North with his Army and receives a numerous Reinforcement *Cummin* defeated and taken in *Lochaber*.

*William Douglaſs* returns from his Confinement in *England*.

*Cummin* and *Douglaſs* could not be united.

The Guelders Auxiliaries defeated.

*Randulf* the Regent taken Priſoner by Ambuſcade.

Bruces and their Faction, Root and Branch, totally out of Scotland, by the advantageous Situation the Engliſh and he had got Matters to at this Juncture.

The Walls of *Perth* demoliſh'd.

Edward after reducing of Perth, and demoliſhing the Walls and Fortifications of the Town, ravaging the Country, and making a Deſolation wherever his Out-parties reach'd; reſolves to return to England, and to leave David Cummin, his chief Lieutenant, or Vice-roy in Scotland, for the Deſtruction of his native Land. This Reſolution Edward put in Execution with all poſſible Diſpatch, not out of Choice, but from irreſiſtible Neceſſity, and Diſaſters; for the Country People in every County through which Edward of England paſs'd with his Army, in his Way to Perth, had been very diligent, and very artful in driving away all their Cattle, Sheep, Horſes, &c. to the inacceſſible Mountains and Paſſes, where there was no Poſſibility for the Engliſh Army to march, or ſearch without immediate Danger of being all cut off: The Scots likewiſe either carried off timely, or deſtroy'd all Forage and Corn, which might ſupport their Enemy; ſo that the Engliſh Army were but very ſcantily and ſoberly fed, with only the remaining Hogs which the Scots left behind. After the Engliſh Army had been thus ſtarv'd and emaciated for ſeveral Months, in Scotland, Edward was under Neceſſity of either returning into England or looſing his Army by Famine: His numerous Fleet had been likewiſe ſhatter'd and ſcatter'd by a violent Tempeſt in the Firth of Forth: Part of their Shipping took ſhelter from the Storm in the Creeks and Bays about the Iſland of Inchkeith; the reſt were either drove to Sea, or daſh'd to Pieces, by the Violence of the Storm upon the Rocks in the Forth. The Religioſi, Prieſts and Monks aſcrib'd this Calamity upon the Engliſh Fleet and Army to to their Sacrilege, as a Judgment from God for demoliſhing, plundering, and deſtroying the Monaſtry upon the Iſland of Inch-Colm, in the Forth; and for the plundering and demoliſhing other religious Houſes and Places of Worſhip: But this is a common Practice among Prieſts of all Denominations, to denounce Judgment, and to ſpit out holy Fire and Reſentment againſt all who approach to take Share of their Treaſure, and idoliz'd Money. Edward and his Generals were pretty much Prieſt-ridden, and rul'd by the Faith of their Prieſts; therefore apprehended great Danger, from the Indignation of St. Columbus, whoſe Monaſtry, ſacred to his Name, they had violated and rob'd; and therefore to prevent the Influence of ſo many Broadſides of Invocations from the holy Prieſts, Monks, &c. to their tutelar Saint Columbus, the Engliſh order'd ample Reſtitution and Reparation to be made for all Damages ſuſtain'd by the Monaſteries, Convents, or other religious Houſes.

*Edward's* Army forc'd thro' Famine to retreat.

There was nothing now ſtop'd the Return of the Engliſh to their own Country: Having finiſh'd all the Miſchief they well could effect, they hurry back into England, and with ſo much the greater Expedition, that Edward was oblig'd to ſuſtain a War againſt France, tho' he was not prepared for it.

Cummin being left with the chief Command in Scotland, was as wicked and diligent as poſſibly Edward of England could require of him; his Cruelty to his own Countrymen exceeded all Bounds of Decency, eſpecially againſt the Bruces, Murrays, Douglaſſes, and John Randulf, which appear'd the more extraordinary and brutal, becauſe he had receiv'd Mercy, yea, generous, gentle, and moſt humane Treatment, and had been received into Favour and Truſt by John Randulf, Robert Stewart, and their Party, but the preceding Year, and in the handſomeſt, Manner reſtor'd to his Liberty, and pardon'd for all former Treacheries and baſe Practices.

Scotland now was ſo weaken'd and ſubjected, that there remain'd only three Noblemen Patriots ſurviving, who had the Bravery, Steadineſs, and Integrity, as neither by Promiſes nor Threatnings to be brought to ſubject themſelves to the Engliſh Yoke, but ſtood for the Dignity of their Birth-right, with inflexible Intrepidity: Theſe were Patrick, Earl of March, Andrew Murray, and William Douglaſs; they having collected their Forces, march'd directly for the Relief of the Caſtle of Kildrummie, which was cloſely beſieg'd by David Cummin. Upon the Approach of the Douglaſſes, Murrays, and their Friends, Cummin draws off his Army and gives them Battle near the Wood of Kilblane, where, after a moſt obſtinate Diſpute, the Scots Army being overpower'd by the ſuperior Numbers of the Engliſh, David Cummin was nigh coming off Conqueror, but unluckily for him, John Craig, Governor of Kildrummie Caſtle, coming up with a Body of three hundred choice Men, the whole Scots Army return'd to the Charge, and made terrible Havock in Cummin's Army: All Cummin's Friends of Note and Figure were either ſlain in the Field, or kill'd in the Purſuit; ſo that the Bruces and their Adherents this Day obtained a compleat Victory: Moſt of Cummin's Army who eſcaped took Sanctuary in the Caſtle of Cameron, which belong'd to Robert Menzies; but as ſuch a Multitude could not be preſerved alive without Proviſions, and could make no Defence without all military Implements, they were all forced in a few Days to ſurrender, and were oblig'd to take the Oath of Allegiance to their only lawful King, David Bruce; and upon this they were pardon'd and diſmiſs'd without making any Examples. In this Action fell David Cummin, Commander in Chief, Robert Brade, and Walter Cummin; Thomas Cummin, the General's Brother being taken, was next Day beheaded for his uncommon Cruelty and Barbarity to his Countrymen, in Gratification of the Engliſh whom he ſerved.

*Cummin* defeated by the King's Army.

Bruce's Party receiving Spirit from this Victory, were determin'd to purſue their Succeſs; and therefore that they might have a Captain-General to head them, by military Suffrage, Andrew Murray, who formerly had been Vice-Roy, was pitched upon to act as Regent and General, in regard

regard that John Randulf was Priſoner in England, and Robert Stewart dangerouſly ill, ſo both incapable of acting. Upon this Event the King of France mediated a Truce with the Engliſh, which, for Intereſt and political Circumſtances, the Party of the Bruces and Douglaſſes accepted of for ſome Months, but unanimouſly confirmed Andrew Murray in his Station as Vice-Roy and Captain-General, he being only deprived of it through Calamity and Confinement, when taken Priſoner at Roxborough by Balliol's Party.

*Andrew Murray* takes the Field, upon which ſome *Engliſh* Forces were ſent down by Sea to *Murray*.

The Truce being expir'd, Andrew Murray march'd to beſiege the Caſtle of Lochindores. This Caſtle was defended by David Cummin's Widow, who foreſeeing what would happen, did ſend for Succours from England. The Engliſh landed in Murray, and immediately march'd to relieve the Beſieg'd in the Caſtle; from thence they penetrated as far as Elgin, the County-Town of Murray, ſituated upon Loſſie River, deſtroying all in their Way by Fire and Sword. In their Way to Perth, as they march'd Southward, they burnt down the City of Aberdeen; and, as they proceeded, they put Garriſons in the ſeveral Caſtles in the County of Merns, in Dunnottar, Kinneff, and Lauriſton, and then they order'd the ſix nigheſt adjacent Monaſteries to be at the Expence of repairing and finiſhing the Fortifications of Perth. Having thus conquer'd and deſtroy'd all the Way, they put the Government of Scotland once more into the Hands of Edward Balliol, and having left him in full Power, they return'd to England. After their Departure, the Scots being ſo depreſs'd and cruelly perſecuted, could not reſiſt; therefore Henry Beaumont thinking this the proper Opportunity to execute his Reſentment againſt all who were concern'd in the Overthrow and Death of David Cummin, Earl of Athole, his Son-in-Law, he without any Regard to Age or Sex, cuts off all whom he could find, who had been at the Battle near Glantanon Wood. However, Andrew Murray, now Regent, did in a little Time attack and beſiege him, where he was lock'd up in the Caſtle of Dunbarton, and obliged him to ſurrender; then having taken a ſolemn Oath of him, that he would never return to Scotland in a hoſtile Manner, nor act as Enemy againſt them; Andrew Murray diſmiſſed him, and then purſued his Victory with a continued Series and Fluſh of Triumphs; for he demoliſhed all the fortified Places and Caſtles beyond the Forth, except the Caſtle of Couper and the Town of Perth, having forced their Garriſons to take flight and retire to England. After this Andrew Murray marches with his Army into England, where he by Plunder plentifully ſupplied his Army, which had been in great Want; for by the Calamity and Ravages of the Engliſh Army overrunning Scotland the preceding Year, the Lands had not been cultivated nor ſown, ſo that there was a Famine over the whole Country, and to that Degree, that the Engliſh Garriſon of Couper Caſtle were forced to deſert the Caſtle, and leave it to the Scots Army. The Engliſh Garriſon came to Bruntiſland, where they hired a Boat to croſs them to the Lothian Side of the Forth; but the artful Sailors having the Night to favour their Deſign, ſail'd to the Bank of Sand in their Way, and perſuading the Engliſh they were come to the oppoſite Shore, they landed the Garriſon on the Bank, which was dry for a good Way, it being then Low-Water; upon which the Boatmen puſh'd off, and return'd with their Boat. When the Engliſh thought they were ſafe landed, they walk'd a little Way on the Sand, but were ſtop'd by the Sea incloſing them on all Hands; ſo having no Way to eſcape, they all periſh'd: The Sailors, though in Reach of their Cries, would not return to ſave them, but, at a ſmall Diſtance from their Boat view'd them all, made a Sacrifice to their Reſentment for the Calamity the Engliſh had brought upon their native Land.

*Beaumont* avenges his Son-in-Law's Death.

*Andrew Murray* continues ſucceſsful.

Next Year in 1337, the Engliſh enter'd Scotland, and ſat down before the Caſtle of Dunbar with their whole Army, under the Command of Lords Saliſbury, and Arundell. This Caſtle was defended under the Command of Nan, Counteſs of March, ſirnam'd the Black, a Dame of Spirit, and uncommon Reſolution; the Siege was carried on briſkly by the Engliſh, and they receiv'd freſh Supplies of Men and Proviſions from England, but the Garriſon were for ſome Time in great Diſtreſs for Want of Proviſions, all Communication from the Sea being interrupted by the Engliſh Fleet; yet ſuch was the Bravery of Madam the Governeſs, and her faithful Garriſon, that they ſtood a Siege of ſix Months, and in the End, the Engliſh were forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and to return to carry on the War againſt France. Before their Departure from Scotland, the Numbers of the Engliſh Army were pretty well crop'd and abridg'd during the Siege of Dunbar, for Laurence Preſton, with a Body of the Scots Army, attack'd Monfort, who came down with the firſt Reinforcements to the Engliſh Army, kill'd himſelf, and defeated his Party; but Preſton dying ſoon after this Action, of the Wounds he receiv'd, his Men did vent their Reſentment againſt the Engliſh Priſoners, contrary to all Humanity and Decency, by putting them to Death, being ſo enraged at the Loſs of their General, whom they ſo highly lov'd and eſteem'd. Talbot the other Engliſh General was defeated and taken Priſoner, by William Keith, of the noble Family of Mariſhall. Theſe concurring Events diſpirited the Engliſh, and recruited the Spirits of the Garriſon of Dunbar, who were timely ſupplied with Proviſions by the Stratagem and Bravery of Alexander Ramſey, and ſo prevented the Surrender of the Caſtle, in the following Manner. Alexander Ramſey taking the Opportunity of the Night when dark, without Moon-ſhine, having got ready Boats, and put Men, Proviſions, and Arms on Board, at Midnight he artfully ſlipp'd and eſcap'd the Watch, which lay along the Coaſt in Genoa Gallies; and being well acquainted with the Sea-Coaſt all along, got ſafe to the landing Place under the Caſtle of Dunbar; where having given the Signal, he was receiv'd with great Joy by the Garriſon: Having landed his Proviſions, and got ſome of the Garriſon

The Siege of *Dunbar* continues ſix Months, and at laſt rais'd.

The Garriſon was gallantly ſupplied by *Ramſey*.

Garriſon to mann his Boats, he return'd ſafe the next Night to the Place whence he ſet out. Soon after theſe Succeſſes Andrew Murray, Vice-Roy, got the Country almoſt clear'd of Foreigners; he brought the whole of Lothian to their former State of Duty and Subjection, but had not Succeſs in his Attempt to reduce the Caſtles of Edinburgh and Sterling, garriſon'd by the Engliſh. After this the Vice-Roy, for a Relaxation to his Mind, and Retirement, went to viſit his Eſtate in the North, where he was taken ill in the County of Roſs, and died of his ſhort Illneſs, much regretted, as a great and worthy Perſon, of ſingular Bravery, Honour, and Integrity to his Country. He was buried with great Splendor and Pomp at Roſſmarky, the antienteſt Town in the County of Roſs, ſituated on that Arm of the German Ocean which goes up to Inverneſs.

*Murray* miſcarries in his Attempt upon the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*. *Murray*'s Death and Character.

Andrew Murray accompliſh'd ſuch great and good Things during his Regency, for two Years and a half, for the Welfare and Intereſt of the King his Maſter, as might have been ſufficient to celebrate the whole Life of any experienc'd and brave General. Robert Stewart was choſen to ſucceed Andrew Murray in the Regency, during the Abſence of the King: He, tho' but a Youth, yet was of great Bravery and Judgment: This very Year of his Entry upon the Government of the Kingdom, he had ſeveral ſharp Encounters with the Engliſh, and in all of them came off victorious, by the Aſſiſtance and good Conduct of William Douglaſs, who by hazarding himſelf ſo much in every Action, had received ſeveral dangerous Wounds. By them both, the Engliſh were ſoon drove out of Teviotdale, and after taking the Caſtle of Lidſdale, Robert ſurpriz'd, and took a large Magazine of Stores and Proviſions, which lay conceal'd at Melroſs in the Abbey; which Place Robert Stewart and William Douglaſs order'd to be fortified directly, for a Place of Defence againſt the Engliſh Incurſions: Barclay who commanded the Engliſh Forces, having attack'd Robert the Regent, and William Douglaſs, was ſo warmly received, and ſo bravely repell'd, that it was with the greateſt Difficulty, by the Favour of the Night, that Barclay himſelf eſcap'd, having only two or three to eſcort him. The whole of his Command being either kill'd or taken Priſoners: Robert was next attack'd by the Engliſh Army, under the Command of Sir John Sterling, which being a bloody and obſtinate Diſpute, Robert narrowly eſcaped being taken by the Enemy, but diſſengaging himſelf with great Bravery he charg'd Sterling again ſo hotly, that he routed him, after the Slaughter of many, and taking ſeveral Priſoners.

*Robert Stewart*, Regent, defeats *Barclay* and *Stirling*.

After this Robert is attack'd by William Abernethy, who tho' he had been forc'd five Times to retire with Loſs, at laſt return'd to the Charge with ſuch Bravery and Fury, as to cut off the whole of Abernethy's Party and take him Priſoner. Robert's next powerful Enemy was Laurence Vaux, whom tho' very troubleſome, he reduced and brought to Reaſon. After theſe Encounters and Succeſſes, Robert went over to his Maſter, King David, in France, to lay before him the State of the Nation: In the Year 1339, viz. the following Year, Robert Stewart having returned from France, and believing his late Succeſſes to be the happy Preſages of future greater Glory and Triumphs, he levies a conſiderable Army with all Expedition, and marches in four Columns to ſurround and reduce the Town of Perth; but the Engliſh defended it with ſuch Bravery, that he being wounded in the Attack, was forc'd to draw off his Army, and raiſe the Siege; but in a little Time after his Army return'd, and ſat down before Perth, having been reinforced by Douglaſs, who convoyed his Men to join Robert Stewart, by the Aſſiſtance of five Ships, which formerly had been employed in Piracy; on board theſe Ships Douglaſs had convoy'd to Robert's Army a freſh Supply of Proviſion and warlike Stores, which he had juſt brought over from France, with a plentiful Supply of Money. After Douglaſs's Men had landed their Military Stores, and the Reinforcement intended, with a ſmall Party remaining on board, they ſailed down to the Mouth of the Tay, to intercept all Supply or Reinforcement by Sea to the Engliſh Garriſon of Perth: In the mean time Douglaſs leaving his Friend Robert Stewart to carry on the Siege of Perth, went directly to Coupar Caſtle, which had been deſerted by the Engliſh, and was garriſon'd only by a few Scots, under the Command of one Bullock an Engliſh Prieſt, who happen'd to prove an honeſt one! He had been formerly Treaſurer to the Garriſon. Douglaſs and Bullock entered into Treaty, by which it was agreed to give Bullock Lands in Scotland for his Settlement, provided he did faithfully adhere to the King's Intereſt in Scotland, and join heartily in all their Meaſures for reducing the Engliſh, and recovering the Kingdom to the Poſſeſſion of its lawful Monarch; and it is beyond all Diſpute, that David Bruce, the Son of Robert Bruce, was the only Monarch whoſe Title was juſt, for his Father (the great Robert Bruce) was the nigheſt Male Heir; next he aſſerted and ſupported his Rights by Bravery, Conduct, and the Reduction of his Enemies; and from his Right of Blood, his perſonal Merit and Excellencies, purchaſed the free, full and uninfluenc'd Choice of the Nobility and other Eſtates of Scotland; who with their united Suffrages confirm'd him in the Government of the Kingdom; and that there might be no remaining future Ground of Controverſy, and that his Title might be as full and ſtrong as poſſible: Robert had the Acceſſion of Balliol's full and ample Acknowledgment and Renounciation in his Favour. Bruce's Right of Government then, and the Settlement of the Monarchy in his Family was founded upon the ſtrongeſt Reaſon and Equity, his Right of Blood, his extraordinary Merit, and the Conſent of his People, from large and full Experience of his tender and paternal Care, in recovering their Liberties and Properties, and eſtabliſhing them in the free and peaceable Enjoyment of their Rights from all Invaders. It were to be wiſh'd that in all Ages and Kingdoms, the Mo-

*Robert* goes to *France*, and, upon his Return, beſieges *Perth* with a grand Army. *Douglaſs* ſupplies the *Scots* Army by Sea.

*Bullock*, the *Engliſh* Prieſt, proves a faithful Friend to the *Scots*.

*Bruce*'s Right aſſerted.

narchs and Governors were eſtabliſh'd upon ſo rational a Foundation, and that none were Monarchs longer than they deſerved to be ſo, and acted as Fathers of their People: But paſſing this Degreſſion, Bullock was ſettled as Governor of Coupar Caſtle by Douglaſs, and under his Command, a new Garriſon of Scots, in whom Douglaſs and Bullock could more ſafely confide; Bullock prov'd very faithful to his Truſt in Scotland, and of great Uſe to Robert and his Friends, againſt the Engliſh.

The Earl of *Roſs* haſten'd the Surrender of *Perth* by his Stratagem.

Perth was obſtinately defended by the Engliſh, and it was now the fourth Month of the Siege, but happily by the Conduct and Stratagem of the Earl of Roſs, the Entrenchments of Robert's Army round Perth, were ſo drain'd and dry'd up by Mines and Engines, he contriv'd for that Purpoſe, that the Army made their Approach to the very Walls. The Beſieg'd being thro' his Contrivance uncapable to throw in any more Water to fill up the Trenches. Robert with his whole Army came cloſe to the Walls; by ſhowers of Darts and other Engines forc'd the Beſieg'd from their Works, and continuing to ſtorm the Place with ſuch Violence, and Impetuoſity, he forc'd the Garriſon to ſurrender: They were allow'd to march out and quit the Place with all their Baggage. After the Succeſs of the Scots Army againſt Perth, they march'd to attack Stirling Caſtle, and after they had been before it a little Time, they forc'd the Engliſh Garriſon here likewiſe to ſurrender on the ſame Terms that Perth had done; upon which Robert Stewart declared Maurice Murray, Son of Andrew Murray, Governor of Stirling Caſtle.

Theſe Alterations, to the Honour and Advantage of Robert Stewart, put Balliol into ſuch Confuſion and Conſternation, that he thought it not ſafe to ſtay any longer in Galloway, where his Seat was, but directly went off for England: Soon after the Caſtle of Edinburgh was taken by Stratagem, in the following Manner.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* taken by a very extraordinary and bold Contrivance.

William Douglaſs ſent for one Walter Curry, Merchant, who then was with his Ship laden with Proviſions, in Tay River, nigh to Dundee, and order'd him to ſail about into the Forth with his Ship and Stores to him: There Douglaſs and Bullock, concerted with Curry, the Meaſure to accompliſh their Deſign upon Edinburgh Caſtle: Curry by the Advice and Directions of Douglaſs, counterfeits himſelf to be an Engliſh Maſter of a Veſſel, and in pretended Teſtimony of his Regard to the Engliſh Governor of Edinburgh Caſtle, he goes to wait of him, and carries with him, as a Preſent, ſome Bottles of his beſt Wines, with ſome other agreeable Preſents for the Governor, upon which he was well received; and while in Company with the Governor, he demanded his Permiſſion to ſell Proviſions to the Soldiers in Garriſon, which was readily granted, becauſe they were ſhort of them: Curry further to cover the Deſign the more effectually, aſſur'd the Governor in the ſtrongeſt Terms, that he was ready to ſerve him, or the Garriſon, to the utmoſt of his Capacity, whenever he call'd upon him: The Governor in Confidence of his Sincerity, gave him Orders to carry up to the Caſtle ſome Hogſheads of Wine, and a Quantity of Biſcuits, giving Orders to the Men upon Duty, and Porters, to grant him Admittance when he came with the Wine and Proviſions: Upon this Curry promis'd ſacredly to return with the Wines and Proviſions early next Morning, that he might come ſafely, without being in Danger of being intercepted by the Scots (as he pretended) who if poſſible would carry him and all off; the Deſign being thus far ſucceſsful, upon Curry's Return to Douglaſs and Bullock, it was agreed that Douglaſs and Simon Fraſer, with twelve choice Men, ſhould put themſelves in Sailors Dreſs, to diſguiſe them, and that under their Dreſs ſhould be their Armour conceal'd; thus the twelve Sailors carried the Hogſheads of Wine and Proviſions eſcorted into the Caſtle, and when they came within the Caſtle Gate, they ſet down the Loads of Wine and Proviſions, ſo as it was not poſſible to ſhut the Gates directly; obſerving the Porter at the Gate carried the Keys on his Arm, they kill'd him, then gave the Alarm by a Signal, of blowing a Horn to haſten the Approach of their Confederates, who lay at a ſmall Diſtance in Ambuſcade; upon which both the Garriſon, and the Party of the Scots ruſhing to the Gates, a bloody Diſpute happen'd, in which many of both Sides were ſlain; at length the Party under the Command of Douglaſs and Simon Fraſer, behav'd with ſuch Reſolution, that they cut off the whole Garriſon, the Governor and ſix Men only being ſaved.

*Ramſay* invades *England*.

The Beginning of next Year appear'd with an Expedition againſt England, under the Command of Alexander Ramſay, allow'd to have been the moſt experienc'd and brave Officer of the Age, and therefore all the Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation, whoſe Genius was military, were firſt inſtructed by him, and diſciplin'd in the Art of War: His former Incurſions and Invaſions into England, were made with ſmall Numbers, which could accompliſh no important Enterprize; but now Ramſay had collected a great Body of Men, and being join'd by his Friends of Power, He, at the Head of his Army in good Order march'd into Northumberland, where he plunder'd plentifully, and harraſs'd the whole adjacent Country. As he was retiring homeward, the Engliſh drew out all their Garriſons, and having join'd them with their other Forces, compos'd a formidable Army, with which they march'd with all Expedition in Purſuit of Ramſay, and the Scots Army; at length Ramſay finding the Engliſh Army cloſe upon him, and that he would be forc'd to ſtand an Engagement, obſerving his Army a little diſp rited at the Appearance of the Numbers of the Enemy; He, with Coolneſs, Conduct, and Serenity of Mind, forms an effectual Scheme to annoy the Enemy; firſt he order'd all the Plunder and their Baggage to be ſent off directly, then he plac'd his Infantry in Ambuſcade, and laſtly, he order'd his Cavalry to ſcatter and divide, and get off as if upon the Flight, and in Confuſion; the Deception did take, the Engliſh did believe by the running off of the Horſe in

ſuch

ſuch Diſorder that the whole Army had taken Fright; upon which the whole Engliſh Army follow'd them with ſuch Keeneſs and Fury quite ſecure, and not in good Order, that they ruſh'd with Precipitation into the Ambuſcade laid for them by Ramſay the Scots General: Ramſay having given the promis'd Signal, at the Approach of the Engliſh Army, the Scots Cavalry wheel about and immediately form'd, while the Scots Infantry ruſhing out of their Ambuſh, attack'd the Engliſh Army with great Bravery, and were ſupported by the Horſe, who being form'd, charg'd the Enemy warmly: The Engliſh Army thro' this Surprize being put into great Confuſion and ſo cloſely attack'd, were not able to form again, and therefore were routed by Ramſay's Forces, tho' far inferior in Numbers to their Enemy. In this Engagement, there was great Slaughter of the Engliſh in the Field, and ſome thouſands wounded and taken Priſoners. Among the Priſoners of Rank and Figure were the Governor of Roxborough, who had drawn out almoſt the whole of the Garriſon to join the Engliſh Army immediately before the Engagement. Ramſay upon this important Victory marches directly to Roxborough, and the few remaining in Garriſon of the Engliſh being uncapable to ſuſtain any Siege or Attack, retir'd to a ſmall, but ſtrong Tower in the Caſtle; ſo that Ramſay with his Men got Poſſeſſion of all the lower Part of the Citadel, and having attack'd the ſmall Number of the Enemy, who had taken Refuge in the Tower, they deſpairing of any Reinforcement or Supplies, ſurrender'd themſelves likewiſe Priſoners of War to Ramſay. Some of our Hiſtorians affirm that the Earl of Salisbury was taken Priſoner in this Action, but Buchanan will have it, that my Lord of Salisbury was taken Priſoner in France, by a Party of French Troops. After theſe Advantages the three leading and moſt active Men in the King's Intereſt being William Douglaſs, Randulf, and Alexander Ramſay, they concerted to take their ſeparate Diſtricts; Ramſay, with his Body of Men, was aſſign'd the Eaſtern Part of the Border of Scotland; Randulf the Weſt; Douglaſs the Center or middle Part of the Country: Theſe three brave Generals, with their reſpective Forces, quite clear'd the Nation of all the Engliſh, and drove them as far as Berwick; Randulf got Poſſeſſion of his Caſtle at Lochmaben, which was at that Time a Place of Conſequence, and the Town, then computed three Miles in Circumference, tho' now it be a ruinous deſolate Place; yet there are Remains and Ruins, which demonſtrate ſomewhat of its antient Magnificence: It is ſituated in Annandale nigh to the Borders of England, which I ſhall have Occaſion to deſcribe more particularly in the geographical Account of this County in its proper Place.

*Ramſay* by great Wit defeats the *Engliſh*.

*March*, 29, 30, 1342.

The Triumvirate, *Douglaſs*, *Randulf*, and *Ramſay*, ſecure the Frontier at all Quarters.

The Country clear'd of the *Engliſh*.

* Buchanan and the Black Book of Paſley ſeem to think that Roxborough was ſurpriz'd and taken by Ramſay, thro' the Security and Neglect of the Night-Watch in Garriſon, they being all a-ſleep, gave Opportunity to the Scots Forces, under the Command of Ramſay, to ſcale the Walls, and take the Place Sword in Hand.

On the Fourth of the Nones of July, King David with his Queen, landed at Inverbervy; having been abſent now for nine Years, his Return to his Crown and Kingdom, was very acceptible at this critical Conjuncture. The State of Scotland being very precarious and doubtful, for Edward had patch'd up a Truce, for three Years with Philip of France, which was ſign'd at Tournay, in order to put him in a Capacity of executing his Reſentment, againſt the Scots Nation. Edward being now diſengag'd from the French War, determin'd to invade Scotland, with all his Forces, and therefore he prepar'd an Army of forty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, with which he in Perſon march'd into Scotland: At the ſame Time, he equip'd a powerful Fleet, which he order'd to be victual'd well; and having order'd Plenty of Stores and Proviſions on Board for the Uſe of the Army, the Fleet ſail'd for Scotland in November, but were met with by a moſt violent Storm and Hurricane, which ſcatter'd them, and drove them on Shore at different Ports, on the German Ocean, which defeated the Intent of this naval Armament intirely: At the ſame Time, Edward with his Army, was forc'd to halt upon their March, and to wait at Newcaſtle upon Tine, for a Supply of Proviſions, the Army being almoſt reduc'd to Famine: During their Stay here, there came an Embaſſy from Scotland to King Edward, to make ſome Offers of Peace, upon which a Truce was agreed upon, and ſign'd for four Months: The chief Condition in the Stipulation being, that, if David, King of Scotland, did not return to his Kingdom before the Kalends of June, the Scots Nation ſhould all acknowledge their Subjection to England; but it happen'd, that David King of Scotland, had ſet ſail before the Ambaſſadors were ſent to King Edward, and ſo arriv'd in Scotland in ſuch Time as to prevent the Execution of the Article ſtipulated upon the Truce.

*July* 3. *David* the King, with his Queen, return, and joyfully receiv'd by the People. *Edward* invades *Scotland*, but is forc'd to return.

The Ocean betwixt *Holland*, *Flanders*, &c. and *Scotland*.

*June* 1.

Upon his Majeſty's Arrival and ſafe Landing with his Queen, his Subjects of all Ranks, and from all Quarters of the Kingdom, flock'd to him to make their Congratulations upon his happy Return, after nine Years Abſence. Among the Crouds and Numbers who reſorted Alexander Ramſay made a chief Appearance, and had particular Marks of Regard ſhewn him by the King, in Conſideration of his Bravery, and his many ſucceſsful Attempts, for the Honour and Welfare of his Country: King David declar'd him Governor of Roxborough, and High Sheriff and Lord Lieutenant of all Teviotdale: This excited the keen Reſentment of William Douglaſs, who thought theſe Preferments were his Right, particularly the Superiority and Juriſdiction over Teviotdale; becauſe he had expell'd the Engliſh all out of Teviotdale. Douglaſs was fir'd with the

* *The Black Book of Paſley*, was the Record kept by the Monks and Fryars in the *Abbey of Paſley*, which was founded by *David* the firſt.

Per-

Perſuaſion of his Merit, for good Service done his Country, with the Nobility of his Deſcent, and the extenſive Influence of the Family; that he, tho' a Man of Judgment and Conduct, with Difficulty conceal'd his Wrath and Indignation at this being overlook'd by the King; but ſtill he meditated Evil, only waiting an Opportunity to execute his revengeful and ſecret Deſigns againſt the brave Ramſay; which Opportunity he laid hold of, about three Months after; Ramſay being in a publick Meeting of the County, in the Church of Hawick, Douglaſs came there with ſome of his Aſſociates, attack'd and wounded Ramſay in the Church, and kill'd three of Ramſay's Friends, who ſtood in his Defence, to reſcue him; after this Murder, Douglaſs ſet Alexander Ramſay in his Wounds on Horſeback, and carried him to Hermitage Caſtle, where he ſtarv'd Ramſay to Death. This unprovok'd and undeſerved Murder in cold Blood, juſtly fixes a laſting Blot upon his Family, as the moſt inhumane and brutal Piece or Cruelty, to a Man who had been rais'd to Honours by his King, thro' no indirect Practices, but intirely from perſonal Bravery and Merit; this Action prov'd Douglaſs to be of the moſt ſavage and unrelenting Spirit, like to a devouring Animal.

*Bullock* moſt ungenerous.

William Bullock, whom I mention'd but a little before, was put to Death in much the ſame unfair and vile Manner, which juſtly rais'd the Indignation and Hatred of the whole Kingdom, againſt two ſuch horrid, butchering Murderers; and this bloody Event gave Riſe to new Factions, and Parties in Scotland, which created great Concern and Anxiety of Mind to the King, being young and unacquainted with ſuch unpoliſh'd, ruff and bear-garden Spirits. The King did put all poſſible Methods in Practice, to have Douglaſs apprehended, and brought to condign Puniſhment, but in vain, for his Friends and Relations were ſo many and ſo powerful, that they had him ſecretly convey'd away, and in the mean time, made effectual Interceſſion for his Pardon, which was obtain'd, chiefly by the Intereſt and Solicitation of Robert Stewart, who was the King's Son by Douglaſs's Siſter: What much aſſiſted all Applications in this Favour, was, his many brave and ſucceſsful Enterprizes againſt the Engliſh. After he receiv'd his Pardon, he came to Court, and was preferr'd to the ſame Places which Ramſay had enjoy'd; to wit, to the Government of Roxborough, and to the Lieutenancy of Teviotdale, which was thought extraordinary, and was an Act not to be brought into a Precedent.

*Douglaſs* is pardon'd, and put in Poſſeſſion of *Ramſay*'s Employments.

War declar'd againſt *England*.

Matters being a little compos'd at Home, David, the King, declares War againſt England: The Nobility diſlik'd this Expedition, and diſſuaded him not to march an Army into England, there being almoſt a Famine in the Country. However, he ventur'd upon it, and giving the Command of the Army to Thomas Randulf, he went along with the Army in Perſon, but incog. Upon the firſt Entry of the Army into England, they had Succeſs, for they plunder'd and ravag'd all Northumberland, and the Neighbourhood; then they return'd unmoleſted and loaded with Plunder, but the ſecond Attempt was not ſo ſucceſsful, for the King headed the Forces in Perſon at this Time undiſguis'd. The King of England being in France, and the Engliſh Army far inferior to the Scotch, they would not hazard a Battle, but with their light Horſe, went out in Parties, harraſſing the Enemy, and ſo prevented the Scots from plundering the adjacent Country; but five of King David's Nobility, whom he had but lately created, venturing too far from their Party, were ſurpriz'd, ſurrounded by the Enemy, and taken Priſoners; their Party were all kill'd or put to flight; upon which David the King return'd to Scotland with his Army, it being impoſſible to execute any Thing of Conſequence at this Time; but next Year, in the Month of Auguſt, David having got a ſmall Army in Readineſs, in a Hurry, with Deſign to ſurpriſe the Engliſh, and to invade them, before they were prepar'd to make any Defence, marches forward into England; but the Floods were ſo high by the heavy and continued Rain, which fell for ſome Days, that it was impoſſible for David the King to proceed, or penetrate any great Way into England, therefore, he return'd, after demoliſhing ſome few fortified Places, that it might not be ſaid, he had done nothing in this Enterprize.

*David* the King makes two Attempts upon *England*.

The Engliſh being preſs'd on all Hands, and fully employ'd by the French and Scots, made repeated Offers and Solicitations for a Peace or Truce. The King of Scotland by an expreſs Article of Treaty with Philip of France, was bound to enter into no Meaſure, nor no Engagements with any other Power, but ſuch as were agreeable to, and approv'd of, by his Ally the French King: Having therefore obtain'd the French King's Approbation, the Truce with the Engliſh for two Years was ſign'd, and ratified; and ſo Scotland remain'd for this Time, in a peaceable State; but the fourth Year after David's Return to Scotland, the French Army receiv'd a ſignal Defeat from the Engliſh, and after this they beſieg'd Calais. Philip of France being ſo preſs'd by the Succeſs of the Engliſh, ſent an Ambaſſador-extraordinary into Scotland, to ſollicit and inſiſt in the ſtrongeſt Terms, that according to the Stipulations of the Treaty, ſubſiſting betwixt the Scots and French, the King of Scotland ſhould declare War againſt England, and make a Diverſion, by marching an Army directly into England; upon this, King David ſummon'd a Council extraordinary, and having laid before them the Diſpatches he receiv'd from their Ally, the French King: There aroſe Debates about the Expediency and Seaſonableneſs of this Meaſure, ſome being ſtrongly of Opinion, that Scotland had always paid dear for, and bought at a very advanc'd Price, all French Support and Friendſhip; but King David being full of Gratitude for his kind and hoſpitable Treatment at the Court of France, ſo long and ſtrongly inclin'd to favour the Views of his Brother Monarch of France, prevail'd upon his Nobility to join in his Sentiments, and to concur in the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous Meaſures

The *Engliſh* defeat the *French*: Upon which the *French* King ſends an Ambaſſador to *Scotland* extraordinary.

for

for raiſing an Army without Loſs of Time: This being reſolv'd upon, the Army was commanded to aſſemble at Perth, as the Place of general Rendezvous, which was done with great Diſpatch; the Nobility of Scotland, from all Quarters, repair'd to Perth, to join the Army, and to attend his Majeſty, who was to command in Perſon in this Expedition.

*David* in Perſon commands this Expediſion againſt the Engliſh.

Among the other Nobility who came up to Perth, was David, the Earl of Roſs, who did take this for his Opportunity to execute his lurking and premeditating Reſentment againſt the Lord of the Weſtern Iſles, upon ſome old Family-Quarrel, and the Pretext of repeated Depredations, by Reginald. The Earl of Roſs, in his Way to Perth, lays an Ambuſcade for Reginald and ſeven other Noblemen, on their Road, to join the King's Army, and puts them all to Death; this was a cruel, bloody, and ill-tim'd Murder, and ſo divided the Nation, in Reſentment of the Murder of ſo many powerful Nobility in Scotland, that it nigh kindled a civil War, but this happily was prevented; yet the King's Army was thereby much weaken'd, for upon this Event, many of the Chiefs and Nobility return'd Home with their Men. William Douglaſs, Baron of Lidſdale, uſed all his Influence with the King, to perſuade him to lay aſide the intended Expedition againſt England, upon this Occaſion; but his Majeſty was determin'd upon it, and having got his Army compleat, he, from his ſuperior Love to Philip of France, march'd directly into England, carrying Fire and Sword with him wherever his Army went, ſo that in ſixteen Days he made the Country round a Deſolation, and penetrated as far as Durham: However, here he was ſtop'd from proceeding, by the Engliſh Army; for Piercy of Northumberland, who had got together his Men, being join'd by the Engliſh Forces, newly return'd from the Siege of Calais, and making up a conſiderable Army, by forc'd Marches, got up with the Scots Army, ſooner than the Scots apprehended, and at their firſt Appearance, the Engliſh ſhew'd themſelves form'd in Order of Battle, and thus advanc'd to charge the Scots Army: David King of Scotland, not having good Intelligence of the Approach of the Engliſh Army, had detach'd Douglaſs upon a foraging Party; and without waiting for Douglaſs's Return, he order'd his Troops to prepare for engaging the Enemy, and to form in good Order: Having made the proper Diſpoſitions to advance to the Enemy, before the Engagement a moſt diſagreeable Preſage happen'd; for Douglaſs had fallen into an Ambuſcade of the Enemy, and had five hundred Men kill'd; with what remain'd of his Party he was oblig'd to fly, and return to the main Army, under his Majeſty's Command, when juſt prepar'd, and advancing to charge the Engliſh. The Engagement being begun, John Randulf, who commanded the left Wing of the Scots Army, being kill'd at the firſt Attack, his Men were put into Diſorder, and ſoon totally routed. The beſt of the Engliſh Troops were poſted againſt the Center of the Scots Army, and they with great Fierceneſs charg'd the Scots in the Center, becauſe commanded by King David in Perſon. The two Brigades of the Engliſh, who attack'd the King, were ſupported by the Corps d'reſerve. The Scots under his Majeſty's Command being reſolute, and many of them the prime Nobility of Scotland, fought ſo bravely, that being overpower'd, they were all cut off, and left ſlain in the Field of Battle. The King himſelf after the moſt extraordinary Courage and Bravery, in the Heat of Danger, was taken Priſoner by one John Copland of Balliol's Faction, whom the King, tho' he had been diſarm'd, by a Blow of his Fiſt, ſtruck with ſuch Force and Rage, that he beat out Copland's front Teeth; this ſhew'd the Spirit of King David, even at the Time he was looſing Blood, by two dangerous Wounds he had receiv'd from the Enemy's Arrows. The right Wing of the Scots Army, under Robert Stewart, and Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, obſerving the Fate of the Day, exerted themſelves to carry off their Wing with as little Loſs as poſſible, and were ſo happy as to ſecure their Retreat in good Order: In this bloody Engagement, the moſt of the Nobility were kill'd, and the Conſequence of the Loſs of this Day, was the immediate Surrender of the Caſtles of Roxborough and Hermitage, with a great many more Forts: The Scots were oblig'd to yield all their Lands and Eſtates in England, and were likewiſe driven intirely out of the Mers, Teviotdale, Lidſdale, and Lutherdale; which the Engliſh now took Poſſeſſion of; ſo that all to the South of Cockbourn's Path, or the Brook, which divides Lothian from the Mers, the Engliſh poſſeſs'd, and planted with Inhabiters of the Engliſh Nation.

The Earl of *Roſs* murders *Reginald* and other Chiefs upon the Road going to join the King.

The fatal Battle of *Durham*.

The King taken Priſoner.

The moſt of the Forts and Lands were now in the South and Weſt of Scotland, put into the Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Balliol by this unhappy Event recover'd all his Eſtate and his Seat in Galloway; but he was not ſatisfied with this, for by the Help of his Engliſh Auxiliaries he overrun Annandale, Lidſdale, and all along the Clide, deſtroying all the Country with Fire and Sword. Piercy join'd him in ravaging and laying waſte all Lothian, and there being no Army of the Scots now capable to ſtop the Torrent of their Outrages, the whole Nation was almoſt reduced to Deſolation. This Calamity was greatly encreas'd by the breaking out of the Plague in Scotland, which ſwept off Multitudes; yet in the Time of ſuch general and national Calamity and Deſolation, ſuch was the wicked Spirit of many chief Families of Scotland, that they at this very Time perſecuted one another with the keeneſt Reſentment, from private and family old Quarrels. Sir David Barclay, who baſely murder'd Bullock, at this Time authoriz'd and witneſs'd the bloody Murder of John Douglaſs at Dalkeith, by his own Tenants; but this Tragedy was acted entirely by the Inſtigation of William Douglaſs of Lidſdale, tho' now a Priſoner in England, by his ſecret Contrivance and Correſpondence with his own Tenants, whom he made the Tools of executing this Piece of Barbarity; but by Providence, this William Douglaſs's Life was not long, even after he was return'd from his Confinement, and at Liberty, in his Splendor; William Douglaſs, the

The Plague breaks out.

*Balliol* reſtor'd to his Eſtate.

*John Douglaſs* baſely murder'd by *Barklay*.

*Archibald Douglaſs's* Son kills *William Douglaſs.*

Son of Archibald, newly return'd from France, lay in wait for him as he was a hunting in Attic Wood, and ſecretly ſet upon him, and murder'd him, in Reſentment for his murdering of the brave Alexander Ramſay: The Clans of the antient Scottiſh Highlanders were at this Time ſo divided, and ſo at War with one another, that they almoſt ruin'd their native Country by their private Quarrels, and ſo gave all poſſible Opportunity to the Engliſh to reduce the whole Kingdom to the moſt abject Dependance and Slavery. However, William Douglaſs being a Man of Spirit and Reſolution, notwithſtanding all theſe cloudy Appearances and Diſcouragements from his divided, embroil'd, and oppreſs'd Nation, raiſes all his Vaſſals, Farmers, and Dependants, and being join'd by ſome Friends, he takes the Field, and marches directly towards Douglaſs, which was his paternal Inheritance, and the Eſtate of his Anceſtors for Ages paſt; upon Douglaſs's Approach, the Engliſh, who were in Poſſeſſion of the Country, were forced to depart, and to return to England, leaving Douglaſs in Poſſeſſion of his Patrimony, the whole Lands of Douglaſs. This Beginning of Succeſs encourag'd ſome more to join him, and in a ſhort Time, the whole of Teviotdale was reduc'd and clear'd of the Engliſh. While Matters went on thus favourably with Douglaſs, there came an Embaſſy extraordinary from the French King John, with Inſtructions to uſe all poſſible Art and Perſuaſion to engage the Scots Nation to enter into no Terms of Peace, nor Accomodation with England.

*Douglaſs* recovers his Eſtate.

An Ambaſſador extraordinary ſent from *France* with 40,000 Crowns.

The French Ambaſſador, Eugen Garanter, came over with a ſplendid and numerous Retinue, having no leſs than forty Servants to attend him, all tall gigantick Fellows, who made a great Shew, and grand Appearance: The Ambaſſador, in order to effect his Deſigns with the greater Diſpatch and Addreſs, brought over with him the prevailing Arguments, and the powerful Eloquence of French Policy, expreſs'd in a large Sum of Money: Having Orders from King John of France to touch the Heart and Affections of the Nobility of Scotland, by a proper and well judg'd Application and Diſtribution of forty thouſand Crowns among the Nobility, and People of Weight and Influence in the Kingdom; however, Buchanan affirms, that the Nobility, upon receiving their ſeveral Preſents in Money from the French Ambaſſador, gave him the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of a ſteady and vigorous Proſecution of the War againſt England; but inſtead of this, they converted the whole Money to their private Uſe, never attempted to levy any conſiderable Army to oppoſe or invade England, but in the ſame Manner they had done for ſome Time paſt, they continued to plague the Engliſh, by ſending in ſmall Detachments and Parties upon the Borders of England, to plunder and diſtreſs their Country; which low Way of conducting the War, owing to the Avarice of the Scots Nobility, had more the Appearance of Robbery and Rapine, than of an open and reſolute national War: The Engliſh, upon Intelligence of all that paſt, and taking Advantage of theſe falſe Steps in the Conduct of the Scots Nobility, they march'd an Army into Scotland, and laid Lothian all waſte by Fire and Sword: Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and William Douglaſs, being exaſperated with this Inſtance of renew'd Oppreſſion from the Engliſh, with all poſſible Secrecy got together a ſtrong Body of Men, with which they directly march to the Banks of the Tweed, where they form'd a convenient Ambuſcade, in a large Wood, to wait for the Engliſh; but that they might with all convenient Speed draw the Engliſh into the Snare, they order'd that David Ramſay of Dalhouſy, who was a Gentleman of great Bravery and Conduct, ſhould march with a Detachment to Norham Town, which was then a large and well inhabited Place, and ſet fire to the whole; which they judg'd would alarm the Engliſh, and ſo make them advance with a Body of Men to ſave the Place, and diſlodge the Enemy. The Scheme had the deſir'd Effect, for upon Sight of the Town in Flames, the Engliſh Army advanc'd with great Rapidity to ſave the Town, upon the Arrival of the Engliſh to Norham; Ramſay, with his Detachment, ſeeming as it were in Surprize and Diſorder, at the Approach of the Engliſh, retir'd with Hurry towards the Wood, where the Ambuſcade of the Scots Army lay: This encouraged the Engliſh to purſue Ramſay and his Men, with great Spirit and Eagerneſs; and ſo they followed the Detachment cloſe, till they came to the Wood, where Douglaſs and Dunbar, with the whole of the Scots Army, ruſhing out upon them, ſo ſurpris'd and overpower'd the Engliſh, that, after a conſiderable Slaughter, and taking Numbers Priſoners, the Remains of the Engliſh Army, not capable to ſave themſelves by Flight, did ſurrender to Douglaſs and Dunbar. The Succeſs of this Action, ſo well conducted, did put the Scots in high Spirits, and encourag'd Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, to raiſe a Body of Men to ſupport the Intereſt of the King, tho' now a Priſoner in England. The Earl of Angus determin'd to execute his Deſigns with the greateſt Secrecy, and therefore having reſolv'd to begin with an Attempt upon the Town and Caſtle of Berwick, he with all imaginable Diſpatch provides ſcaling Ladders, and all other Stores and Implements neceſſary for the Attack of a Town or Fort, and having ſhip'd all with the greateſt Secrecy, he ſent to Patrick Dunbar full Notice of his Deſign, and concerted the Place of their Meeting, in order to make a joint Attack upon Berwick. The Earls of Angus and March having thus all Things prepar'd, made their Ships creep as nigh to Shore as poſſible; when they came nigh the Place, they without the leaſt Noiſe got under the Walls of the Town, and having landed their Ladders, and other military Engines and Implements, they directly fix'd their ſcaling Ladders, and ſcaled the Walls Sword in Hand; but being diſcovered by the Centinels, there happened a bloody Diſpute, before the Beſiegers beat the Garriſon from the Walls; but at length the Beſiegers charging with incredible Fury and Bravery, cleared the Walls, got over, and took

*Norham* Town burnt by the *Scots.*

The *Engliſh* drawn into an Ambuſcade by the Scots, and cut off.

*Douglaſs, Dunbar,* and *Thomas Stewart,* take *Berwick* by Surprize.

took Poſſeſſion of the Town of Berwick, but the Caſtle defended themſelves with obſtinate Reſolution againſt the Scots.

Edward of England, being acquainted of this ſurprizing Attack, reſolved directly to humble the Scots. Therefore he gets together, with more than ordinary Diligence, a very powerful and numerous Army; and marches himſelf in Perſon at the Head of his Army down for Berwick: The Scots hearing of Edward's March toward them, and being very ſenſible they were not prepared to ſtand a Siege, they did ſet Fire to the Town of Berwick, and did what Damage they could; upon which they returned to Scotland. Edward, upon his Arrival at Berwick, ordered the Buildings of the Town to be repaired with all poſſible Diligence, for which Maſons, Carpenters, and all other Workmen were directly employed. King Edward's Head-Quarters were at Roxborough, to which Edward Balliol repaired; and, upon his Arrival, he made a publick and full Surrender of the Government of Scotland to Edward, deſiring Edward would fully revenge the Injuries done to him and the Engliſh, by the Scots. Edward ordered his Fleet, on Board of which were the Proviſions and Stores for the Army, to get round, and up the Forth with all Haſte; but they met with ſuch a violent Storm that moſt of his Shipping were daſh'd to Pieces, and but very few ever got into any Harbour. This Loſs of all his Proviſions for his Army, put the whole Army in ſuch Condition that they were in Danger of periſhing by Famine; and therefore, without proceeding further than Edinburgh, he returned with his Army to England: However, before his Departure, he executed his Reſentment with Fury againſt Edinburgh, Haddington, and almoſt the Whole of Lothian, leaving the Country a Deſolation. No ſooner was Edward got into England than Douglaſs roſe, and with his Men drove the Engliſh out of Galloway; John Stewart, Son to Robert Stewart, the Regent, ſerv'd the Engliſh in the ſame Manner, John Annandale, and Roger Kirk-Patrick drove them quite out of Nidleſdale. The French Army much about this Time received a terrible Overthrow in the Battle of Poictou from the Engliſh, and King John of France was taken Priſoner. Edward having the Kings of Scotland and France now his Priſoners, was attended with the Congratulations, and high Acclamations of crowding Multitudes, who came to pay their Devoir, and to ſooth the Vanity of this lofty Prince. Soon after this, there were Ambaſſadors ſent from Scotland to treat with Edward of England, about the Ranſom of the King, and the Conditions for future Peace; Edward ordered David Bruce, King of Scotland, down to Berwick, to be at Hand to conſer with his Nobility upon the Terms of his Releaſe; but the Conditions not being agreed to on both Sides, King David was forc'd to return Priſoner to London. However, ſoon after, by the Meditation of the Pope, (who likewiſe procur'd the Liberty of the French King, it was agreed to by the Engliſh, that David Bruce, the King of Scotland, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, to return to his own Kingdom, upon Payment of five Hundred Thouſand Marks Engliſh Money, (according to Froſſard's Account) but the Scots Hiſtorians will have it only one Hundred Thouſand Marks. The Money by Agreement was to be paid at different Times, only ſo much was to be advanc'd; and for fulfilling the whole Engagements, the Scots were oblig'd to ſend the chief of their young Nobility as Hoſtages. The Pope, out of perſonal Regard to David the King, order'd the Tythes of all the Church Lands, for three Years to be apply'd in aſſiſting the Payment of this Ranſom.

*Berwick* burnt, and the *Scots* retire.

*Edward* loſes his Fleet and is forced to return.

The King is ranſomed by the Pope's Mediation.

The Nobility who went as Hoſtages into England, dy'd almoſt all of the Plague at London. The King being return'd, after eleven Years Confinement, and now in the Exerciſe of Government in his own Kingdom, the firſt Thing he did, was to reward, with the Marks of his Royal Diſpleaſure, them who had behav'd ill, and run away at the Battle of Durham: Dunbar, Earl of March, was rewarded with the Forfeiture of the beſt of his Eſtate: He alter'd the Succeſſion from Robert Stewart, his eldeſt Nephew, in Favour of Alexander, Son to the Earl of Sutherland, by his youngeſt Siſter, and oblig'd all the Nobility of the Kingdom, and other Eſtates, to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to him, as Prince Succeſſor. The Earl of Sutherland, to ſecure the Affections of the Nobility, in Favour of his Son, made very large and ample Donations of Lands, to many of the firſt Nobility; but Alexander his Son dying ſoon after, all was loſt, and his Proſpects fruſtrated. Upon this Event the Way was pav'd to a Reconciliation betwixt King David, and Robert Stewart, his Nephew; which accordingly was accompliſh'd, and Robert Stewart, in full Council, and afterward in Parliament, was unanimouſly declar'd Prince Succeſſor to the Crown. After this was ſettled, the King apply'd himſelf to compoſe all Family Feuds, and all private Quarrels among Families of Diſtinction, in order wiſely to unite the whole Nation in ſtrict Friendſhip, and to make their Attention be intirely fixt upon the public national Welfare, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom.

The *Scots* Hoſtages die of the Plague.

The Succeſſion ſettled on *Robert Stewart*.

Two Events happen'd upon this, which occaſion'd an univerſal Damp upon the Spirits of the Nation, and all their promiſing Proſpects: The firſt was an Inundation, by continued and heavy Rain, for ſeveral Days without Intermiſſion; ſo that whole Counties were quite overflown almoſt, by the Floods of Rivers and Brooks, as well as the Rain from the Heavens: The next Calamity was the Plague, which rag'd for ſome Time, and ſwept of Multitudes.

Floods and the Plague diſtreſs the Nation.

The Nation being deliver'd from theſe two great Evils, Matters went on pretty ſmoothly, until King David made a Propoſal to the Lords of the Articles *, to be communicated to the

* The Lords of the Articles were a Council compoſed of eight Perſons of the moſt known Wiſdom and Integrity, conſiſting of Lords, Gentlemen, and Clergy.

Lords,

Lords, Commons, and Clergy of the Kingdom, that they ſhould invite the King of England, or his Son, to come down into Scotland, and take upon him the Government, upon the Event of his preſent Majeſty's Death. This diſagreeable, ill-judg'd Propoſition, had very nigh produc'd a general Revolt, and therefore was dropt, as hated by the Body of the Nation. The great Motive, which is thought to have induc'd King David to make this Propoſition, was, his ſtrict Integrity, and his Regard to the Solemnity and ſacred Tye of an Oath, which the Engliſh had extorted from him under his Confinement; but this ſhew'd rather an Ignorance and Weakneſs of Mind in the King; for it is contrary to common Senſe, and all Reaſon, to ſuppoſe an Oath, which is not made freely, and without the leaſt Compulſion, yea, which is extorted, to be at all binding, and therefore, the Obligation from it is to be always ſhaken off, when a Man has it in his Power to do ſo, eſpecially, if the Matter and Nature of the Oath be in itſelf abſurd and unlawful, as it was in the preſent Caſe.

The King was forced to drop his Propoſal about the King of *England*.

Among the laſt remarkable Actions of this King David's Life, was (after this) the Expedient he fell upon to compoſe the Highlanders, which he effectually accompliſh'd, by employing a Set of artful Fellows to go about among the Clans, to ſpirit them up one againſt another, and to increaſe, by new and falſe Miſrepreſentations, the old Quarrels, and long ſtanding Animoſities; ſo that the Chiefs of the contending Clans were made irreconcilable to one another, and therefore they never laid down their Arms till they quite ruin'd and deſtroy'd one another; and ſo they were effectually tam'd. This Piece of refin'd (tho' wicked Policy) it is very probable King David might have been inſtructed in, while under his Confinement in England; for they, in theſe early Times, were ſo compleat Maſters of the ſerpentine (I do not ſay) diabolical Maxims of Society, that they knew and practiſed with Accuracy, viz. That it was juſt and right to apply every Meaſure, and uſe every Expedient, which could with Succeſs and Eaſe promote Self-Intereſt, without any ſcrupulous Nicety as to the Equity or Humanity of the Expedients made Uſe of.

The Highlanders almoſt totally extirpated by the Stratagem of King *David*.

King David having now compleatly reduc'd the Highlanders, and ſettled the Succeſſion of the Crown upon Robert, was taken ſuddenly very ill, and after few Days Sickneſs, he died, in the 47th Year of his Age, in the 39th Year of his Reign, and in the Year after Chriſt 1370. He was a Prince of great Virtue and Clemency, ſtrictly ſober in private Life, and devout, but liable to be impoſed upon by Deceivers; yet, moſt tenacious in ſome Points of his own Contrivance and Deſign; but was ſubjected to a Variety of unhappy, afflicting, and moſt diſcouraging Events in Life, having little Succeſs in promoting the Honour and Glory of his Kingdom.

King *David*'s Death and Character.

ROBERT

# ROBERT II.

UPON King David's Demiſe, the Nobility of Scotland having met at Linlithgow*, the King's Palace, to congratulate Robert Stewart upon his Acceſſion, unanimouſly ratified the Settlement of the Crown upon him, which King David and the Eſtates of the Nation had made made in the King's Life-Time; notwithſtanding of this Unanimity in the Conſent of the Nobility, the Ambition of William Douglaſs ſoon overcame his Reaſon, and excited him to claim the Crown and Kingdom, as his hereditary Right, being, in direct Line, deſcended of Balliol and the Cummins; but Douglaſs finding he would have the Oppoſition of the whole Nation to his Scheme, and no certain Way to ſupport him in his Pretenſions, dropt his Undertaking: His chief Friends whom he rely'd upon, George and John Dunbar, Earls of Murray and March, and Brothers, they would not join nor encourage him; and Robert Erſkine, Governor of the three ſtrongeſt Forts in the Kingdom, to wit, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbarton, did oppoſe Douglaſs likewiſe in this his Attempt†; ſo this Affair was amicably adjuſted without much Noiſe. Douglaſs finding his Deſigns not practicable, without Heſitation took the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to King Robert, as his only rightful King and Sovereign: Robert, in Return, (and to unite him by the ſtronger Bands of Intereſt and Friendſhip, gave his Daughter, the Princeſs Euſemia, in Marriage to William Earl of Douglaſs's eldeſt Son.

Douglaſs pretends to diſpute the Rights of the Crown.

This Year, from a private Quarrel and a mobbing Diſpute, at an annual Fair, (the Third of the Ides of Auguſt) upon the Frontier of England, there aroſe ſuch a Controverſy as embroil'd both Nations, and was the Cauſe of breaking off the Truce which was ſtipulated and agreed upon for fourteen Years by both Kingdoms: But in this the Engliſh were the Aggreſſors; for when Numbers of the Scots Nation, particularly of the Mers, Teviotdale, and Nithſdale, were come to the Fair, they were inſulted by ſome of the Engliſh; which the Scots reſenting, they came to Blows, and in the Scuffle an intimate Friend of George Dunbar, Earl of March, was kill'd upon the Spot: Upon which, the Earl of March ſent a Herald to demand the Murderers, that they might be deliver'd up to Juſtice according to the Order and Laws eſtabliſh'd and agreed upon betwixt the Borderers of each Kingdom. In Anſwer to the Meſſage ſent by the Herald, my Lord March found that there was no Intention to deliver them up, nor even to puniſh them themſelves, but to ſcreen the Action and Inſult. Upon which, without Noiſe, upon the next Day of the Fair after receiving his Anſwer, my Lord March got together a Body of reſolute Fellows, and with Surprize came upon the Town where the Fair was held, ſet Fire to the Place, cut off all the young ſtout Men of the Engliſh, and left the Town a Heap of Ruins, carrying off with them all the Merchandize and valuable Effects of the Fair, and any Thing elſe of Uſe or Advantage. In Retaliation, the Engliſh ſoon after came with a conſiderable Force into Scotland, plunder'd, laid Waſte, and ruin'd Sir John Gordon's Eſtate upon the Border: For which Sir John rais'd all the Force he was capable to muſter, and made ſufficient Repriſals by Fire, Sword, and Plunder, upon the Engliſh; but on his Return Home, loaded with Booty, Lilburn, with a far ſuperior Force, came upon him, and having attack'd him with great Fury, Gordon and his Men receiv'd the Engliſh ſo warmly, that the Fight was long, bloody, and doubtful; but at length Lilburn being taken Priſoner, and ſo the Engliſh put into Confuſion by the Loſs of their General, and ſeveral Officers, they were rooted by Sir John Gordon and his Party.

Auguſt 11, 1370. New Diſputes and Quarrels ariſe betwixt the Engliſh and Scots.

This Event ſo exaſperated Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, who was a Man of great Spirit and Underſtanding, that he, being Warden, and Governor of all the Eaſtern Frontiers and Marches, was determined to ſuppreſs totally all theſe mutual Depredations; but, in the firſt Place, he declar'd his Reſolution to be aveng'd of the Scots, for the Slaughter of ſo many of his Countrymen in the late Action; therefore he raiſes, without Loſs of Time, a Body of 7000 Men, and marches directly for the Town of Duns‡ in Scotland. Upon his Arrival

Piercy invades Scotland, and comes to Duns.

* Linlithgow, ſix Miles Weſt of Edinburgh, an antient pleaſantly ſituated Town: The King's Palace ſtood on the North Side of the Town, upon a Mount, with a pleaſant Lake to the Weſt, full of fine Fiſh: The Deſcent to the Lake was by a Terras, and the Palace was conſtructed in Form of a Square, all hewn Stone, adorn'd with the moſt beautiful Carving, and the different Orders of Architecture: In the Court are the moſt beautiful Fountains, which play fine Spring Water in different Figures.

† This Robert Erſkine was the Stock from whence are deſcended the Erſkines of the noble and antient Family of Marr.

‡ This Town of Duns is ſix Miles North-Weſt of Berwick, in the Mers, and remarkable for the Place of John Scot's Nativity: He it was that was ſurnamed Subtilis; of whom, in its proper Place, I will have Occaſion to mention Particulars.

here, the Country People and Shepherds, being ſurpriz'd and alarm'd, had no Weapons for their Defence, nor Arms, but Sticks, Pitchforks, Bludgeons, and Rattles with which they frighten'd away the Stags and Cattle which came ſtraggling for Paſture without a Keeper: However, they aſſembled in a Body, and got up to the Brow and Front of the Lamormore Hills, a Ridge of Mountains which reach from the German, or Scots Sea, to Lautherdale, dividing the Mers from Lothian. Here the Countrymen kept together, and making uſe of their Rattles (which the Scots then call'd Gimcracks) in the Night-time, they ſo frighten'd the Engliſh Cavalry, and likewiſe their Baggage-Horſe, ſo that they broke looſe from their Faſtnings in the Camp, and run off, ſo as to be pick'd up by the Country People as they ſtraggled away. This put the whole Engliſh Camp in Confuſion and Surprize at Midnight, and by the great Buſtle, Noiſe, and Rattling of the Scots on the Hills, the Engliſh dreaded the Attack of a formidable Body; they beat to Arms, and lay all Night in Order under Arms, prepared for receiving the Enemy. In the Morning, the Lord Northumberland and his Army finding how they had been fool'd by the poor Peaſants, and having loſt moſt of their Horſe, who run off, they were obliged to retreat for ſix Miles back, until they remounted their Cavalry, and provided Horſes for their Baggage. In the mean time the Country People came down, and ſav'd them the Trouble of carrying away the Baggage and Proviſion they were forced to leave behind them. Theſe uſeful Gimcracks, which were ſo ſerviceable to the Scots at this Time, were the Contrivance of a poor illiterate Shepherd, and made in the following Manner: They took a long Pole or Spear, of fourteen or fifteen Foot Length, (ſome only ten or twelve) on the Top was fix'd a large Hoop Circular, or Semicircular, on each Side the Top of the Spear, and ſo as to form a Cavity; theſe Hoops were covered over cloſe, ſo as to encloſe the Cavity with a ſtrong Skin, well ſtretch'd as a Drum; into theſe Cavities, cover'd with the Skin, they put the hardeſt Pebble or Flint Stones, and by the quick and rapid Motion or Vibration of the Pole, theſe Stones make ſuch a rattling Noiſe as reaches a good Way, and frightens Horſe and Cattle effectually.

The Engliſh ſurpriz'd by a Mob, and their Horſe frighten'd by Gimcracks.

Upon Piercy's Retreat, Thomas Muſgrave, Governor of Berwick, at the Head of a Body of his Garriſon, march'd to join Piercy; but Sir John Gordon having Intelligence of Muſgrave's March, effectually prevented the Junction with Piercy; for having prepar'd an Ambuſcade for him, he ſurpriz'd Muſgrave upon his March, and took him, with moſt of his Men, Priſoners; the reſt fled, upon Apprehenſion of Gordon's Numbers being far ſuperior to what they in Fact were. Upon the Weſtern Frontier John Johnſton gall'd the Engliſh ſo with his repeated Attacks and Succeſs, that they were more harraſs'd by him than they would have been by a large Army; for Johnſton kept them in continual Fright and Surprize, and they never were ſafe nor certain for Night or Day from an Attack or Depredation.

Muſgrave and his Men taken Priſoners.

Thus the Beginning of Robert the Second's Reign for two Years was a Series of Triumphs, and Succeſſes: The third Year, which was 1373, the Queen Eufemia, Daughter to Hugh, Earl of Roſs, dies, and left three Children, two Princes, and Princeſs Eufemia, who was married to the Earl of Douglaſs: The two Sons, Walter and David, were created Earls; the firſt Earl of Strathern, and the latter Earl of Athole. This Buchanan affirms to be the Truth, and that this Queen Eufemia was the firſt Lady whom King Robert married: He further aſſerts, that upon the Death of this Lady, ſoon after the King married Elizabeth More, by whom he had begotten three Sons and two Daughters while his Queen was alive; and that he only married Elizabeth More to legitimate the Children he had by her, for he had the greateſt Affection for the Children of this Elizabeth More; and taking the Opportunity of the Death of one Lord Giffard, to whom the King had married Elizabeth More, the King now made her his Wife, from the paſſionate Love he bore to the Children, and the Revival of his old Love for her. When the King fell firſt in Love with this Elizabeth More ſhe was a moſt beautiful agreeable Perſon, and deſcended of a good Family, the Daughter of Sir Adam More, a Gentleman of Fortune and Regard. But Sir George McKenzie contends ſtrongly in his Jus Regium, and Defence of the Royal Line of Scotland, that Elizabeth More was the firſt married to King Robert, and Eufemia Roſs the ſecond Queen; and ſo, by Sir George McKenzie's Account and Defence, it would appear that Elizabeth More was Robert's firſt and lawful Lady. But as the whole Diſpute, and long Controverſy, upon the Equity and juſt Right of Succeſſion of the Stewarts, turns entirely upon this Hinge, whether the Deſcendants of Elizabeth More were the rightful and lawful Heirs to the Crown of Scotland: In order to prove this, there are only two Points to be eſtabliſh'd; and if theſe Propoſitions can be ſupported with Truth and Argument, then, without Diſpute, the Succeſſion of the Stewarts was upon a juſt, a legal, and rational Eſtabliſhment. The Points to be made appear are, Firſt, That the Deſcendants and Heirs-Male of Robert, by Elizabeth More, were begotten in lawful Marriage, or, at leaſt, acknowledged to be the Sons of King Robert the Second: And, Secondly, That theſe Sons of Elizabeth More were not only acknowledged by Robert the King as his Children, but their Right to and Poſſeſſion of the Crown of Scotland was the Conſequence not of King Robert's own Settlement, but the Deed and Settlement of the King, with the Advice and Approbation of his Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and People. This laſt, I believe, will admit of as full Evidence as is neceſſary to remove any Objection; and if ſo, then the firſt Foundation of the Monarchy of the Stewart's Family evidently appears to be ſettled upon the Principles of the Revolution, and our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; to wit, the Choice and Approbation of the Eſtates of the Kingdom and People. This ſure is the moſt ſolid and rational Foundation, and agreeable to the natural Rights and Liberties

Robert's Queen Eufemia dies.

Robert marries Elizabeth More, and legitimates her three Children.

Liberties of Mankind; and can be ſupported by the ſame Arguments which the learned and ingenious Dr. Hoadly applies in Support of the Revolution, and the Rights of the People, in his polite Treatiſe, entitled, "The Meaſures of Submiſſion to the Civil Magiſtrate." The Foundation then of the Sovereignty of the antient Stewarts would appear to be no Way arbitrary, but to be the Act of the whole Kingdom, and their voluntary Choice of this Succeſſion for their Governors and Magiſtrates. Buchanan does not ſay any Thing to contradict this; yea, in Part, affirms it to be ſo: And as Buchanan is an ingenious excellent Hiſtorian in many Points, who was no Diſhonour to his Country, I ſhould be ſorry to differ from him, but only in the Caſe when the Evidence for Facts aſſerted goes no further than his own Aſſertion. Sir George McKenzie was, without Diſpute, a Gentleman of great Genius and Learning, and of a very inquiſitive Diſpoſition; a Gentleman in publick and high Life, and therefore he might think himſelf juſtly attach'd to ſhew his Regard to the Family of the Stewarts: Yet I have that Opinion of his Integrity and Honour, that he would not venture to aſſert a Point of Fact at the Expence of his Character and Honour, which he knew could be diſprov'd by convincing Proof to the contrary. I find Buchanan, though he affirms Elizabeth More to be no better than the King's Whore, and her three Children, John, Robert, and Alexander, but adulterous Brats, yet he brings not one Article to ſupport this black Scandal, and to fix this Blot upon a whole Royal Family. In a Point of ſuch Conſequence, and of ſo nice and tender a Nature, the ſimple Aſſertion of Buchanan is not ſufficient to ſettle ſuch a groſs and degrading Imputation upon a Series of Princes, and to tranſmit ſo ignominious an Original to Poſterity. Whether King Robert did wrong in ſetting aſide the Sons of his Marriage with Eufemia, Daughter to the Earl of Roſs, is no Part of the Argument in Hand. Any Man may have very weighty and irreſiſtible Reaſons for making one Child, or ſome particular Children, the Object of his particular Favour and Regard; but, in the preſent Caſe, Robert the King was not to be under any Biaſs to his own private Affection and Intereſt; he acted as a publick Perſon, inveſted with the higheſt and moſt important Truſt, and therefore was to fix his Eye and Recommendation upon ſuch of his Family, as might give the moſt pleaſing Proſpect to the whole Kingdom, and be moſt likely to be future Guardians, Fathers, and Protectors of the People, and all their Properties; for this certainly is the ſole Uſe and Intent of Monarchy, or granting any Superiority in Civil Society, to promote and eſtabliſh the Happineſs of the whole Community: And when, by the Miſconduct of Governors, the Foundations, and original Intentions, Deſigns, and Ends, of any eſtabliſh'd Form of Government are ſapp'd, or ſubverted, the whole Structure muſt totter, and at length come down with Noiſe and a mighty Fall. In this Manner, and from ſuch Cauſes, have proceeded the Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms in all Ages. The great String upon which our enthuſiaſtically preciſe Sticklers do harp, is, that they who ſucceeded Robert the Second were Baſtards: But were they not the King's Sons? They were own'd and acknowledg'd to be ſuch by the King and the whole Nation. If Baſtardy were the only good Reaſon of Rejection and ſetting them aſide, this Argument would conclude too far, and infer, that Baſtards in no Caſe were to be made Choice of to rule or govern. This, if allow'd, might be a dangerous Maxim, and be a direct Thruſt at the Rights of many in ſubſequent Times: But what concludes too far deſtroys itſelf, and therefore is not to be admitted. Baſtards and Foundlings are much upon a Par, as to Regard and Care, in many Places in the preſent Age; but it is to be hop'd that their Eſteem, their Promotion, and Exaltation, will not aſcend, or rather fly, to graſp at the higheſt Honours of State, notwithſtanding the modern Taſte for Whoring be now arriv'd at the Fineſſe and Summit of its Glory.

The free and unbiaſs'd Choice of the Nation in Favour of the Stewart Family aſſerted, and clearly made appear.

This Point, I think, being now clear and evident as any Propoſition in Euclid, that the Stewarts Original, and firſt Acceſs to the Crown, and the Settlement of the Succeſſion upon them, was by no Means through Uſurpation or arbitrary Meaſures, but by univerſal Suffrage and Choice of the whole Kingdom, or their Repreſentatives; it muſt neceſſarily follow then that it was every Way ſuitable to the Principles of free Government and true Liberty, and therefore no Encroachment upon a Kingdom. Robert the Second having ſettled the Succeſſion in the Children of Elizabeth More, in the Order of their Seniority, the Sons of Eufemia, Daughter to the Earl of Roſs, Walter and David, were created Earls of Strathern and Athole, and Robert Douglaſs was married to Eufemia, the King's only Daughter by the Earl of Roſs's Daughter.

The Succeſſion ſettled in Elizabeth More's Children.

Theſe Matters being over, the two following Years were very fluctuating; there ſeem'd to be neither Peace nor War, for the Engliſh and Scots Nations were continually harraſſing one another by private Depredations, and committing Hoſtilities upon the Borders. During theſe Troubles Edward the Third dy'd, and Richard the Second, his Grandſon by Edward, ſucceeded to the Throne, in the eleventh Year of his Age. At this Time Charles the Fifth of France ſent an Embaſſady-Extraordinary into Scotland: The Subject of the Embaſſy on this Occaſion conſiſted chiefly of two Articles; firſt, to eſtabliſh and renew the old Treaty of Friendſhip betwixt both Kingdoms; and next, to inſiſt upon King Robert's declaring War againſt England, and invading them with a powerful Army, to make ſuch an effectual Diverſion as might carry the Theatre of War into their own Bowels, and make the Engliſh incapable of proſecuting the War with Vigour againſt France. While the Articles of this Embaſſy were under the Conſideration of the Eſtates of the Kingdom aſſembled, (by Froſſard's Authority, founded upon the Teſtimony of Engliſh Hiſtorians) it is expreſsly affirm'd for Fact, that Alexander Ramſay, with forty ſtout reſolute Fellows, did ſurprize and take the Caſtle of Berwick, laying hold of a favourable Opportunity, when

Mutual Depredations for two Years.

Edward dies, and Richard II. ſucceeds.

Ambaſſadors Extraordinary are ſent to Scotland from France.

The French want Scotland to declare War againſt England.

when the Centinel was aſleep upon Duty, he got in with his Party, and either kill'd or took Priſoners the Whole of the Garriſon. The Town of Berwick, upon this extraordinary Event, diſpatch'd a Courier expreſs to Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, to demand his preſent Aſſiſtance; upon which he march'd directly for Berwick, with an Army of 10,000 Men, to attack the Caſtle. The Aſſembly of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of Scotland, being now met at Scone, near Perth, and having received the News of Berwick Caſtle being taken, and of Piercy's March to relieve it, they were in great Concern and Pain about Ramſay and his Party; Archibald Douglaſs, his nigh Relation, undertook to march with 500 Horſe only, and to attempt to carry them off ſafe; but he was diſappointed, and forc'd to return without accompliſhing his Deſign; for all the Roads, Avenues, and Defiles, toward the Town and Caſtle, were ſecur'd by ſtrong Guards of the Engliſh Army: The Garriſon for ſome Time made a gallant Reſiſtance, but being overpower'd by Numbers, the Caſtle was taken by Storm, and the Whole of Ramſay's Party put to the Sword, except Ramſay himſelf, whom Piercy ſav'd upon Account of his extraordinary Bravery and Conduct. The Scots Hiſtorians will have it, that Ramſay took the Caſtle by Surprize, with only the Help of ſix Men of the County of Mers, but were forc'd to quit the Place, and to retreat, upon Notice of the Approach of Piercy's Army.

The Scots under Ramſay take Berwick Caſtle.

Archibald Douglaſs repuls'd.

Piercy puts all but Ramſay to the Sword.

When the Aſſembly of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland were diſmiſs'd, James, Earl of Douglaſs, (who was the firſt Earl) levied an Army of 20,000 Men, with which he invaded England, and, without any Interruption, proceeded to Penrith in Cumberland, upon the Day of the Fair: He ſurpriz'd the Town, plunder'd it, and then deſtroy'd it by Fire. Having glutted his Army with Plunder every where, he return'd with his Army unmoleſted; but he carried back with him a Nuſance which allay'd all the Joys of his Triumph; for the Engliſh Peſtilence got into the Scots Army, and this Plague produced great Deſolation and Mortality, ſo that many Places of Scotland were laid waſte through the Death of the Inhabitants. This Calamity continued for two Years in Scotland, but it was ſcarcely abated when the Engliſh ventur'd to invade Scotland, and accordingly paſs'd the Solway by Dumfries, with an Army of 15,000 Men, under the Command of Talbott, a fine Gentleman, and a good General, but too much an Enemy to the Scots. Wherever he march'd with his Army he made the Country a Deſolation, and after he had deſtroy'd as much as he thought proper, he return'd with his plundering and murdering Army, loaded with Booty; but, unhappily for him, he left ſome hardy ſtout Scotſmen yet ſurviving, who aſſembled in a Body, making up about the Number of five or ſix Hundred: They march'd at a proper Diſtance in the Rear of Talbott's Army, and having follow'd them a conſiderable Way, they took the Advantage when the Engliſh Army lay encamp'd in a narrow Valley, quite ſecure, and enjoying all their Pleaſure in the Poſſeſſion of their Plunder and Conqueſt, no Way afraid of any Enemy, to come down upon them from the Hills in the Night, and did attack them with ſuch Fury, that at the firſt Onſet they kill'd all in their Way: Terror and Surprize ſtruck the whole Army, and put them into ſuch irrecoverable Diſorder, that they were all routed, after a great Number ſlain, and 250 taken Priſoners: Such as eſcap'd fled with Precipitation to the River, and were loſt moſtly in paſſing it over; the Plunder was all left behind; and ſo this ſmall Body, through Conduct and Stratagem, ſurpriz'd and defeated ſuch a numerous Army.

Douglaſs enters England with 20,000 Men.

The Plague brought into Scotland by Douglaſs's Army in their Return.

The Engliſh invade Scotland.

The Engliſh Army defeated upon the Border of England.

The War againſt France was continu'd with Vigour by the Engliſh, but the Engliſh were forc'd to ſend Forces to Portugal to fulfill their Engagements; which ſo weaken'd their Strength, that they reſolv'd to ſend John Duke of Lancaſter to Scotland with Offers of Peace. Accordingly he came down to Scotland, with full Powers to treat with the King of Scotland; James Earl of Douglaſs, and John Dunbar, Earl of Murray, were order'd to treat with him, and accordingly a Truce for three Years was ſettled betwixt both Nations; but before the Definitive Treaty of Peace could be ſign'd, there broke out a Civil War in England. The Incendiary who kindled this Commotion and Flame was a Prieſt, one John Ball, and by his Profeſſion well qualified for miſchievous and artful Practices. The honeſt Prieſt conducted his tumultuary Scheme in the following Manner: He travell'd over the whole Nation, to find out the Inclinations of the People of England, and to ſpirit them up to Sedition and Revolt. There had been a Capitation Tax impos'd by King Richard upon the Nation, which was very diſagreeable to the whole People of England; they reckon'd it oppreſſive, and a heavy Grievance, that each Subject ſhould be taxed four Pence per Head: The Chriſtian Prieſt took Care to improve this national Diſcontent to ſuch a Height, by his eloquent and ſtrong Declamations, in all Companies where he thought it would take, that he ſpirited the People up even to Rage with ſtrong Apprehenſions of a Deſign to enſlave them; which had the Effect upon their Minds which Ball the Prieſt deſir'd, viz. to excite to Rebellion againſt their Sovereign, and the Nobility of England. Accordingly a great Body of the common People aſſembled, who, upon their taking the Field, and declaring their Deſign, were join'd by great Numbers, ſo that a general Revolt was fear'd. In the mean time the Duke of Lancaſter in Scotland concludes a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities with the Scots for three Years, and though Douglaſs, with the other Nobility of Scotland, knew well the preſent troubled State of England, yet he made the Duke of Lancaſter underſtand, in a polite Manner, that he, with the other Nobility, by their Sovereign's Command, thought it unworthy of them to take any Advantage from the preſent Situation of Affairs in England; and they aſſur'd the Duke of Lancaſter of welcome, and not only Protection to his Perſon and Domeſticks, but the kindeſt of Treatment, ſuitable to his Rank, if he did chooſe to ſtay among them until theſe Commotions were

The War with France continu'd.

Ball's Conſpiracy.

An Inſurrection of Thouſands becauſe of the Capitation Tax.

A Truce is ſettled with Scotland by the Duke of Lancaſter.

were quell'd; or, if he chus'd, he ſhould be eſcorted with five hundred Horſe into his own Country. The Duke of Lancaſter ventur'd to return, but on his Arrival at Berwick he was deny'd Acceſs; the Governor order'd the Gates to be ſhut againſt him, upon which the Duke thought proper to return to Scotland, and accepted of the Offer of their Hoſpitality; where he remain'd until all was reſtor'd to a peaceable Situation in England.

Lancaſter was forc'd to ſtay in Scotland.

Upon the Expiration of the Truce, in 1384, Archibald Douglaſs, of Galloway, James Earl of Douglaſs, and George Earl of March, having united their Forces, march'd to beſiege the Caſtle of Lochmaben. The Surprize of this Attack forc'd the Governor, who was unprovided for a long Siege, to capitulate upon theſe Terms: That he would deliver up the Place in eight Days, if he were not reliev'd and ſupply'd with neceſſary Stores; which they effectually prevented; and ſo the Place was deliver'd up to the Douglaſſes, with the Earl of March, upon the ninth Day. But their Army before the Place, during the ſhort Siege, ſuffer'd much by the continu'd Rains and Floods, and the extream cold Weather; it being in the Month of February. Upon this Event the People of Roxborough, fearing the next Attempt upon them, made Choice of one Graſtock, a Man of Fortune and Family, and a Man of great Bravery, Conduct, and Reſolution, to be Governor of the Caſtle. Graſtock, upon his being appointed Governor of Roxborough Caſtle, directly orders all Manner of Stores, with great Plenty of Proviſions, to be brought into the Caſtle without Loſs of Time; but Dunbar, Earl of March, who, with the Douglaſſes his Friends, were juſt return'd from their Incurſions and Depredations in England, having Intelligence by their Spies of the Routs the Waggons and Stores were to take, and the Time they were to paſs, they came with a ſtrong Detachment, and intercepted the whole Convoy of Proviſions, Stores, and Arms, taking moſt of the Party which guarded them Priſoners, with their Commanding Officer. Upon this, Roxborough was forced to yield to the Douglaſſes and the Earl of March; but the Duke of Lancaſter, in Return for Depredations and Inſults of the Douglaſſes and the Earl of March's Army, invades Scotland both by Sea and Land: The Engliſh Fleet came upon the Coaſt of Fife, and commited great Outrages; Lancaſter himſelf, at the Head of the Army, march'd through the Mers and Lothian, and arriv'd at Edinburgh. The Army laid all waſte as they came along, and did attempt the burning of Edinburgh City; but the Duke of Lancaſter would by no Means allow of this Piece of extraordinary Outrage: He remembred well the genteel and humane Treatment he met with in Scotland, and particularly in Edinburgh City, a few Years before, and therefore would allow no Hurt to be done the Place. But his Fleet were very outrageous, they plunder'd, deſtroy'd, and burnt ſeveral Monaſteries, particularly that of Inchcolm, and ſeveral Churches. Having done much Miſchief, the Country roſe upon the Engliſh Sailors, and under the Command of Nicholas and Thomas Erſkin, being join'd by Alexander Lindſay and William Cunningham, they march'd in a great Body, attack'd the Sailors, beat them all to their Shipping, and forc'd them, with conſiderable Loſs, to quit the Coaſt. Lancaſter return'd with the Army; but he had ſcarcely got into England when the Earl of Douglaſs march'd his Army in Purſuit of him, and all the Way upon his Road reduc'd the ſeveral Forts and Garriſons which were in Poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, none eſcaping him, nor able to reſiſt, but Roxborough Caſtle, which ſtood a Siege. Douglaſs, upon his Return, was taken ill of a Fever, and dy'd of a few Days Illneſs, at his Caſtle of Douglaſs. He was ſucceeded in Honours and Eſtate by William Douglaſs, his eldeſt Son, who, in the future Part of Life, every Way ſupported the ſhining Character of his brave and noble Father.

Lochmaben Caſtle taken.

Graſtock made Governor of Roxborough Caſtle.

The Proviſions and Stores for Roxborough Caſtle taken.

Lancaſter invades Scotland.

The Scots beat the Engliſh to their Ships, and make them put to Sea.

Earl of Douglaſs dies.

At this Time there was a Ceſſation of Arms and Truce agreed upon for one Year, betwixt the Scots, Engliſh, and French; but the French were ſo kind Allies to the Scots, that they neglected to ſend Notice to Scotland, to acquaint the Nation that the Truce was ſettled and ſign'd, notwithſtanding they engag'd to do it. By this Piece of French Friendſhip, the Engliſh in the North, and upon the Border, take the Opportunity to march into Scotland with 10,000 Horſe, and 6000 Archers, and commit all Manner of Outrages, under the Command of the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, and particularly upon the Eſtates of the Douglaſſes and Lindſays, before that the French ſent to the Scots the Accounts of the Signature of the Truce. This Conduct, ſo unfair, excited the Reſentment of the Scots Nation to that Degree, that few of the Nobility or Gentry of Scotland would pay the leaſt Regard to the Meſſengers, when they came from France with the Notice; for the Nobility of Scotland had Intelligence that theſe French Meſſengers had taken London in their Way, and delay'd coming forward, being regal'd and careſs'd by the Engliſh, until the Engliſh Army in the North had return'd from their Devaſtations and Depredations in Scotland!

A Truce agreed on.

The Engliſh perfidiouſly invade Scotland.

The French not true to their Friendſhip.

Robert, King of Scotland, was inclin'd to obſerve the Truce, but the whole Nation did oppoſe it, becauſe of the late unfair Inſult. While the Nobility and Gentry were deliberating and debating in full Aſſembly upon this Point, their Friends over the Kingdom directly gather'd together a Body of 15,000 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, and without Leave aſk'd or given by his Majeſty King Robert, the Lords Douglaſs, Lindſay, and Dunbar went from Court, and headed this Army, with which they marched with all poſſible Expedition into England, making full Repriſals in all the Places they came to. Douglaſs, with this Army, laid the Whole of Northumberland waſte, and penetrated as far as Newcaſtle upon Tyne; then they alter'd their Rout, and return'd through the Lands of the Earl of Nottingham and the Mowbrays, carrying Fire and Sword with them, in Retaliation for the late Inſults of the Engliſh, after the Commencement of the Truce. When thus the Scots Army had glutted themſelves with Reſentment, they return'd loaded

Robert is oppoſed by the Nobilty and Gentry.

The Scots Army plunder and waſte ſeveral Counties in England.

loaded with Plunder, and plentifully rewarded for their Expedition; and then they proclaim'd the Truce, but not before.

The French send a Fleet to Scotland, with Supplies of Men and Money.

When the Truce was nigh expir'd, in the Year 1385, the French King ſent over to Scotland a Fleet, on board of which were put 2000 regular Troops, under the Command of Monſieur John D'Vienne, Admiral of the Fleet; there were of them 200 arm'd with Croſs-Bows*, and 100 in full Armour, the reſt were Foot: They brought over with them Money for paying an Army for ſix Months, beſides many rich Preſents, and 400 Suits of compleat Armour, for the Uſe of the chief Nobility and Gentry of Scotland. The French Admiral and General, after waiting of King Robert, and having had an Audience of his Majeſty, he, with James Douglaſs, General of the Scots Army, having join'd their Forces, march'd directly for England, and having enter'd Northumberland, they took three Forts in this County, and demoliſh'd them; but the Seaſon being ſo rainy, and the Floods ſo high, they could not advance further into the Country; beſides, they had Notice of the Approach of Richard the Second, with a numerous Army, to attack and repel them: Therefore the Allies thought proper to retreat, and ſecure their Army from the Injuries of the Weather, and the Hazard of the Event of a Battle.

The Scots and French invade England.

King Richard in great Wrath levies a great Army, and enters Scotland.

Richard of England was in the greateſt Rage at this Time againſt the Scots Nation not only upon Account of their preſent Invaſion, but that they ſhould have call'd in to their Aſſiſtance a foreign Power, his Enemy, at the Time when they meditated an Invaſion from France upon England; and therefore Richard aſſembled, with the greateſt Diſpatch, an Army of 60,000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe. Having got all Things ready for his March, he order'd his Fleet, with all the Proviſions and Stores, for the Army, to ſail directly for the Firth of Forth, and proceeded himſelf with his Army, marching with all poſſible Diligence, until he came to Scotland. Upon his Arrival, not being afraid of any Interruption from the French, it being the Winter Seaſon, and they incapable thereby to put a Fleet to Sea with any Troops for Scotland, he deſtroy'd all wherever he came, with Fire and Sword; ſuch of the Scots as would not join him, and carry Arms, were murder'd; Men, Women, and Children were put to the Sword: No Compaſſion! but, with an unrelenting Spirit of Cruelty, leaving every Place deſolate!

Richard is moſt barbarous to all in Scotland.

The French Admiral and General, being mov'd and affected with the frightful Accounts of the Devaſtation of Scotland, the Kingdom of his Maſter's faithful Ally, us'd all his Efforts with Douglaſs, to perſuade him to riſque a Battle, aſſuring him of the Bravery and Fidelity of the French Troops, that he would exert himſelf with his Men to repel the Enemy. But Douglaſs and Monſieur D'Vienne having deliberately and coolly conſider'd all Circumſtances, and being determin'd to act in concert, they wiſely concluded it was moſt expedient to go and reconnoitre the Enemy, their Situation and Numbers; and after this was done, and they had received full Intelligence of the Strength, the Route, and the Diſpoſitions of the Enemy's Army, and all their detach'd Parties, they came to the determin'd Reſolution not to venture an Engagement, but by the Weſt to march at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Engliſh, and to enter Cumberland; which they accordingly did accompliſh, and made tolerable Repriſals upon the Engliſh in that and the neighbouring Counties.

The French Admiral and Douglaſs agree to enter England by the Weſt.

Richard of England perplex'd by the Motions of Scots and Allies.

King Richard having Intelligence of this, a Council of War was immediately call'd, and held, in order to determine whether he, with his Army, ſhould winter in Scotland, or march back with his Army, and cut off the Retreat of the Scots and French Armies, ſo as to force them either to fight, or to ſcatter and fly. The Engliſh had not forgot how the Scots had harraſs'd and almoſt ſtarv'd the Engliſh Army under Edward the Third, when they came into Scotland; therefore they judg'd it highly imprudent to riſque their Army for the Winter in Scotland: Neither did they judge it expedient to follow the Scots Army the ſame Road into England; for the Scots had prov'd to them in former Inſtances, recent in their Memory, that they were ſuch nimble, hardy, and hearty Fellows, they were not to be deſtroy'd by Hardſhips or Cold; they could march up, and ſkip over Mountains, Paſſes, and Creeks, through which, if King Richard did venture to lead his Army, he would go nigh to deſtroy half his Men; and now that the Scots had enter'd England, the Engliſh had their Wives, Children, Family, and their Effects, all in Danger: Therefore King Richard, with his Council, determin'd to return with the Army by the ſame Way they came into Scotland; which they accordingly executed.

Richard returns to England without fighting.

Upon the Return of the Engliſh Army, the Scots Army retir'd into their own Country, and being very certain that the Engliſh would not hazard a Winter Campaign, nor attack them before next Summer, they march'd to beſiege Roxborough Town and Caſtle, which was defended by a numerous Garriſon of Engliſh. The Garriſon had behav'd in a very inſolent Manner to the Country all round, and therefore the Scots Army were determin'd to be Maſters of the Place; but in their Deſign were diſconcerted by the French Auxiliaries. The French General and other Officers demanded, that, if now, that they had begun the Attack upon Roxborough, the Place ſhould be taken, or ſurrenders, it ſhould be put into the Poſſeſſion of the French Forces, to garriſon the Town and Caſtle; that the French likewiſe ſhould have all the Plunder, Booty, and Effects, found in the Place, and none to ſhare with them. The Reaſon

* This Croſs-Bow was made for the more exact and ready Projection of Darts, and to direct them with the greater Force: This Inſtrument was never uſed in Scotland before. The Bow was fix'd upon a Pole by way of Handle, the String of the Bow ſtretch'd upon a Peg, the Arrows laid even in a ſtraight Line upon the Pole or Handle; ſo that upon taking your Aim, and moving the Peg, the Arrows or Darts were projected with great Force, and well directed.

with

with which they ſupported this Demand was, that the French were the moſt experienc'd and ſkilful in the military Art of Fortification, in the Attack and Defence of Towns, Caſtles, or Forts; and that, to their Skill was owing any Succeſs of the Scots Army: Yea further, they demanded the Plunder and Effects of the whole Place, as a Recompence for their great Expence, and Money they had laid out in this War. This was French Honour refin'd; for they had brought Scotland into a War, in order to diſtreſs and diſtract England, and ſo made the Scots Tools to make a Diverſion, and to avert the Fury and Heat of the War, which the French were engag'd in againſt England, from the Bowels of France, that ſo the Engliſh might not purſue the War with Vigour againſt France! In Return for this, the French very honeſtly inſiſted upon ſuch Returns from their too faithful and true Allies the Scots, as muſt have either cramp'd them, or brought them to a ſlaviſh Dependence upon the French Nation, ſo that then the French might be free to uſe the Scots Nation as they pleas'd, without much Regard to Honour or true Friendſhip.

The Scots reject the French Propoſition with juſt Indignation.

This exacting and unequal Demand the King and Nobility of Scotland could not comply with; it was judg'd by the whole Nation ridiculous, and unheard of, that Auxiliaries, who came in Conſequence of publick Faith, and ſolemn Treaty, to aſſiſt the Kingdom who had engag'd in a French Quarrel, ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of any Part of the Kingdom, and act in any other Capacity than as Auxiliaries: The Expence and Money the French Army had beſtow'd, was only according to the Stipulations of the Treaties ſubſiſting betwixt both Kingdoms. Upon this, the King of Scotland, with Advice of his Council, gave the French General to underſtand, that if he did mean by ſuch an extraordinary Propoſal to pick a Quarrel, in order to excuſe their returning to France, as they came voluntarily, they were free to depart when he thought proper; that he, the King, could make no Conceſſions, nor yield up any Thing of his own Dominions to the French, which might be conſtructed by all the World a practical Acknowledgment of Servitude and Dependence on France; this derogated from the Honour of Scotland, and its Sovereignty, and therefore was not to be once thought of. Upon this ſmart Return to the French General and his Officers, they thought fit to withdraw their Army, and ſo ſeparated from the Scots Army, which occaſion'd the dropping any further Attempts this Winter Seaſon upon Roxborough.

Robert the King gives the French an Anſwer ſuitable to the Dignity of his Royal Character.

The Heartburning and Diſtaſte of the People of Scotland at the French, upon this did increaſe; the common People every where reſented the licentious and irregular Behaviour of the French, and ſeem'd to think they were us'd worſe by their Allies than they had been by their open Enemies; for the French Troops did not act and behave in Scotland at this Time as if in their Allies Country; they thought the military and arbitrary Meaſures of the Army were to be practis'd in the ſame Manner, and with the ſame Impunity, as if they were at Home, or under any other abſolute and arbitrary Government, where the Country and the Peaſants are entirely at the Mercy of the Army, and enſlav'd by them; they take what they pleaſe, and pay nothing. The Scots Army was not upon ſuch a Footing, for they paid the Country People for what they had; but where the French came, they thought they could make free with all as their own; for which the Labourers and Farmers of Scotland very often intercepted their Baggage and Proviſions, and beat off the Party which eſcorted them; which occaſioned repeated Complaints, and likewiſe Blows betwixt the Scots and French. The People of Scotland, where the French Army had been longeſt encamp'd, roſe in a Body, and went to King Robert in Council; they preſented their Petition, complaining of the Abuſes and Extravagancies of the French, and begging for Redreſs. As their Petition was conceiv'd in very ſtrong Terms, his Majeſty, with the Advice of his Council, found it expedient and neceſſary to ſend Home the French Forces, but to detain their General as an Hoſtage and Pledge, until the People ſhould have Satisfaction and Reſtitution made them for their Loſſes, and the heavy Exactions of the French Auxiliaries.

The French us'd the Scots ill.

The People of Scotland check the Inſolence of the French.

The French General detain'd as a Pledge.

The Douglaſſes being the Perſons of greateſt Influence, Weight, and Conſequence, now at Court, did all in their Power to perſwade the common People of the Kingdom to drop their Demands upon the French, but in vain, for they were obſtinately reſolute in what they claim'd as their Right; therefore, November the Firſt, the King ſent Home his French Allies, but detains the General until full Payment was made by the French.

After this, Archibald Earl of Galloway's Son, William Douglaſs undertakes to invade Ireland, to check the Iriſh on the oppoſite Coaſt from their Depredations and repeated Inſults upon that Country. This young Nobleman, William Douglaſs, was eſteem'd as the fineſt Gentleman of the Nation for Judgment, Wit, Reſolution, and Bravery, tall in Stature, of a moſt comely Preſence, commanding Awe and Regard; not addicted to Vice, but with all the promiſing Appearances of being a very great Man in the State, and an Ornament in the Commonwealth: To all his other Qualities he had the Happineſs to add this, that he was attended with Succeſs in all his Enterprizes, and had often ſignaliz'd himſelf by his Victory over his Enemies, though with far inferior Force. From Regard to his great Merit, the King beſtow'd his Daughter Ægidia, the Beauty of the Age, upon him, and put him in Poſſeſſion of all Nithſdale, the next County to Galloway.

William Douglaſs invades Ireland. His great Character.

William Douglaſs having got ſafe to the Iriſh Coaſt, landed his Men at Carlingford, a rich Town at that Time. Upon their landing, the People of the Town were all in Amaze, ſtruck with Fear and Surprize; and being in no Condition to reſiſt, they ſent a ſolemn Deputation of the chief Inhabiters to capitulate with Douglaſs. Douglaſs receiv'd the Deputies with the greateſt Decency

William Douglaſs lands his Men in the County of Louth.

Decency and Civility entertain'd them, and did not allow his Men to commit any Diſorders; but ſuch was the Treachery of the Iriſh, that while Douglaſs is regaling their Town's-Men, they ſecretly and ſlyly ſent Expreſſes to Dundalk for Relief. Douglaſs apprehending no Danger, had detach'd Robert Stewart of Diſdeir, with a Party of 200 Men to find Proviſions and Neceſſaries; ſo the Iriſh taking the Advantage of this, and pretending to be in Terms of Surrender with Douglaſs, wait only for the coming up of the Dundalk Men. Douglaſs having Intelligence by his foraging Party return'd, that there was a Body of 500 Horſe advancing toward him, in two ſeparate Parties to ſurround and encloſe him, he draws out his Men and prepares for Action when he had form'd, tho' inferior in Numbers, he charg'd their Horſe ſo warmly, as ſoon to break them and oblige them to fly after great Slaughter; then he took Poſſeſſion of the Town Sword in Hand, plunder'd it, and then ſet Fire to the whole. He loaded fifteen Ships with the Effects and the Booty taken here; then he ſet ſail for the Iſle of Man, which he plunder'd and then return'd to Scotland triumphant, landing all at Loch-Ryan, which ſeparates Galloway from Carrick.

William Douglaſs plunders and burns Carlingford and defeats the Iriſh.

He returns loaded with Booty.

While William Douglaſs is thus employ'd, his Father the Earl of Galloway, march'd at the Head of an Army into England, to avenge the Barbarity and Devaſtations of Richard the II. in his laſt Expedition into Scotland; my Lord Galloway was encourag'd to this Attempt, by the breaking out of a civil War in England, and as the Engliſh were ſo diſtracted at Home, he wanted to diſtreſs them effectually, ſo as to render them incapable of troubling their Neighbours for ſome Time. The Spirit of the Scots Nation, was at this Time inclin'd to War. There was a great Stock of fine young Nobility and Gentry in Scotland, who ſeem'd to be of a military Genius, Men of Spirit and Reſolution. They all united in ſupporting the Dignity of their Country, but his Majeſty the King, being now of an advanc'd Age, peaceable and cool in Spirit, ſeem'd averſe from any offenſive Enterprize againſt England. The King's eldeſt Son the Prince Succeſſor, was of a ſlow, inactive and effeminate Turn of Mind; therefore the Nobility and Gentry, who ſeem'd to be harmonious in their Sentiments, being in high Spirits, regarded little the King's own private Opinion, and did chiefly careſs the King's ſecond Son Robert, who ſhew'd more of Spirit and Genius for the active and enterpriſing Part of Life; therefore without acquainting his Majeſty, the Body of the Nobility concert together to raiſe an Army, and to have them take the Field, the Nones of Auguſt: The Place of Rendezvous being agreed upon, Froſſard affirms, they muſter'd an Army of 40,000 Men, but the Scots allow only 30,000.

The Earl of Galloway invades England.

The Scots Nation all inflam'd for War.

The King and Prince not much regarded by the Nobility.

Auguſt 5. The Scots raiſe 40,000 to invade England.

The Scots thought to ſurprize the Engliſh, but were diſappointed, for the Engliſh had Spies in all Quarters, to watch the Motion of the Scots, and having got full Intelligence of ſo formidable an Army, aſſembl'd in Scotland; they held ſeveral private Meetings to conſult how to ſave themſelves from this Blow, which threatned them; at length they reſolv'd that they ſhould all keep at Home, until the Scots Army had enter'd England, and that they learn'd their Deſtination and Deſigns, and upon full Notice of all the Proceedings in the Scots Army, they ſhould be ready at an Hour's Warning, to take Arms and go to the general Rendezvous, and then penetrate into Scotland, while the Scots were in England; this being only ſerving the Scots as they had done England, when the Engliſh Army had laſt invaded Scotland.

The Engliſh by Craft, endeavour to ſave themſelves.

The Engliſh had order'd ſo as to have a Spy in the Scots Army, who paſs'd over the whole Army for a Scotſman, in Dreſs, Language, and all outward Appearance. He having been very dilligent, did ſo improve his Time, while in the Scots Camp, that he diſcover'd all the ſecret Deſigns, Routs, and projected Motions of their Army; yea, he carefully liſtn'd to the Converſation of the general Officers, and being loaded with Intelligence, he went off ſecretly from the Scots Army; but going directly to the Place where he had left his Horſe, he found they had ſtole the Horſe and rode off with him; upon which the Spy was oblig'd to walk booted and ſpurr'd. Upon his Road, however, he was met with, by a reconnoitring Party of the Scots Army, who having ſeen him, in their Camp, as one of their own Men, ſuppos'd he had got away without Leave, and was ſtraggling with an Intent to run away; therefore, they carried him back Priſoner to the Camp, and to the General's Tent; Douglaſs examin'd him and found out he was an Engliſh Spy, ſo upon Promiſe of his Life, he diſcover'd the whole of the Engliſh Deſigns of marching into Scotland. The Generals and other Officers of the Scots Army, upon this held a Council of War, to determine how to make the neceſſary Diſpoſitions to diſconcert the Enemy's Projects, and they agreed in this, that the Army ſhould ſeparate into two Bodies, the largeſt was to take the Rout by Carliſle into England, under the Command of the Earls of Fife, and Strahern, the King's Sons, in Conjunction with Douglaſs, Earl of Galloway, and the Earls of Mar, and Sutherland. The other Body was to march by the Way of Northumberland, commanded by the celebrated James Douglaſs, with the two Brothers, George Dunbar, Earl of Murray, and John Earl of March, they march'd but 2500, beſides Servants and Volunteers; only the Horſe in the Scots Army had this Advantage, that they were always lin'd with well arm'd Foot who ſtill kept at the Side of the Horſe.

The Engliſh Spy is taken and diſcloſes all the Meaſures of the Engliſh.

The largeſt Body of the Scots Army, which took the Road for Carliſle, were ſo numerous and powerful, that they carried all before them; but the other Part of the Army commanded by James Douglaſs, met with Oppoſition; however, Douglaſs order'd his Matters with ſuch Secrecy and Expedition, that by forc'd Marches and intercepting all Intelligence from the Engliſh, he ſo conducted as to get paſt the Tine, and beyond Newcaſtle, as far as to the rich County

The Scots Army divide into two Bodies.

County of Durham, which he put under Contribution. Piercy Earl of Northumberland, being a Man of the greateſt Eſtate in that Neighbourhood, and of celebrated Bravery, got together an Army directly to oppoſe and check the Rapidity of Douglaſs's Motions, which ſurpriz'd the whole Country. Piercy order'd his two Sons, Henry and Ralph, to head a ſtrong Detachment, and to advance before him, to ſtop Douglaſs's Retreat, until Piercy himſelf ſhould bring up the main Army, to offer the Scots Battle, if they would ſtand an Engagement; but Piercy's Sons were not able to intercept the Retreat of Douglaſs's Army, for Douglaſs having ſufficiently plunder'd and ravag'd all the Biſhoprick of Durham, alter'd his Rout and return'd with his Booty, croſſing the Tine, three Miles above Newcaſtle. However, the Douglaſſes and Dunbars being elated with their Succeſs, and their Return ſo far unmoleſted, they would venture with their Army down to Newcaſtle, and were in ſuch high Spirits, that they threaten'd to beſiege the Town. Here the Scots Army ſtay'd two Days, and in this Time ſome Skirmiſhes happen'd betwixt their advanc'd Parties; at length the Scots ſo, by reproachful and reviling Expreſſions, enrag'd the Rage of Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, that he came out and openly challeng'd Douglaſs the General of the Scots Army, to decide the Matter by their ſingle Combat; they agreed upon this, and ſo met on Horſeback, but Piercy at the firſt, was diſmounted by Douglaſs, and Douglaſs was Maſter of his Spear, but Piercy's Perſon was reſcu'd by the Engliſh, who came to carry him off; Douglaſs rode about ſhewing the Spear, and crying aloud, this Trophy I will carry to Scotland. After this Duel was over, next Day the Scots Army decamp'd and march'd for Scotland; they were forc'd to make but ſlow Marches, being ſo heavily loaded with their Baggage and Plunder; but in their Way, they took and demoliſh'd ſome Forts, the laſt they attack'd, was the Caſtle at Otterburn; here they halted for three Days, before they begun to attack, to deliberate whether they ſhould march croſs the Country to Carliſle, to join their main Army or not. Piercy having Advice that they ſat down and were encamp'd before Otterburn, did believe that they muſt have a conſiderable Body of Men nigh Hand in Reſerve, elſe they never would have ventur'd to attack and beſiege a Place of ſuch Strength; therefore, Piercy ſent out Spies to all Quarters, to bring him Intelligence of the Numbers of the Enemy, and if they had any Reſerve nigh Hand to the Army, which lay before Otterburn; finding by the Return of his Spies, that the Scots had no Supply of Men at Hand to reinforce them, he marches at the Head of ten thouſand Men, to raiſe the Siege without waiting for the Biſhop of Durham, to join him with his Forces. Before Piercy could come up, the Caſtle of Otterburn was taken, and Piercy came up to the Place when the Scots were at Supper; however all in a Hurry, the Scots got to Arms, the Foot were more ſurpriz'd than the Horſe, for the Horſe in the Scots Camp had view'd the Enemy marching toward them; but the Camp of the Scots Army, was ſufficiently guarded on one Side by a Moraſs and Lake, on the other, by Wood they had cut down for this Purpoſe. The Scots Horſe, upon the Approach of the Engliſh Army, took the Advantage and got up to a ſmall Hill, above their Camp, where they form'd, and when the Engliſh advanc'd to charge the Scots in the Entry of their Camp, the Scots Cavalry ruſh'd down and flank'd the Engliſh, making great Slaughter, but the Engliſh fill'd up their Ranks by advancing their Corps de Reſerve. However, the Diſorder the Engliſh were put in, gave the Scots an Opportunity to get out of their Camp, to form aright, which being done, the Engagement was renew'd with great Fury, tho' the Engliſh were far ſuperior in Numbers; yet Douglaſs with the Earls of Murray and March, maintain'd the Fight with obſtinate Reſolution, till nigh Midnight, that the Moon was overclouded and Darkneſs parted them; but how ſoon the Moon got clear again, both Armies return'd to the Charge. The Engliſh bore down with great Violence, upon the Scots under the Command of Douglaſs, and Douglaſs had nigh loſt the Standard, but the two Patrick Hepburns Father and Son with their Cohors forc'd their Way to the Front, where Douglaſs was, to ſupport him, becauſe he was in Danger of being overpower'd: However, in the Heat of the Action, after this, Douglaſs ventur'd too far through the Enemy's Ranks, with his Couſins Robert Hart and Simon Glenduning, making great Slaughter whereever he reach'd; but at length he receiv'd three mortal Wounds, Hart was kill'd on the Spot, and Glenduning wounded. Douglaſs's Prieſt took Care of his wounded Maſter, until his Friends, the two Sinclairs, and John Lindſay came up: When they beheld the brave and great Douglaſs expiring, they ask'd him how he was, and if he was faint. He anſwer'd, "I am very well, "I am a dying; I die not in my Bed, but as all my Anceſtors have done; and I have three "Articles to commit in Charge to you, as I am a dying Man: Firſt, to conceal my Death: "Secondly, Let not my Standard be taken down: And laſtly, I deſire you may revenge my "Death: If you gratify me in this I will reſt eaſy." Upon which his mournful Friends cover'd his Body with a ſcarlet Cloak, and then ſet up his Standard with loud Shouts, and Huzza's, a Douglaſs! a Douglaſs! Upon this the Scots, with the higheſt Spirits, ruſh upon the Enemy, and ſo cut them down that they were not able to ſtand it; therefore they fled with great Precipitation, leaving ſeveral Priſoners of Diſtinction behind them, among whom was Henry Piercy, the Engliſh General, and his younger Brother.

The Engliſh loſt in this Battle 1840 kill'd in the Field, 1000 wounded, and 1040 taken Priſoners; the Scots loſt about 150 Men in the Field, and 200 taken Priſoners. James Lindſay obſerving Redman, one of the Engliſh Generals, ſtraggling away in the Purſuit, he chas'd him until Matthew Redman's Horſe gave up; upon which Redman diſmounted, and took to

his Heels; but Lindſay ſoon got hold of him. When Redman was now Lindſay's Priſoner, Lindſay us'd him with great Humanity, and diſmiſs'd him upon his Parole of Honour, to return in three Weeks. There was an eſtabliſh'd Rule among the Borderers, that, upon the Event of War, they mutually ſhould uſe one another with this Hoſpitality when Priſoners, but that whoever forfeited his Word when Priſoner, in not returning to his Time, ſhould not only be deny'd for ever the Company or Society of Gentlemen, or any Perſons of Credit and Reputation, but be ever after branded with Infamy, and publickly hiſs'd out of all Company. Lindſay having ruſh'd too far in Purſuit of the Enemy, run himſelf unexpectedly into the Biſhop of Durham's Army, which was marching up to reinforce Piercy; ſo Lindſay was made Priſoner, and detain'd by them. The Biſhop of Durham being inform'd of the Loſs and Defeat of the preceding Day, halted with his Army to refreſh them, and held a Council of War, to determine what was moſt proper to be executed upon this Emergency; and in Council it was reſolv'd to march by the nigheſt Road to attack the Enemy, thinking to catch them ſecure and fatigu'd after their late Victory. The Engliſh had 10,000 Men under the Biſhop of Durham's Command, and moſtly Horſe. The Earl of Murray, who now commanded the Scots Army, having Notice of the Enemies March toward him, gave Orders to prepare to receive them warmly: The Scots were well fortified in their Camp to Right and Left, by Wood and Palliſadoes, and by a great Moraſs in their Rear: They form'd their Army, and waited for the Enemy. Before the Engagement, the Earl of Murray being embarraſs'd with ſuch Numbers of Engliſh Priſoners, his great and generous Soul would not allow him to commit any Act of Cruelty toward his Priſoners, nor to proceed to cut them off: He only, having addreſs'd himſelf to them in the moſt engaging and reſolute Terms, aſſur'd them they ſhould receive no Hurt, provided they did not prove treacherous during the Engagement; and he requir'd them all to take an Oath in the moſt ſolemn Manner, obliging themſelves to remain peaceable in his Camp till the Fate of the Day was determin'd. Having done this, and with manly Eloquence encourag'd his Army, he advanc'd, and charg'd the Biſhop of Durham with his Army in ſuch a Manner, as to put them in irrecoverable Diſorder at the firſt Onſet, and ſo broke them that they all took to Flight. Thus the ſpiritual General had not made right Application of his ſpiritual Armour; for regarding more (it would appear) his ſuperior Numbers than his proper Devotions, and a well-prepar'd Mind, his Faith, Courage, and Succeſs, all fail'd him on this Day. What haſtned the Flight and Confuſion of the Enemy was, that the Scots Army came down upon them, with each privately furniſh'd with a Blowing-Horn, which, when they approach'd to the Enemy's Cavalry, they all with one united Sound did blow, ſo as to make Hills, Mountains, and Cavities of Rocks eccho and reſound, with ſuch mighty Noiſe, as if it had been Thundering, or the Eruption of Mount Veſuvius. By this ready and well-judg'd Contrivance, they ſo frighten'd the undiſciplin'd Horſe of the Engliſh Army, that they, through the Fright, put their whole Army into Confuſion, and deſtroy'd Numbers of their own Men. The Fate of this Day being determin'd in Favour of the Scots, and the Engliſh Army having retreated with Loſs and Diſorder, the Earl of Murray determin'd to return with his Army for Scotland; but, agreeable to his noble and good Spirit, the Earl order'd General Piercy to be ſafely conducted on Horſeback, and to be put under the Care of the moſt eminent Surgeons at Newcaſtle, until he recover'd. Piercy, and four hundred more Priſoners of Note, were ſoon after ranſom'd by the Engliſh; Lord Douglaſs's Body was carried to Melroſs, and there interr'd with the greateſt Splendor and Magnificence. Douglaſs dying without Iſſue, the Eſtate and Honours came to the Earl of Galloway. Theſe two deciſive Encounters happen'd July the 21ſt and 22d, in the Year 1388.

12th of the Calends of Auguſt.

After this, Scotland enjoy'd its Peace and Liberty for ſome Time. King Robert being now far advanc'd in Age, and infirm, and the Prince not ſo agreeable to the Nobility, the King conſtituted and appointed Robert, his ſecond Son, who now was General of the King's Armies, to be Governor and Regent of Scotland. The Earl of March, after this Battle of Otterburn, in all publick Companies degraded the Valour of the Scots, and reproach'd the Engliſh with Cowardice; which made both Scots and Engliſh march againſt him: Robert Stewart commanded the Scots Forces; but the Earl of March found it convenient not to venture fighting, and ſo kept himſelf within his ſtrong Holds, and ſo at length diſpers'd his Men; upon which Robert return'd with his Army.

The next great Event following upon this, was a Truce betwixt the Engliſh and the French, in which the Allies of both Sides were comprehended: The French ſent an Ambaſſador to Scotland, to have the Approbation of the King and Parliament of Scotland to the Stipulations of the Truce. King Robert did agree to them, but it was after great Struggle, and long Debates, that the Council could be brought to approve of the Conditions; for the Whole of Scotland had juſtly conceiv'd a Diſlike and Diſtaſte at French Faith, becauſe of their former and late unfair and inſincere Conduct to their Allies: However, this Difficulty was ſurmounted, and the Affair ſettled. Soon after this the King was taken ill, and after a few Days Sickneſs he dy'd, April the 19th, 1390, at his Caſtle of Dundonald *, in the 74th Year of his Age. At King Robert's Death the Kingdom of Scotland had recover'd all her Property from the Engliſh but three Forts. Robert reign'd 19 Years and 24 Days.

* Dundonald lies upon Irvin River.

After

After King Robert's Death ſome Diſcontents and Commotions aroſe about the Succeſſion; Alexander Earl of Buchan, the King's youngeſt Son by Elizabeth More, diſturb'd the Nation ſome Time, by a Quarrel on this Head, with the Biſhop of Murray: The Earl of Buchan attempted to take the Biſhop's Life; but being diſappointed of this, he ſet Fire to the grand and noble Structure of the Cathedral at Elgin, which, in its proper Place, will be fully deſcrib'd. Soon after the Nation ſuſtain'd a great Loſs by the Death of William Douglaſs, Earl of Nithſdale, who was kill'd, or rather unfairly murder'd by Aſſaſſins, employ'd for that Effect by Clifford, an Engliſhman, when my Lord Nithſdale was at Dantzick, intending to go to the Holy War.

Robert the Second, King of Scotland, was a Perſon of a mild Temper, juſt and equitable, willing to be govern'd by the Advice and Approbation of his Counſel; no Lover of War, but reſolute and fix'd in his Deſigns, and had great Succeſs in his Undertakings for Delivery of his Kingdom from Encroachments, though he begun his Reign under the Diſadvantage of very troubleſome Times.

# ROBERT III.

ROBERT the Third was the Hundredth and First King of Scotland: He was eldeſt Son to Robert the Second: The Name by which he was baptiz'd was John; but, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, which happen'd upon the 13th Day of Auguſt, in the Year of our Lord 1390, by the Appointment of the Nobility, and other Eſtates of the Kingdom, his Name was chang'd to Robert, and for the future acknowledg'd as Robert the Third, in all publick Aſſemblies, Commiſſions, Grants, and Writings. The Reaſons for this Alteration of his Name may probably have been, firſt, the Obſervation of the Calamities and the Misfortunes of two late and neighbouring Kings of the Name of John, both of France and England; and next, becauſe of the great and extraordinary Spirit and Succeſſes of the two preceding Roberts: In ſhort, the Scotch were of Opinion that John was an unfortunate Name, and therefore would have no King ſo call'd. In the Beginning of his Reign Robert appear'd to be of no vicious Diſpoſition, yet was not adorn'd with theſe Marks of an illuſtrious, enterprizing, and manly Genius, which ſhined ſo manifeſtly in his brave Anceſtors; therefore, in the Beginning of his Reign, though he inherited the Title of King, the Reins of Government, and the Adminiſtration of Affairs, were in the Hands of his Brother Robert. The Beginning of his Reign was peaceable, for there was a Truce concluded with the Engliſh for three Years, which was lengthen'd out, a little after, for four Years more There happen'd indeed ſome private Seditions and Commotions amongſt his Subjects at Home: The firſt was occaſion'd by Duncan Stewart, Son to Alexander Earl of Buchan, who was the King's Brother. This Duncan Stewart being a Man of a wild, bloody, and fierce Mind, (now that his Grandfather Robert the Second was dead) he imagin'd he had a fit Opportunity for Rapine and Plunder, and ſo reſolv'd to give Way, and full Swing, to his wild and roving Diſpoſition: Therefore he collected a Band of looſe, diſorderly, and deſperate Fellows, and heading them, he march'd down upon the Low Countries. Firſt he attack'd the Shire of Angus, plundering and laying waſte all as he went along, behaving as if he were in the Enemy's Country. Two Gentlemen of the Low Country, Walter Ogilby and Walter Lichton, rais'd a Body of Men to oppoſe his Progreſs; but Stewart, with his Party of Renegadoes, did ſtand an Attack from theſe Gentlemen, in which both of the Gentlemen were kill'd, with ſixty of their Men; upon which the reſt were put to Flight.

The Succeſs of this Encounter fortified the Spirit of Stewart in his barbarous Deſigns, ſo that he became the Scourge and Terror of the neighbouring Counties: Upon which the King order'd the Earl of Crawford to march directly, with a Body of Men, to ſuppreſs theſe Banditti, who, at my Lord Crawford's Approach to them, diſpers'd and fled into different Corners and Quarters for Sanctuary; but in the Purſuit many of them were ſlain, and others taken Priſoners, who afterwards were executed. Thus this Gang of Plunderers being almoſt extirpated, the two Ringleaders of what remain'd quarrelling amongſt themſelves, exercis'd great Cruelties againſt one another's Families. They diſobey'd the King's Order when he commanded them to end all their Differences, either by Courſe of Law or the Determination of ſome equitable and diſintereſted Perſons: Therefore, upon this Contempt of the Royal Command, his Majeſty order'd Thomas Earl of Dunbar, and James Lindſay, now Earl of Crawford, with a conſiderable Force, to march directly to ſuppreſs them. Theſe two Noblemen being Men of Judgment and Conduct, conſulted together of the moſt proper Expedient to put a final Stop to the Inſults and Depredations of theſe Deſperadoes; and therefore they judg'd it moſt effectual to make Trial of Stratagem and Policy with theſe Clans, rather than open Force; for they were a bloody and reſolute, warlike People, who valued not Life; ſo that they eaſily foreſaw that they could not be brought to Reaſon without great Bloodſhed, and Slaughter of their own Men. The Expedient therefore the two Earls agreed upon was, to propoſe an Interview with the Clans ſeparately, particularly the two Families who were the Heads. This the Clans and their Chiefs agreed to. Upon this Interview, the Earls of Crawford and Dunbar repreſented, in the moſt moving and affecting Manner, and with all the Power of their Eloquence, the Dangers which the Clans and their Families were expoſed to by their preſent Proceedings; for if they went on deſtroying and murdering one another's Families, it would infallibly terminate in the utter Extirpation of both: The King could not be an idle Spectator of their Ravages and rebellious Behaviour, and therefore, if they perſiſted obſtinately, his Majeſty's Forces, under their Command, would be oblig'd to fall upon them, and to deſtroy them Root and Branch, wherever they could find them. They therefore, the Earls of Crawford and Dunbar, did propoſe to them one Expedient for

for their own Safety, which would decide the whole Controverſy betwixt the two leading Families, and be approv'd of by his Majeſty. The Propoſal was as follows: That each of the Families ſhould prepare 300 choſen Men of each Side, arm'd only with Broad Swords, and that they ſhould decide the whole Controverſy by fighting in the King's Preſence; the Conquerors to be rewarded with the King's Favours and Honours, and the Conquer'd with a general and free Pardon for all paſt Offences and Crimes. The Propoſal was agreed to by the Clans, and ratified by the King's Approbation. Both Sides being well pleas'd with the Terms, the Day for the Diſpute and Combat was fix'd. At the Time appointed, the two contending Heads of the Families, with their 300 Men each, came to Court, and having fix'd upon the Ground where they were to fight, upon the North Side of the Town of Perth, the King gave Orders that the Ground ſhould be inclos'd with a deep Trench, and allow'd Galleries to be built round, for the Spectators on the Outſide. Upon the Day, Multitudes aſſembled from all Quarters, to be Witneſſes to the ending of this Diſpute. When both Sides were muſter'd upon the Field of Action, one Party was found to want a Man to compleat the 300, which was owing to the Cowardice of one of their Men, who made his Eſcape, and hid himſelf, dreading it would be a very bloody Action. This delay'd the Engagement for a little Time, but, of a Sudden, a Tradeſman of the Town of Perth, in order to prevent all Excuſes or Delays, ſteps out from the Multitude, and offers his Service to that Party which wanted a Man, provided they gave him directly a Golden Dollar of French Coin, and, if his Party came off Conquerors, that they ſhould provide for him for Life. This being agreed to, the Parties immediately after engag'd; and being ſo inflam'd with old Reſentment, and their late Loſſes, they fought with ſuch Fury as preſented to the Spectators, with Horror, the moſt frightful Scenes of Blood and Violence, beholding nothing but Mutilations, butchering one another's Bodies with the Amputation of Limbs; and, in ſhort, ſuch frightful Appearances as demonſtrated rather the unbounded Rage of wild Beaſts, than the Wrath of Men: The mercenary Tradeſman, who had engag'd to fight for Reward, behav'd with ſuch perſonal Bravery, that he was a chief Inſtrument of procuring the Victory to his own Side; and of his Side there remain'd alive upon the Field ten, beſides himſelf, all deſperately wounded; of the oppoſite Faction there remain'd only one Man, who had receiv'd neither Wound nor Hurt in the Engagement; he, being afraid to encounter the eleven ſurviving Men of the other Side, frightned at the Odds, made his Eſcape, and ſwam over the River Tay, to the other Side, from whence he fled to the Hills. Both Parties being cut off in this Action, with their leading Men and Chiefs, the Scheme entirely anſwer'd his Majeſty's Pupoſe, to get rid of theſe troubleſome and ungovernable Savages, who could not ſubject themſelves to Laws and good Government. This Syſtem of the King's, which had ſo good Succeſs, might well be eſteem'd a Piece of refin'd French Policy, of which, very lately, there has been a new Edition, concerted to ſet on one Part of the Scots Nation to butcher the other. The Chief of the two contending Clans in this Quarrel, were the Clan Keys, and the Clan Cattons: The Clan Keys, or McKays, had only one Man ſurviving unwounded, but of the Clan Cattons remain'd eleven, including the Hireling; ſo that the Clan Cattons had the better; but both ſo effectually humbled at this Time, that neither Side were capable to do any Miſchief for many Years. This Event forc'd the Remainder of theſe Clans to employ their future Time in Agriculture, which they did, without diſturbing their Neighbours, for many Years after this Action, which happen'd in the Year 1396.

The Clans Catton and Clan Kays deſtroy'd by a Stratagem and Scheme of the Earl of Crawford's.

The Highlanders after this were very peaceable.

Two Years after theſe Commotions were extinguiſh'd, the King declar'd in Parliament his Son David, who was now 18 Years of Age, and Robert, the King's Brother, both Dukes of Albany: The firſt had been created Earl of Rothes, and the latter Earl of Monteith and Fife, but ſome Years before. Theſe Titles were granted, and a Patent order'd for their Peerage, only to gratify the vain Ambition of his Majeſty's Brother Robert. The King made an Offer to the Earl of Douglaſs, to create him a Duke at the ſame Time; but my Lord Douglaſs being a Man of ſound Judgment, and no Vanity, declin'd this Shadow of Honour, placing all his Merit and Regard in good and noble Actions.

David declar'd Prince Succeſſor, and the King's Brother Governor of the Kingdom.

The King this Year confirm'd his Brother Robert as Governor, or firſt Miniſter of State to the Kingdom. Buchanan affirms likewiſe, that it was this Year the Family of the Lindſays were created Earls of Crawford; which is a plain Contradiction to what he had formerly aſſerted; for, in the Hiſtory of his preſent Majeſty, King Robert, he affirms, that James Lindſay ſucceeded his Father as Earl of Crawford, after his Deceaſe; and this James Lindſay, who, by Buchanan's own Account, ſucceeded his Father as Earl of Crawford, was the Perſon who (join'd with the Earl of Dunbar two Years before) effected the Overthrow of the Clans Cattons and Clan Keys; ſo that there were Earls of Crawford, by his own Acknowledgment, ſome Years before this new Creation.

1396.

The following Year Richard II. King of England, was forc'd to reſign his Crown; Henry IV. ſucceeded him. In the Beginning of his Reign, before the Expiration of the Truce, there aroſe new Quarrels and Miſunderſtandings betwixt the Engliſh and Scots. The King's Son David had choſen for his Queen Elizabeth, Daughter to George Earl of March, and my Lord March had already paid up to the King's Son a good Part of her Fortune: Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, taking this as a heinous Affront, that his Rival ſhould have the firſt Place in the Royal Favour, and that my Lord March's Family ſhould be ſo nighly connected to the Crown as to have his Daughter married to the Prince Succeſſor; he, upon this Account, forms a Faction, under the

Richard the Second, King of England, forc'd from his Crown.

Protection and Patronage of the King's Brother Robert, to prevent and defeat the Conſummation of this intended Marriage; which accordingly he accompliſh'd; for he repreſented to his Majeſty, in very ſtrong Terms, that this Marriage of his Son with the Earl of March's Daughter had been promoted in a moſt extraordinary and unprecedented Manner, without ever conſulting the Nobility and other Eſtates, which was in itſelf highly affronting to the Eſtates of the Kingdom: Douglaſs further added, that he would give his Daughter Mary in Marriage to the young Prince, with a larger Fortune than that of my Lord March's; which Propoſal, by the Influence of Robert, the King's Brother, was accepted of, and the Prince's Marriage, in Conſequence of this, was conſummated with Mary, Daughter to the Earl of Douglaſs, by the Decree of the Eſtates of the Kingdom. The Indignity and Injury done to George Earl of March in this Affair, was ſo great, that he complain'd of it loudly to the King; but ſeeing the Prince's Marriage was now accompliſh'd with another Lady, and his Daughter ſet aſide, my Lord March inſiſted upon the Repayment of the Money he had advanced the Prince, upon the Faith of marrying his Daughter; but this Demand, though juſt, was deny'd him; and finding that the Affections and Ears of all belonging to the Court, were all poſſeſs'd by his Rival, the Earl of Douglaſs, and biaſs'd in his Favour, he left the Court in great Wrath, threatning his utmoſt Reſentment. Immediately after, he gave Poſſeſſion of his Caſtle at Dunbar to Robert Maitland, his Nephew, and then went directly for England. Upon this, the King ſent a Herald to demand Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, which Robert Maitland was forc'd to yield; and Douglaſs enter'd the Caſtle with a Garriſon, to defend it againſt any who might attack it.

The Marriage betwixt the Lord March's Daughter and the Prince is broke off, and the Prince marries the Lord Douglaſs's Daughter, by the Intereſt of Robert the Governor.

Upon the Earl of March's Return from England, he was denied Acceſs to his own Caſtle, and therefore he return'd to England, carrying along with him his Lady and Children, with the nigheſt of his Relations and Friends. Being now full of Reſentment, he join'd in Confederacy with Piercy of Northumberland, who was a mortal Enemy of the Douglaſſes. Having the Acceſſion of this Strength, and being a Man of Influence at Home, and famous Abroad, he ſoon collected a conſiderable Force, and was join'd by the bordering Scots, by whom he was well beloved, they being moſtly ally'd to him, or dependent upon him. Having got his whole Body together, and in good Order, he march'd into the Mers, plundering all the Country, but particularly harraſſing and waſting all the Eſtates of the Douglaſſes. Upon this, King Robert of Scotland declares George Earl of March an Enemy to his Country, by Proclamation, and order'd the Forfeiture of his Eſtate: Next, he ſent his Herald to the King of England, to demand the Earl of March, as a Fugitive, in Terms of the Treaties ſubſiſting betwixt the two Crowns, and likewiſe to make Remonſtrances againſt the Violation of the Truce.

Henry King of England refuſes to deliver up the Earl of March.

Henry of England gave a poſitive Anſwer to all their Demands: Firſt, he acquainted King Robert of Scotland, that he was determin'd to ſtand by his Royal Word, by which he had granted his Protection to George Earl of March; and next, as to the Violation of the Truce, he did not know wherein that could be made appear; for there had been no Hoſtilities committed by his Command to any, ſince the Commencement of the Truce. With this Anſwer the Heralds were diſmiſs'd, to return to the King of Scotland. Immediately after, Henry Piercy the younger, call'd Hotſpur, together with George Earl of March, made an Incurſion into Scotland, harraſſing all the bordering Lands, which they had done with Succeſs frequently before; and now their Audaciouſneſs was increas'd by their repeated Succeſſes ſo far, that they ventur'd with a Body of 2000 Men, to penetrate as far as Lothian, and committed great Outrages throughout the whole Country, particularly about Haddington; they beſieg'd Hale's Caſtle, but could not reduce it. When they came to Linton, a Village upon the River Tyne in Lothian, they were diſturb'd by the ſudden Intelligence of the Approach of Douglaſs; the name of him ſtruck them with Terror, ſo that to ſecure their Eſcape and Flight, they left their Booty and all their Baggage behind them; having therefore nothing to retard them in their March, they fled with all poſſible Speed, and never ſtopt until they came to Berwick. This Event was in the Beginning of February, 1400.

The Provocation given the King and Kingdom of Scotland by theſe Inſults, the Breach of Publick Faith, and the haughty Returns brought by the Heralds from the King of England, produc'd an immediate Declaration of War againſt England; but, to the great Loſs and Sorrow of the whole Nation, Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, ſurnam'd the Stern, (who was deſign'd for Captain-General of the Scots Army, and in all Reſpects equal to that Character) was taken ill, and died in a few Days. The Loſs of this great Man was the more fatal, that they had loſt of late ſo many brave and experienc'd Generals: He was ſucceeded in Honours and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son.

The Scots declare War againſt England.

On the 13th of Auguſt, this Year, Henry of England entred Scotland, with a formidable Army; when he arriv'd at Haddington he halted for three Days, to refreſh his Army; then marching forward to Leith, he ſtopt here likewiſe for three Days; then he march'd to beſiege Edinburgh Caſtle in Form: The Governor of Scotland, though the King's own Brother, advanc'd but ſlowly with his Army to oppoſe King Henry of England, and his Deſigns. David, the King's Son, and Prince Succeſſor of Scotland, was ſhut up with his Lady, and the reſt of the Royal Family, in the Caſtle of Edinburgh; ſo Robert the Governor, who had no real Affection nor Regard for his Brother, the King of Scotland, nor for any of his Family, to gratify his over-grown and tow'ring Ambition, wanted both his Brother and his Children to be remov'd, or ſomehow taken off, in order to pave the Way for his own Acceſſion to the Throne:

Henry of England invades Scotland with a grand Army.

Throne: This he demonſtrated fully, by the Manner in which he advanced with his Army againſt the Enemy, and the Slowneſs and Inſignificancy of his Operations to annoy the Engliſh. The King of England, upon this Occaſion, ſhew'd himſelf a generous Enemy, endow'd with a princely and noble Spirit, full of great Moderation and Humanity, as if touch'd and affected with the Condition of his Brother King; ſhewing a tender Regard for the young Royal Family of Scotland, was willing rather to make his Power appear, than to exerciſe it as an Enemy; and therefore, as if he felt the Fears and Doubtings in the Breaſts of the young Royal Family of Scotland, now inclos'd within the Caſtle Walls, he, as if he came with a peaceful Mind, tho' back'd by a numerous Army, after a ſhort and ſlight Attack upon the Caſtle, draws off his whole Army, and returns for England. Both in his Advance and Return, he behav'd with ſuch Mildneſs and Clemency, with ſuch Decency and good Manners, towards all his Priſoners, that he gain'd himſelf great Applauſe and Honour: The People in general paid greater Regard to Henry of England, than to Robert the Governor of Scotland, the King's Brother; for Robert ſeem'd neither true nor faithful to any Side, entirely aiming at enhancing the whole Power into his own Hands. Henry of England allow'd of no plundering in his Progreſs into Scotland, neither were the religious or conſecrated Places in the leaſt diſturb'd by his Troops.

Henry of England behaves to the King and People of Scotland with Greatneſs of Soul, and like a great and good Man.

However, after Henry was return'd for England, George Dunbar, Earl of March, renew'd his Excurſions and Depredations on the Borders of Scotland; therefore the Scots order'd Douglaſs to march againſt them with ſome Forces. Douglaſs having got this Command, and being full of Reſentment againſt the Earl of March, did reſolve upon the moſt effectual Way to cruſh and ſuppreſs all Attempts of theſe flying Parties, under the Command of the Earl of March; and therefore he rais'd the Poſſe Comitatûs of each County, erecting them into ſo many independent Companies, under the Command of the proper Officers, with Orders for them to watch the Motions of the Enemy at all the different Paſſes, in order to ſtop their Progreſs, and repel Force by Force. The Officers, with their proper Companies, were to take their Turns by Lot, in watching and guarding their Frontier; the firſt Lot fell upon Thomas Halyburton, of Dirlton, who, with his Party, march'd directly to find out the Enemy; and having met them, heavily loaded with Plunder, did attack and beat them: He not only carried off all their Booty, but plunder'd the Country all about Bamburgh. Patrick Heburn, who commanded another independent Company for guarding the Frontier, penetrated into England by a different Road; but having receiv'd an additional Force to join him, he became too ſecure, truſting to his Numbers, and without proper Intelligence, going too far into the Country, the Engliſh intercepted his Retreat and Return with his Prey, cutting him off, with the Flower of all the Lothian Men. Archibald Douglaſs, in Reſentment for the Slaughter of his Friend Mr. Heburn, raiſes an Army of 10,000 Men, having the Conſent of the Governor of Scotland to this Effect; many of the Nobility of Scotland attended Douglaſs as Voluntiers in this Expedition, among whom was Murdo, the Gov rnor's Son. When Douglaſs with his Army came to Northumberland, they paſs'd the Tine at Newcaſtle, and laid the whole Country round waſte by Fire and Sword; but they were ſtopt from going further by the Engliſh Army, under the Command of Henry Piercy the younger, and George Dunbar, who met them, and gave them Battle: After a bloody and obſtinate Diſpute, the Scots Army under Douglaſs was defeated; Douglaſs loſt one Eye, and was taken Priſoner. There were a great many more Priſoners of Note and Diſtinction, particularly Murdo Earl of Fife, Thomas Earl of Murray, and George Earl of Angus, beſides a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry who were kill'd in the Field. The Loſs of this Day, and the Slaughter of ſo many of the firſt Nobility of Scotland, did weaken the Power of the King more than any Event for many Years paſt. This Battle happen'd upon the 7th of May, 1401, at Homeldon in Northumberland.

The Scots harraſs and diſtreſs the Engliſh by their independent Companies.

The Scots Army defeated, and moſt of the Nobility kill'd or taken.

Piercy, with Dunbar Earl of March, being in high Spirits upon this Victory over the Scots Army, determin'd to ſubject the whole Country betwixt Northumberland and the Forth to the Engliſh Yoke; this he thought now he could eaſily accompliſh, the moſt of the Nobility of Scotland, in his Opinion, being either kill'd or taken Priſoners: He begun with the Caſtle of Cocklaw in Teviotdale, where he forc'd the Governor to theſe Terms, that he did oblige himſelf to ſurrender the Place to Piercy in forty Days, provided it was not reliev'd by the Scots Army. The King of Scotland having Notice of this Conceſſion made by the Governor of the Caſtle of Teviotdale, a Council extraordinary was directly call'd, to determine what was moſt proper to be done at this critical Conjuncture. The Nobility and Council were divided in their Opinions; ſome join'd in Opinion with the King, that, in the preſent Situation, it was moſt expedient to deliver up the Caſtle; but the Governor, who was the King's Brother, oppos'd this with all the Warmth and Power of Expreſſion he was capable of, to avoid being ſuſpected of Treachery and falſe Deſigns; for he was by moſt of the Court, who favour'd the King's Intereſt, thought not to be ſincere in any Thing but promoting his own Power and Influence.

Piercy and the Earl of March invade Scotland.

Great Diſputes in Council about the Surrender of Cocklaw Caſtle.

Robert the Governor inſiſted, that the yielding up the Caſtle of Cocklaw would be conſtructed by the Engliſh as a practical Acknowledgment of Cowardice in the Scots Nation, and inſtead of having the deſir'd Effect, it would certainly encourage the Enemy to further Encroachments; ſo far would the Engliſh be, from being ſatisfied with the having of one Caſtle, that the giving up one to them would ſharpen their Appetite to graſp at the Whole.

Robert, with his Eloquence, compar'd the preſent Caſe to the ſprinkling of Water upon a Coal Fire, which, inſtead of quenching the Flame, did rather quicken and encreaſe it: He further

further added, that if all ſhould refuſe to march for the Relief of the Caſtle, he would himſelf go alone; for, ſaid he, while I live, and enjoy Health, I ſhall never allow ſuch a Mark of Diſgrace to reſt upon the Scots Nation. This zealous and flaming Speech made the Nobility and Gentry either extinguiſh or counterfeit their Suſpicions, therefore they all cry'd out, with one Voice, they would follow him; but happily the Controverſy was decided without a Blow, for Piercy was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and to return with his Army directly, becauſe of the Civil War in England.

Piercy was forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and return.

Amidſt theſe Alterations with Regard to the Engliſh, Matters turn'd out with a very bad Aſpect at Home; Archibald Douglaſs died the Year before; this Year happen'd the Death of the Queen Anna-Bella, and of Walter Traile, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. Theſe great Events did preſage great Alterations in the State; the Splendor of the Military was ſupported in the Perſon of Douglaſs, now dead; the Archbiſhop maintain'd the Diſcipline and eccleſiaſtical Authority of the Church, with greater Decency than any other; the Dignity and Magnificence of the Court was owing to the Queen, as ſoon appear'd after her Deceaſe. David, the King's Son, and Prince Succeſſor, was a young Man of a fiery Spirit, and of a debauch'd Mind; the Indulgence of the King his Father was an Incentive to his luſtful Paſſions; the Prince regarded not the Frowns nor Rebukes of his Father, but was reſtrain'd within the Bounds of Decency from his youthful Heats and Extravagancies, by the Conduct and Influence of his wiſe and watchful Mother the Queen, who took care to have him under the Management of ſuch Tutors as were Men of Authority, Sobriety, and good Morals: But after the Queen's Death the Prince gave full Swing to all his Pleaſures, Luſt, and Wantonneſs, and without Regard to Decency, Honour, or Character, robb'd Men of their Wives and Daughters, though of honourable and good Families. As this was the moſt atrocious and vile of all Robberies and Rapine, in either a King or Prince, ſuch Brutality in either a Crown'd Head, or Heir Apparent, merited their final Expulſion from all Regal Power and Authority, together with the united Hatred and Reſentment of a whole Kingdom, in Danger of being poiſon'd and ruin'd by ſo leading and pernicious an Example. This Prince was of ſuch a vicious Turn of Mind, that if he was interrupted from his Debauchery by any Perſon, that Perſon was the certain Object of his Reſentment until he had them ſeverely puniſh'd. The King his Father being weary'd with the many Complaints brought to him concerning his wicked Son, he wrote to the Governor, his Brother, to have a ſtrict eye over him, and to take care of him, that he ſhould not allow him to approach his Royal Preſence, until he had full Proof of his reform'd Life. This gave the Governor an Opportunity to execute his Inclinations of extinguiſhing the Royal Family; he met David, his Nephew, three Miles from St. Andrew's, and immediately carry'd him to the Caſtle there, where he kept Garriſon after the Archbiſhop's Death. After David, the King's Son, had remain'd here for ſome Time, he was carry'd away by the Governor to the Caſtle of Faulkland, and there made cloſe Priſoner, with an Intent to ſtarve him to Death. This, however, the Governor could not accompliſh ſo ſoon as he expected, for the young Prince was ſupply'd with Food by two Women; the firſt was Daughter to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Caſtle and Garriſon: This young Lady went into the Gardens in a Morning next the Priſon, with a Linnen Veil over her Head, and ſome Oat-Cakes conceal'd; theſe Cakes ſhe convey'd ſecretly through a ſmall Opening in the Wall, which was deſign'd to give Air, and ſo reliev'd the craving Appetite of the ſtarving Prince. The other Woman was a Country Nurſe, who, through a long Canal or Pipe, ſecretly convey'd to him her Milk through the ſame Hole in the Wall; but in a little Time they were both diſcover'd by the Guards, and for this Action ſuffer'd Death: The Father of the young Lady, who commanded the Guards, did, by this inhuman Sacrifice of his own Child, endeavour to recommend himſelf to the Favour of the bloody Governor. The young Prince being now in Want of all Neceſſaries of Life, by the Power of Hunger, tore the Fleſh from his own Bones with his Teeth, and ſo in a little Time dy'd, in the moſt extraordinary and moving Tortures and Agony, ſhocking to human Nature to think of! For ſome Time his Death was conceal'd from the King his Father, none daring to carry ſuch bad Tidings to his Majeſty.

The Prince's Character.

His great Extravagancies.

The Governor confines the Prince Succeſſor at St. Andrew's, and after at Faulkland.

The Prince kept alive by two women, who were at laſt put to Death for this Action.

I ſhall now relate a few Incidents, connected with our own Hiſtory, which happen'd at this Time in England, and then finiſh the Account of this bloody Murder of the King's Son, with its Effects and Conſequences at Court.

Piercy, with a great Number of the Engliſh Nobility, enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt their King; upon which Piercy applies to Douglaſs, whom he had Priſoner with him ever ſince the Battle of Homeldon, making great Offers of Favour and Friendſhip, together with his Liberty, without any Ranſom, provided he would engage ſolemnly to be as faithful and true to them in their preſent Deſigns, as he formerly had been againſt the King of England; which Douglaſs readily agreed to, wanting only an Opportunity to ſhew his Reſentment effectually againſt the King of England. Douglaſs being upon this ſet at Liberty, immediately gather'd together all the Force he could from different Quarters, his Friends, Farmers, and other Dependents, and having march'd toward the King's Army, and having met them, he determin'd to fight, and accordingly prepar'd for Battle. When the Engagement was begun, Douglaſs fix'd his Eye upon the King in Armour, without any Regard to the common Soldiers, pointing always his warmeſt Attack upon that Part of the Army which was commanded by him in Perſon, cloath'd in fine Armour. Douglaſs charging this Body of the Engliſh Army, furiouſly ruſh'd in upon the King, and dif-

Piercy and Douglaſs unite againſt the King of England.

diſmounted him from his Horſe; however, the Engliſh preſently reſcu'd their King; yet Robert renew'd the Attack upon the King's Perſon twice after: Regardleſs of all Danger, he, in the Action, always ruſh'd upon them he ſaw in Armour, and in this Action there appear'd in the Engliſh Army ſeveral cloath'd in Royal Armour, partly to animate the Engliſh Troops, and partly to diſguiſe the King's Preſence. After a moſt terrible and bloody Diſpute betwixt both Armies, the Fate of the Day favour'd the Engliſh Army; the Scots Army were oblig'd to retire, having loſt their General Douglaſs, who was deſperately wounded, and taken Priſoner. The Engliſh Army kept the Field, and having taken many Priſoners in this Action, were much elated by their Victory: They did propoſe to the King that Douglaſs ſhould be put to Death, which the King abſolutely deny'd them, and, on the contrary, approv'd of his Fidelity to his Friend Piercy, though the King's Enemy: The King of England likewiſe rewarded him genteelly for his Valour and Bravery, order'd him under the Care of his beſt Surgeons, for the Cure of his Wounds; and, after ſtaying ſome Months at the Court of England, the King diſmiſs'd him, upon Payment of a Sum of Money. This Account of Douglaſs's Behaviour is confirm'd by the concurring Teſtimonies of the Engliſh Hiſtorians, particularly Edward Hall, who relates the Facts much to the ſame Purpoſe.

The Scots Army were defeated in this Action, and Douglaſs taken Priſoner.

While theſe Things were tranſacted in England, the King of Scotland had ſecret Notice convey'd to him of the Death of his eldeſt Son David, the Prince; and that it was owing to the unnatural Barbarity of his Uncle, the Governor, the real Author of this wicked Action. This was whiſper'd about by all Ranks of Perſons; yet, being a Man of ſuch Power, none had the Fortitude to impeach him openly. The King ſent for his Brother, and having expoſtulated with him in ſtrong Terms about this Villainy, the Governor was fully prepar'd with his Anſwers and Evaſions; he acquainted the King that he had apprehended ſeveral of the Murderers, and was in Search of more; (yet all thoſe who were taken up were innocent of the Crime.) In order to vindicate his own Character, the Governor order'd a pack'd Council to be call'd, wherein he, by a ſham Trial, was acquitted of the Murder: However, this did not at all ſatisfy the King, but being in great Rage, he utter'd the moſt terrible Imprecations for the Wrath, Juſtice, and Puniſhment of Almighty God, to be pour'd down upon him and his Poſterity, who had committed this abominable Fact. He return'd to Bute, from whence he came; but the Suſpicion of his Brother's Villainy always increas'd; therefore his Brother, the Governor, who was a perfect Maſter of Deceit and Diſſimulation, taking ſo many of them, whom he had put in Priſon for the pretended Guilt, he put them to Death by inhuman Torture: Thus he took Advantage of theſe unhappy Wretches, becauſe of their baſe and low Characters, making them ſuffer for a Crime they knew nothing of.

The King gets Notice of his Son's Murder, and that his Brother was the Murderer. The Governor ſhews a villainous Behaviour.

This bloody Tragedy awaken'd the King's Attention and Concern for the Preſervation and Safety of his youngeſt Son James, who now was under the Tutory of Walter Wardlaw, the Primate of Scotland *, a Man of great Integrity, Faith, and Honour to his King. The Nobility of Scotland having held a Conſultation with the King, concerning the Diſpoſal and Guardianſhip of the young Prince James, they gave it as their Opinion to his Majeſty, that it was not ſafe for him to continue in Scotland, but that he ought to be ſent over to Charles the Fourth, King of France, their old Ally, and a true Friend to the Scots Nation: They had recent in their View the Example of David Bruce, who for ſeveral Years had retir'd to France, and was entertain'd there with the Splendor, Magnificence, and Friendſhip, ſuitable to a Prince and Ally. The Matter being agreed upon, Prince James was privately put on board a Veſſel prepar'd for him at the Baſs †. Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, was order'd to attend the Prince on his Voyage; and, as they were a coaſting along the Engliſh Shore, being either drove by Storm, or forc'd to land to refreſh the young Prince, who had been ſick at Sea, they put into Flamborough Head, where, upon their landing, the Prince was detain'd by the Engliſh, with all his Retinue, until they ſhould have Notice from the King. The King order'd the Meſſengers who carry'd him the News, that he ſhould be brought to Court, without Regard to the Truce which ſubſiſted betwixt the two Nations, or the affectionate Letters written to the King of England by the King his Father. The King of England had conceiv'd an old Grudge and Hatred at the Scots Nation, which overpower'd all Conſiderations of Royal Honour, the Faith of Treaties, or Hoſpitality due from neighbouring Princes; therefore he was inclin'd to detain Prince James Priſoner in England; but that it might not be conſtru'd his Action, he referr'd the Matter to his Council: The milder and more equitable Part of the Privy Council gave it as their Opinion, that the Royal Youth ſhould be entertain'd according to his Rank, and as a Friend and Neighbour, who had been oblig'd to retire from his own Country by the Cruelty of his Countrymen; and as an Argument to ſtrengthen their Opinion, they inſiſted that this mild and genteel Treatment of the apparent Heir of the Crown of Scotland, would be a direct and uſeful Mean to gain the Affections of the People of Scotland, who were of a rugged, fierce, and warlike Spirit, not to be reduc'd nor ſuppreſs'd by Force or Violence. However, the Majority of the Council join'd the King, for detaining Prince James as a Priſoner of State: The pretended Reaſons given for this were, Firſt, That Piercy the Elder, when declar'd a Traitor by the Court of England, had been ſhelter'd and ſupported in Scotland: And, Secondly, that Piercy the Younger, in his Rebellion againſt the King of England, had been aſſiſted by a conſiderable Number of the Scots

The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's ſhews himſelf a faithful Subject to the King. The King and Council agree to ſend the Prince over to France for Safety. The King of England picks up and ſtops Prince James in his Way to France, to make a Handle of him for his own Ends.

* He it was who after founded the Univerſity of St. Andrew's, and granted it rich Endowments.
† A rocky Iſland in the Entry of the Forth, which afterward was converted to a State Priſon.

Nobility. The Engliſh had forgot how they protected Dunbar Earl of March, and refus'd to deliver him up, when demanded by the King of Scotland: They ought likewiſe to have conſider'd, that the Aid, Support, or Protection, granted to both the Piercy's from Scotland, had no Sanction of Royal Power, Command, or Authority, and therefore ought not to affect the preſent Caſe. It muſt be own'd that Henry of England, though he detain'd the young Prince as Priſoner, yet acted by him ſo far with the Honour of a Prince, that he order'd him to be attended by the proper Maſters and Tutors, for the different Branches of his Education, in Quality of his Rank and Royal Dignity. However, King Robert, his Father, upon the News of his Son's Detainer and Confinement by the King of England, was taken ſo ill, and had almoſt fainted away, in Preſence of his Nobility in waiting, that he was immediately carry'd away to Bed; but abſtaining from all Manner of Food, and being overpower'd with Grief, he dy'd the third Day after he had receiv'd the News, at his Caſtle of Rothſay, in the Iſland of Bute, in the 16th Year of his Reign, on the firſt Day of April, 1406, and was bury'd in the Abby of Paſly.

King Robert was in Stature tall, in Beauty, and Compoſition of Body, equal to any of the Age; of a peaceable and harmleſs Diſpoſition; he inherited all the Virtues neceſſary for a private Gentleman; but had not that penetrating Judgment, and theſe extenſive Views, nor that heroic Spirit which are neceſſary in conſtituting the Character of a true Monarch.

Robert created and elected Governor of the Kingdom.

After his Death the Eſtates of the Kingdom did make Choice of Robert, the King's Brother, who had been Governor in the King's Life-time, to be now ſole Regent of the Kingdom.

Robert's Character.

Robert, now Regent, was poſſeſs'd of a great many valuable Qualities, had they not been all biaſs'd and conducted by the Power of his unbounded Ambition for Sovereignty; which hurry'd him to unlawful Practices to compaſs his Ends: He was a Man of great perſonal Bravery, foreſeeing, prudent, and penetrating in all his Meaſures, juſt in his Sentiments, bountiful and beneficent towards his Nobility, and very averſe from impoſing Taxes on the People. This very Year of his Entry upon the Government, the elder Piercy enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt the King of England, to be aveng'd of him for the Death of his Brother and his two Sons, whom he had ſlain; but Piercy's Deſign being diſcover'd before he was ready to execute it, many of his Confederates were taken and executed; Piercy himſelf fled into Scotland, in his Way to Flanders and France, where he went to procure Auxiliaries, and to excite a new War. Henry, the King of England's Son, upon Account of this, made repeated Attempts upon Scotland, plundering all the Borders; he likewiſe, with a powerful Army, invaded Scotland both by Sea and Land: Upon his Return Home, after laying waſte moſt of the Country upon the Coaſt, having left but a ſmall Garriſon in Jedburgh Caſtle, the Country People, taking Advantage of Henry's Return to England, roſe, and attack'd the Caſtle; after a few Days Siege it was taken, and, by Order of Robert, Regent or Governor of Scotland, it was wholly demoliſh'd.

Piercy flies to Scotland.

Henry invades Scotland.

At this Time George Dunbar, Earl of March, being diſappointed of all his Expectations from the Engliſh, they neither aſſiſting him with ſufficient Force to recover his Eſtate, nor allowing him any genteel Support among them, makes therefore his Intereſt, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, with the Governor and Regent of Scotland; upon which he was pardon'd, and allow'd to return Home: He was reſtor'd to Part of his Eſtate, but Lochmaben and Annandale were given to the Douglaſſes, in Recompence for their Loſſes and faithful Services. Upon my Lord March's Return, there was a mutual Oblivion of all former Offences and Quarrels, he and his Neighbours liv'd in perfect Friendſhip, and in faithful Subjection to their King for ſome conſiderable Time.

The Earl of March pardon'd and reſtor'd.

Piercy's Attempts in France and Flanders, to raiſe Forces to his Aſſiſtance, were without Succeſs, and finding he could not prevail, he return'd to Scotland, where he was receiv'd with great Hoſpitality by my Lord March, who entertain'd him in the beſt Manner he was capable of: While Piercy remain'd with my Lord March, he held a private Correſpondence with ſeveral Friends in England, but particularly with Ralph Rokeſby, his old Friend, whom Piercy believ'd to be his moſt faithful Friend of all others; he intimated to Rokeſby, that he had a Number of Scots and Engliſh ready to join him, provided he would declare in his Favour: Rokeſby was at this Time High Sheriff and Lieutenant for Yorkſhire, to Henry of England, and a Man of great Influence; but he betray'd Piercy, for he amus'd him with enſnaring Promiſes, by which he perſuaded him to come to Yorkſhire, making him believe he would directly declare for him; when once he got Piercy, he ſecretly acquainted the King of the Whole, and, by the King's Order, he had his Head cut off, and ſent to London to the King.

Piercy returns to Scotland.

Piercy betray'd and beheaded.

It was ſuſpected at this Time that Richard the Second was in Scotland ſecretly, for there was an Engliſhman who went in Diſguiſe all over the Country, and paſs'd for him; but he refus'd and declin'd any Interview with Piercy, which made moſt People believe he was afraid to be known for an Impoſtor: Notwithſtanding the Doubts concerning this Perſon, he was receiv'd by many of the Quality and Gentry of Scotland as a Royal Perſon. After ſome Years Stay in Scotland, this Perſon dies at Sterling, and was bury'd in the Franciſcan's Church there, with a Tomb-Stone, bearing in the Inſcription, among other Things, his Title as King of England.

Richard the Second is thought to have dy'd in Scotland.

After this, Patrick Dunbar, Son to the late George Earl of March, attacks and takes Faſt Caſtle, a ſtrong Fort in the Mers; and Holden, the Governor of the Fort, was ſuitably rewarded for his continual and ſevere Exactions, and oppreſſive Impoſitions, on the Country People of Lothian, Teviotdale, and the Mers.

Faſt Caſtle taken by the Earl of March.

William Douglaſs and Gawin Dunbar, with their Forces, attack'd Roxborough Town, broke down the Bridge, and ſet Fire to the whole Place; but were not in Caſe to reduce the Caſtle.

Roxborough Town and Bridge deſtroy'd.

Next

Next Year there happen'd a civil and inteſtine Commotion in the Northern Part of Scotland, which was occaſion'd by the Iniquity, Covetouſneſs, and Violence of Robert the Governor, the King's Brother: Donald, of the Iſles, (who was ſole Lord and Proprietor of all the Iſlands on the North and Weſt Coaſt of Scotland) being unjuſtly depriv'd of his Right and Title to Roſs (though next Heir) by the Governor of the Kingdom, the King's Brother: Having made his Application, and finding no Redreſs nor Satisfaction, he was forc'd to make uſe of his Power to command, if poſſible, Regard and Attention to his juſt Demands; therefore he takes the Field, with a Body of a Thouſand brave Fellows, Highlanders and Iſlanders, and, without Oppoſition, marches directly into the County of Roſs, and takes Poſſeſſion of it as his own Inheritance and juſt Right, the People all receiving him with great Joy. Having finiſh'd his Deſign upon this County, he paſs'd over with his Army, now reinforc'd, into Murray, and reduces the Whole of this County to his Subjection, without Delay or Difficulty; and having ſettled his Matters here, he proceeded to Strathboggie*, and thence to Aberdeen, putting all the Country under Contribution to him. Robert the Governor had no Time to deliberate, but, in a Hurry, got together a conſiderable Body of Men, and was join'd by all the Chief Nobility and Gentry to the North of Tay River: His whole Poſſe being aſſembled, he march'd without Delay to ſtop the rapid Progreſs of this conquering Enemy; and at Hardlaw, thirteen or fourteen Miles North of the City of Aberdeen, both Armies met and engag'd: The firſt Attack of the Highlanders under Donald was bloody and ſucceſsful, but Robert's Army recovering a little, the Fight was renew'd, and continu'd with great Obſtinacy and Bloodſhed until Day-light fail'd; moſt of the Nobility were either kill'd or wounded, and the Slaughter was ſuch, as had not been for many Years in any Engagement againſt the Engliſh: Both Sides claim'd the Victory, but Donald kept the Field, and made great Slaughter that Day. The Governor commanded the Centre of the King's Army againſt Donald, and the Clans; Alexander Earl of Marr the Right Wing, and Douglaſs the Left. This bloody Action happen'd in the Year 1412.

Donald of the Iſles, and the Clans, levy'd an Army againſt the Governor.

Donald of the Iſles marches into Roſs, and thence to Murray, and forward to Aberdeen.

Donald at Hardlaw gives Battle to the King's Army, and defeated them.

The Battle continu'd till dark.

Moſt of the Nobility were ſlain on both Sides.

This Year was remarkable for another memorable Event, the firſt Foundation and Erection of the Univerſity of St. Andrew's: The Original and firſt Eſtabliſhment of this learned Body was the voluntary Union of a Society of ingenious and learned Men, who agreed among themſelves to give publick Lectures in the different Sciences, without any Reward, with a generous Intention of promoting Literature and polite Knowledge among the young Gentry of the Age; and upon this Footing they continu'd for ſeveral Years, until, by the Encouragement of ſeveral large private Donations and Legacies, and at length by the Eſtabliſhment of Archbiſhop Wardlaw, they were erected into a College; and afterwards, by Patent from the Crown, and the Ratification of an Act of Parliament, they were conſtituted an Univerſity, and the oldeſt of Scotland.

This Year, 1412, the Univerſity of St. Andrew's founded.

For ten Years following there happen'd almoſt an entire Calm betwixt Scotland and England; no interfering nor Diſturbances; which the Hiſtorians impute to two Reaſons; firſt, a Truce betwixt both Kingdoms; and next, the Engliſh being fully employ'd by France: Robert the Governor was likewiſe afraid to raiſe the Indignation of the Engliſh, leſt the Engliſh ſhould ſend down the true Heir to the Crown, the Governor's Nephew, back'd with conſiderable Force, to put him in Poſſeſſion of his Rights. Notwithſtanding this ſerene State of Things, the Douglaſſes made ſeveral Attacks, with ſmall Parties, upon the Engliſh; they burnt Penrith in Cumberland, and in Repriſal, the Engliſh came down, and deſtroy'd the Town of Dumfries, with all the adjacent Country. Henry the Fifth, now King of England, order'd an Exchange of Priſoners betwixt both Nations; Murdoch, the Governor of Scotland's Son, taken at Homeldon Fight, was exchang'd for Piercy, though, in Fact, Piercy was not Priſoner of War; for he was only ſent into Scotland upon the Faith of Hoſpitality, for Safety, and left with the Governor, at the Time when his Father and his Party had been under the Mercy of the King of England, after their total Overthrow: But the Engliſh could not with any Face complain of the Inequality of ſuch Procedure; becauſe of the Inſtance of King James, whom they detain'd Priſoner, contrary to all good Friendſhip and Faith betwixt Nations. Upon Piercy's Return to England, Henry the Fifth reſtor'd him to his Honours and Eſtate; and Piercy was ſo mindful of, and ſo grateful for the kind, humane, and genteel Treatment he receiv'd in Scotland, that he, for the future, always cultivated a ſincere and hearty Friendſhip with the Scots Nation.

The Engliſh obſerve a ten Years Truce with Scotland.

Some ſmall Depredations committed.

There was now an Exchange of Priſoners.

Piercy reſents with great Gratitude his good Treatment in Scotland.

This Year there happen'd a violent Convulſion in the Body Spiritual: The Council of Conſtance were divided about the Succeſſion to St. Peter's Chair at Rome; Peter Lune had ſeiz'd upon the Papal Dignity, and the Council of Conſtance, in Oppoſition to him, had ſent an Embaſſy Extraordinary to Scotland upon this Emergency. Peter Lune ballanc'd this with another Embaſſy to the Governor of Scotland, whom Lune had engag'd in his Intereſt, by the Interpoſition of an artful Engliſh Prieſt of the Franciſcan Order: But notwithſtanding of Robert the Regent and Governor's Attachment to Peter Lune, the whole Prieſthood of Scotland adher'd to the Council of Conſtance, and the Articles they had ſign'd, approving of the Election of Martin the Fifth. Soon after this, the French King being taken ill, his Diſorder ſo encreas'd upon him, that at length he was depriv'd of his Reaſon, and became delirious: This was chiefly imputed to the Monks, who pretending to great Skill in Phyſick, and by their Spiritual

A Diſpute ariſes about the Papal Dignity.

* Strathboggie is 24 Miles North of Aberdeen City, at the Foot of the Bin Hills; of which in its proper Place.

Deceit

The Monks poiſon'd the French King. France diſtracted by two contending Factions.

Deceit and Chicane, well qualify'd for ſecret and knaviſh Enterprizes, undertook to cure his French Majeſty; but inſtead of this, render'd him incurable, and ſo gave Opportunity and Occaſion to Factions and Parties in the Nation, to ariſe, and diſpute the Government of the Kingdom; accordingly two Parties immediately appear'd, the one headed by the King's Son, whom his delirious Father had diſinherited; the other Faction was ſupported by the Duke of Burgundy, and his Family: The Duke of Burgundy, with his Adherents, made the King's Son the Object of their Ridicule, under the mock Title of the King of Berry, becauſe the Prince for moſt Part reſided at Burges, in Berry, a Town of the Bernois. The Prince, or King's Son, being quite forſaken, both of his Countrymen almoſt, and his Allies, ſent his Ambaſſador, the Earl of Vendoſme, into Scotland, with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Friendſhip, Regard, and good Faith, and to demand of the Kingdom of Scotland their Support, in aſſerting his juſt Rights to the Crown, in the Term of the Treaties ſubſiſting betwixt Scotland and France.

The Dauphin demands Succours from Scotland.

The Parliament of Scotland vote 7000 Men, under the Earl of Buchan, to aſſiſt the French.

Upon the Arrival of the French Ambaſſador, the Eſtates of the Kingdom of Scotland were aſſembled, and after deliberating upon the Propoſitions made to them by the French Ambaſſador, they voted 7000 Men directly, for the Aſſiſtance of the French Prince, and order'd them to embark with all Diſpatch, under the Command of John Earl of Buchan, the Governor's Son. There was no Occaſion for levying the Men, they all enter'd Volunteers, and many of the young Nobility and Gentry of Scotland went over in this Condition, to ſhew their Bravery and warlike Spirit. Scotland at this Time was full of People, there having been Peace for ſome Years with England. In this Expedition, the Nobleman who made the greateſt Figure next to the General, was Archibald Earl of Wigton, Son to Archibald, the ſecond Earl of Douglaſs.

The Scots march into Turein.

Upon the landing of the Scots Army, they were order'd, by the Dauphin of France, into Turein, as the Country moſt plentiful, and beſt ſupply'd with all Manner of Proviſions, and next to the Enemy. The Duke of Clarence, Brother to the King of England, commanded now in France the Engliſh Army, while the King was in England: He committed great Barbarities,

The Duke of Clarence put Anjou to great Extremities.

and us'd great Severities, againſt the Inhabitants of Anjou, becauſe of their Fidelity and Loyalty to the King their Maſter. He was ſo violent in his Progreſs, that it was apprehended he would have reach'd the Town of Beaujou before he was interrupted. The Scots Army thought the Engliſh Army would not proceed further upon Action, it being the Feſtival of Eaſter, but that their Officers would be employ'd in their religious Services and Devotions during theſe Holidays; and a Truce being ſettled for eight Days, the Scots Army were too ſecure and unguarded: The Engliſh taking the Advantage of this, and the Duke of Clarence having Intelligence from Andrew Fregoſe, an Italian, and likewiſe by Scots Priſoners, taken by the foraging Parties of the Engliſh, in what Diſpoſition and Situation the Scots Army were, he thought it proper to loſe no Time; and therefore roſe directly from Dinner, order'd his Cavalry to make ready, and having got them aſſembled in good Order, he march'd directly to attack the Enemy.

The Scots were too ſecure, and in Danger of being cut off.

The Duke of Clarence ſurprizes the French and Scots.

The Duke, at the Head of his Army, made a brilliant Appearance, with his rich and elegant Horſe-Furniture and Armour, having on his Head a Royal Coronet, richly ſet and adorn'd with Diamonds, and other Jewels of Value: Some of the French, who were quarter'd in a ſmall Village, call'd Little Beaujou, upon the Surprize of the Enemy's Advance toward them, retir'd to a Church, which the Duke of Clarence immediately ſurrounded with his Horſe. In the mean time, the whole Army of the French and Scots being alarm'd, the Earl of Buchan, with great Preſence of Mind, ſent thirty Archers to cut down the narrow Bridge, over which the Enemy muſt have paſs'd to attack them, there being no other Way to get over the River which was betwixt both Armies. Clarence obſerving this, advanc'd with great Haſte, but his Horſe

The Scots and French diſpute the Paſſage of the Bridge with the Engliſh.

were ſo gall'd by the Enemy's Arrows, as to ſtop their Paſſage over the Bridge; upon which the Duke diſmounted, and with his Men charg'd on Foot the Allies ſo warmly, as to ſecure the Paſſage over the Bridge, and make the Enemy retire: But the Earl of Buchan coming up, with 200 Horſe, return'd with his Men to charge the Duke, and attack'd him as he was mounting his Horſe again; and his Men paſſing over the narrow Bridge, were ſo incommoded (few being capable to march at once over the Bridge) that the Earl of Buchan cut them off as they enter'd upon the Bridge; but the Duke of Clarence ſuſtain'd the Attack with great Bravery, and an obſtinate Reſiſtance, until he was ſeverely wounded, and at length kill'd. The Duke receiv'd his firſt Wound from John Swinton, a Scotſman, with a Lance, which disfigur'd the Duke's Face; then my Lord Buchan ſtruck at him with a Truncheon, and beat him from his Horſe. Upon the Duke's falling, the Engliſh fell into Diſorder, and were forc'd to fly, being ſeverely handled by the ally'd Army. There were many Perſons of Diſtinction kill'd in this Action, and Numbers ſlain in the Purſuit. This Battle was fought the Day before Eaſter, and in the Field there fell 2000 Engliſh, beſides Numbers wounded and taken Priſoners. The Scots Army, on this Occaſion, behav'd with incredible Bravery and good Conduct, and to them juſtly was aſcrib'd the Fate of the Day; for they had determin'd, if poſſible, to wipe off the unjuſt Reproach and Detraction of the French, who commonly, in their Meetings, affirm'd the Scots more concern'd about their Belly and their Gut, than the Honour and Glory of Victory in the Field. The Book of Pluſcarty (an old Scottiſh Record) aſſerts, that the Duke of Clarence was kill'd in the Field by Sir Alexander Maccaſland, who ſtripp'd the Duke of his Coronet, and ſold it to John Stewart, of Derneley, for 1000 Angels of Gold.

Clarence is wounded and ſlain, his Army routed, and the Allies keep the Field.

The Scots on this Day exert themſelves with great Bravery.

Clarence's Coronet ſold by the Scots.

Upon the happy Event of this Day, the young Prince, the Dauphin, created the Earl of Buchan Lord High Conſtable of France, the higheſt Officer of State next to the King's Perſon;

all

all the other Officers under the Earl of Buchan were promoted to Honours, in Proportion to their Rank and gallant Behaviour.

This Event, which happen'd in 1420, was follow'd by another of great Conſequence; for Robert, the Governor and Regent of Scotland, dy'd this Year, September the Third, having enjoy'd his Power for fifteen Years, after his Brother the King's Death. Murdoch, Robert's Son, ſucceeded his Father in the Government, but he turn'd out a Man of no Spirit, not fit even to govern his own Family; he allow'd his Children in all diſſolute Behaviour, which brought them at laſt to Ruin. His Adminiſtration of Government was juſtly contemptible to the Nobility, and therefore they join'd in getting rid of ſuch a Nuſance. The Earls of Buchan and Wigton return'd from France, and they, with the other Officers of State, having compos'd Matters at Home, ſet their Thoughts upon a ſecond Expedition: They were recall'd by the Dauphin of France, and accepting of his Invitation, they, with Archibald Douglaſs, and James his Son, and the Chief of the young Nobility of Scotland, embark'd with 5000 Forces: They had a quick Paſſage, and landed ſafe at Rochelle: The Lord Wigton being taken very ill, was not able to put to Sea. From Rochelle they went to the King of France at Poictou; his Majeſty receiv'd them with Marks of the greateſt Regard, and created Douglaſs Duke of Turein.

Robert the Governor dies. Murdoch his Son ſucceeds. His Character.

The Earl of Buchan and the other Nobility return to France with 5000 Men.

Henry, King of England, having Notice of his Brother the Duke of Clarence's Death, at the late Action, order'd John Earl of Bedford to take the Command in his Stead, and to embark directly with 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe, for France, until he ſhould come up in Perſon: Soon after King Henry follow'd, and carry'd along with him King James of Scotland, with a double View, either to inſinuate and engage himſelf into ſome Familiarity and Interview with the Scots, to divert their Attachment to the French Intereſt, or, if that did not anſwer, at leaſt to make them be ſuſpected by their Allies the French; for to create mutual Jealouſies was fit Game for Henry to play againſt his Enemies; but he was defeated in the Whole of his Expectations this Way. Henry made James the King of Scotland uſe his utmoſt Perſuaſives with the Scots Army, and with all the Scots Garriſons in France, either to return to Scotland, or at leaſt to remain inactive in France; but the ſame uniform and juſt Anſwer was made by the whole of the Scots Army, that they did not think themſelves bound to ſhew Regard to him as their King, while in Cuſtody of the King of England, and entirely directed by him for his own Intereſt, not the Honour and Welfare of the Kingdom of Scotland. Henry was highly offended at the Obſtinacy and Reſolution of the Scots, and, in his Rage, having taken the Town of Meaux * by Storm, and found ſome Scots among the Garriſon, he order'd twenty of the Scots to be hung up directly, upon Pretence that they bore Arms againſt their lawful Sovereign; but ſoon after this, both he and Charles the Sixth of France dy'd, and ſo theſe great Events alter'd the Syſtem of Affairs in Europe; but ſtill the War was continu'd by England againſt France, though with low Spirit, for two Years after King Henry's Death.

The Earl of Bedford goes over into France with 14,000 Men.

The Engliſh again attack the French.

Nigh the Cloſe of the ſecond Year, the Engliſh aſſembled a formidable Army, which they ſent over to France, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Allies, i. e. the Scots and French, and to force them into Submiſſion. The French and Scots Armies united, advanc'd againſt their Enemy; upon which a bloody Action follow'd, at Vernevile, a Town in Normandy. The Chiefs of the Nobility in the Scots Army were kill'd upon the Spot in this Action, particularly the Earls of Buchan and Douglaſs; the laſt was Duke of Turein, the firſt was Maſter of Horſe to the French King. Here likewiſe fell James Douglaſs, the Duke of Turein's Son, Alexander Lindſay, Robert Stewart, and Thomas Swinton, beſides 2000 private Soldiers, all kill'd in the Field. This conſiderable Loſs did not diſhearten the Scots, for they reinforc'd their Auxiliaries for the Support of the King of France, their Ally, continuing the War with all poſſible Vigour; but the third Year after this laſt Engagement, the Scots Army being a little ſecure, and unprovided for an Attack, the Engliſh Army came upon them in the Country of Beaux, near to Orleans, as they were carrying Proviſions and Forage, and having intercepted firſt their advanc'd Guards, they ſo broke them, as to force their main Army to advance to ſupport them, and when they came up, the Action became general; but the Scots ſuffer'd much, being overpower'd, and almoſt ruin'd by the Engliſh Army. In this Action at Beaux the Scots loſt Numbers of great and brave Men, particularly two famous Knights of the Douglaſſes; the one was the Chief and Stock from whence proceed the Douglaſſes of Drumlanerick †, and of the Caſtle in Loch-Leven. The Particulars of theſe Actions, and the Conſequences following upon them, are rather Part of the French Hiſtory, and therefore foreign from my Deſign. The Monuments at Orleans and Turein, erected in Honour of Scottiſh Bravery, the Rewards and Regards pay'd to the Scots Auxiliaries by the King of France, and the concurring Teſtimony of all Hiſtorians, are evident and convincing Proofs of the Fidelity, Bravery, and unſpotted Integrity of the Scots Nation, to their French Allies; and if even the Engliſh be perſwaded by the beſt of their own Hiſtorians, they muſt acknowledge that the Scots Alliance was always worthy of the Acceptance, and the higheſt Regard of their neighbouring Kingdoms, tho' branded with Poverty by a luxurious and voluptuous People; they were always capable to demonſtrate to all their Enemies, that their elevated and manly Spirits were more than a Match for all effeminate, over-grown, and luxurious Animals, whoſe God was their Belly, and who fight only well when ſtuff'd in Stomach, and cloudy in their Underſtanding.

Great Slaughter of the Scots Nobility.

The Action of Beaux was fatal to the Scots.

Several Generals kill'd.

The Character of the Scots Fidelity to their Allies.

The hardy Spirit of the Scots, tho' poor.

* Meaux, a large Town in the County of Brie in France, near the Matrona River.
† The Stock of the illuſtrious Family of Queenſberry.

But to return to the direct Narrative of Scots Affairs; Murdoch, as I have already obſerv'd, with his ignorant and unwiſe Government of his own Family, and of all national Affairs, having produc'd the Hatred and Diſtaſte of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom againſt him, and likewiſe their Reſolution to diſinherit his vitious Family, whom he had educated in nothing but licentious Folly; the Nobility, Gentry, and other Eſtates of the Kingdom, enter'd into joint Meaſures at Perth, and agreed to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy to England, to invite James their King to be their Sovereign, and to prevail upon the Engliſh, in an amicable Manner, to allow his Majeſty James, King of Scotland, to return and enter upon the Government.

The Nobility and others agree to have James ſent for from England.

The Duke of Glouceſter was Vice-Roy at this Time, the King of England being under Age, and the Duke, as Regent, favour'd this Propoſal from Scotland; the Affair was laid before the Council, and was, by the Influence of the Duke of Glouceſter, agreed to; for which the Duke had good Reaſons of State: For firſt, he found he could not have ſo much Weight, as to perſwade the Scots to withdraw their Forces from France; and next, if he did uſe the Scots Nation handſomely and with Decency on this Occaſion, it might open a Communication for a future Alliance and Friendſhip: The Duke of Glouceſter believ'd likewiſe, that he would always have a true Friend of James the King, if he were favour'd in this Event; and that, (being marry'd to the Earl of Saliſbury's Daughter Joan, according to Buchanan, tho' not Fact) King James would be always at her Direction, and ſo a Friend to the Engliſh Nation; for King James (by the ſame Buchanan's Story) marry'd the Lord Saliſbury's Daughter out of paſſionate Love: She was the moſt celebrated Beauty of the Age, and ſo far in the King of Scotland's Affection, that the Engliſh were perſwaded the King would do whatever ſhe propos'd; by this either to detach the Scots from the French Intereſt, or to have ſuch a Connection with them, as to be capable to make an Acceſſion of their Friendſhip to the Strength of England; or if that could not be effected, to be capable to divide the Scots Nation againſt one another, in order to diſable them from aſſiſting their Allies Abroad, or hurting their Neighbours at Home. But their too covetous Spirit diſconcerted the whole Scheme, for the Engliſh demanded a large Sum for the Ranſom of the King; but the Sum demanded being larger than what the Scots were willing to give, there was an Expedient agreed upon to compromiſe the Whole: The Queen's Fortune from her Father (as Buchanan affirms) was to pay one Half the Ranſom, and the Kingdom of Scotland the other Half, at a certain limited Time; but that, for executing theſe Things, ſome Noblemen of Scotland ſhould be ſent as Hoſtages into England, there to remain until the Money ſhould be paid. This being ſettled, King James, in the Year 1423, return'd to Scotland, after he had been confin'd in England 18 Years*.

The Duke of Glouceſter favours and procures King James's Return.

King James marry'd Lord Saliſbury's Daughter.

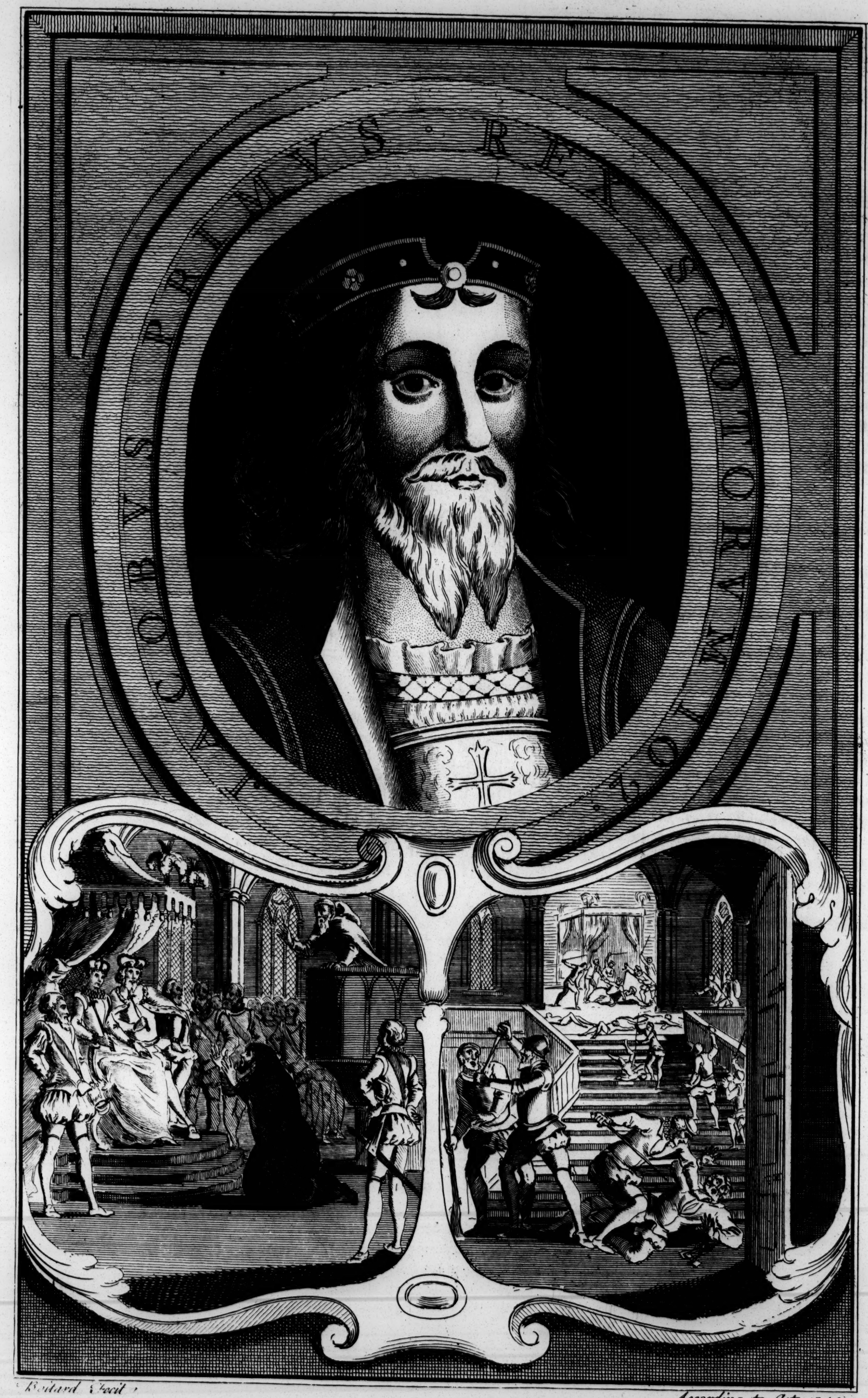
Engliſh Policy.

The King of Scotland is ranſom'd and reſtor'd, after 18 Years Confinement.

Upon his Majeſty King James's Return to Scotland, the firſt Thing he apply'd himſelf to was redreſſing of Grievances, (the proper and direct Buſineſs of a good King;) he heard the Complaints of his Subjects, which were many, becauſe of his Majeſty's long Abſence, and the tyrannical Uſurpations, and inequitable Proceedings, of the late Governors. The chief Perſons complain'd of were Walter Stewart, Murdoch the Governor's Son, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boyd, who, upon heavy Accuſations laid againſt them, were committed to Priſon: There they remain'd until the Meeting of the Parliament; Fleming and Boyd were diſmiſs'd ſoon after, upon paying all Damages they had done, and likewiſe a Fine of a conſiderable Sum into his Majeſty's Exchequer.

James returns to Scotland, and redreſſes the People.

* The King came firſt to Edinburgh, then proceeded to Perth; the Queen's Uncle, and ſeveral of the Engliſh Nobility, attended them to the Borders of Scotland, in a very polite and obliging Manner.




Boitard Excit.

According to Act 1749.

# JAMES the FIRST,

## The HUNDREDTH and SECOND KING.

THE Eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, with Hearts full of Joy and Zeal for his Majeſty, addreſs the King with their Congratulations upon his ſafe Return to his Kingdom, and having determin'd a few preliminary and introductory Affairs, the Conſequence of the King's Arrival, they appointed his Majeſty, with his Queen, to be crown'd with great Solemnity, upon the 20th of April, (according to the Roman Computation, the 11th of the Calends of May:) Accordingly the Ceremony was perform'd with great Splendor; the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and others, from all Quarters of the Kingdom, repair'd to attend the Coronation, and to lay their ſeveral Affairs before the King and his Parliament: Murdoch Stewart, the King's Couſin, as Duke of Albany and Earl of Fife, plac'd their Majeſties in the Chair of State, and the other Nobility, according to their Ranks and Appointments, attended, and performed the different Offices at the Coronation, in a magnificent Manner, the Crown being plac'd on their Heads, and the Anointing perform'd, by Henry, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

The Eſtates meet.

The King and Queen are crown'd, 1424, with great Solemnity.

This being over, the King apply'd himſelf entirely to the Diſpatch of Buſineſs; he, with his Parliament, enacted many good Laws for reſtraining of Robberies, and for encouraging Trades and Agriculture; for, during the Interval of Government in the King's Abſence, the whole Kingdom was become ſo licentious and diſorderly, that Law nor Magiſtrates had not the proper Effect, but were rather deſpis'd; Force, Violence, and the ſtronger Power, were the only coercive Means for preſerving Peace and Order while the King was abſent: But the King was determin'd to ſuppreſs all ſuch Proceedings.

The King and Eſtates enact many good Laws.

The King, in his Determinations and Deſigns, was chiefly directed by the Nobility and Clergy who were the Commiſſioners ſent to England, to procure his Liberty and Return, to wit, Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, Son to Archibald Duke of Turein, William Hay, Lord High Conſtable of Scotland, Alexander Irvin, of Drum, Henry Leighton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, and Alexander Cornwall, Arch-Dean of Lothian. Theſe Gentlemen had got ſo much of his Majeſty's Regard and Confidence, that he conſulted with them in all Matters of Conſequence. When executing their Commiſſion in England, they acquitted themſelves with ſo much Honour, Integrity, Eloquence, and Regard, that they were well receiv'd, and handſomely treated, by the Guardians of England, and by the Engliſh in general: The Dukes of Glouceſter and Bedford, the Dukes of Exeter and Beauford, Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter (who was Uncle to King James's Queen) they were Guardians to Henry the Sixth, now under Age, and conceiv'd a high Opinion of the Candour, Eloquence, and Penetration, which they diſcover'd in the Scots Deputies, particularly of Biſhop Leighton, whoſe elegant Speech (mention'd by Drummond of Hauthernden) to them, when he made a Demand of King James, in the Name of the whole Kingdom of Scotland, was moſt pleaſing and ſatisfying. This Speech of Biſhop Leighton's is a ſtanding Evidence of the Senſe that all impartial and unprejudg'd Perſons in Scotland had, of the Honour and good Behaviour of the Court of England toward King James, though they had made a falſe and unfair Step by detaining him forcibly, yet, under his Confinement, they took the ſame Care of him as if he had been their own Prince: He was educated and inſtructed like a Prince, his Perſon preſerved in perfect Safety, his Dignity ſupported, his Maintenance and Support proportion'd to his Rank; in ſhort, (the taking and keeping of him only excepted) the Engliſh did behave to King James, while among them, with ſtrict Honour, and the greateſt Decency. The moſt that can be ſaid as a Reaſon for the Encroachment of the Engliſh ſo far upon the Scots, in detaining their King, was, that the Engliſh wanted to have the Scots ſo modell'd, as to alter the Channel of their Friendſhip from the French Intereſt, and bring the Scots into a more connected Friendſhip with themſelves, by the Neceſſity, Intermixture, and mutual Connection of Intereſts; which was but natural, both Kingdoms being but Parts of the ſame Iſland.

The King's Counſellors and Commiſſioners.

Biſhop Leighton and the Commiſſioners Behaviour in England.

The Behaviour of the Engliſh to King James.

The Reaſon of the Engliſh detaining the King of Scotland.

I find only Buchanan aſſert, that the Lady whom King James marry'd was Daughter to the Earl of Saliſbury; Doctor Leſlie, Biſhop of Roſs, Drummond, and other Scottiſh Hiſtorians, do affirm King James was marry'd to Lady Jane Seymor, the Lord Somerſet's Daughter, who was of Blood Royal, and Niece to the then Chancellor of England, the Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, (which I take to be Fact;) and by her the King had two Sons, Alexander and James, and Margaret, who marry'd Lewis the Eleventh of France.

Buchanan differs from other Hiſtorians.

But

The King and Parliament deliberate about paying the Ranſom.

But to return to the State of Affairs in Scotland: The Nobility of Scotland, and other Eſtates in Parliament aſſembled, deliberated firſt how to raiſe the Money agreed upon for the King's Ranſom: The Sum ſtipulated and fix'd was 400,000 Marks; the Engliſh were in great Want of the Money, to carry on the War in France, and the Nobility of Scotland who were Hoſtages, wanted to return to Scotland; the Earl of Crawford, David, Son to the Earl of Athole, Lord Gordon, John Lindſay, Patrick Lyon, Son to Sir John Lyon, David Ogilvy, Sir William Ruthven, Miles Graham, David Mubray, and William Oliphant, were the Hoſtages, the Repreſentatives of Families of Diſtinction; but tho' they were entertain'd in a very ſplendid Manner, and well car'd for by the Earl of Somerſet, and the other Nobility of England, they were uneaſy at their Situation: The Queen of Scotland's Uncle, the Cardinal Biſhop of Winchester, procur'd an Abatement of one Third of the Ranſom, for which afterward he was impeach'd to the King of England by the Duke of Glouceſter.

A Parliament call'd to meet at Perth. A Tax impos'd to pay the King's Ranſom.

The Parliament at Perth, for the more ſpeedy and effectual raiſing the Money for his Majeſty's Ranſom, impos'd a Tax upon the whole Nation, upon all Lands Spiritual and Temporal; they order'd that the twentieth Penny ſhould be levy'd upon all Lands and Eſtates, Church Lands not excepted, and upon all moveable or perſonal Eſtates, ſuch as Horſes, Cattle, Sheep, Fowl, &c. an Halfpenny per Head ſhould be paid into the Government for the Ranſom; and this Tax to be upon all Heads for two Years. The Country People, during the Interregnum, being kept free of Taxes by the Governors, in order to ſecure the Affections of the Multitude, and make them reſt ſatisfy'd with their Governors, this new Tax, upon his Majeſty's Return, was much diſlik'd, and with Difficulty the Collectors were capable to make out the firſt Payment; but to content the Minds of the People, the King forgave the Remainder of the Tax. This Diſtaſte of the People of Scotland at the Tax, was chiefly promoted by Murdoch Duke of Albany, late Governor, who wanted to raiſe Sedition and Diſcontent in the Kingdom.

The Reaſon of the People's Diſſatisfaction.

The Parliament diſſolv'd. The King receives the Complaints of his People privately.

Theſe and ſome other national Affairs being ſettled, in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament, the King diſſolves them for a Relaxation, and that he might have Leiſure privately to underſtand the State of the Nation, and the different Grievances, thro' the Miſconduct of the Governors. In the Interval of the Parliament many Complaints from all Quarters were brought to the King; ſome being of a very nice, delicate, and important Nature, his Majeſty gave due Attention to them, and made ſtrict Inquiry into the Facts. Thoſe who had been diſorderly in the King's Abſence were afraid of his Royal Diſpleaſure, and therefore meditated the diſturbing or interrupting his Majeſty's Government by Sedition and Confuſion. There were many Accuſations lodg'd againſt ſeveral Perſons of Note and Figure, particularly Walter Stewart, Murdoch's Son, who was impeach'd ſo ſtrongly with Crimes of the higheſt Nature, that thereupon the King order'd him to be apprehended, and put cloſe Priſoner in the Baſs Iſland, in the Entry of the Forth. At the ſame Time there were Orders iſſu'd out to ſeize Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock*, and Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld; but they being brought to Trial, were order'd to pay all Damages they had, by their Rapine, done to the Country, and to pay in a conſiderable Fine to the King's Exchequer. This was ſoon follow'd by the Diſcovery and apprehending of ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, concern'd in caballing and plotting againſt his Majeſty, to diſturb the Exerciſe of his mild and juſt Government. Upon which his Majeſty, with Advice of his Council, thought proper to ſummon the Parliament to meet again at Perth, upon divers weighty Affairs.

The King orders Murdoch's Son to be commited Priſoner. A Deſign of ſome Nobility to diſturb the Government diſcover'd, and a Parliament call'd.

The Parliament being met, the King open'd the Seſſions with the following excellent Speech:

The King went to Parliament, and open'd the Seſſion. The King's excellent Speech at the Opening of the Seſſions. The noble Sentiments of Government the King diſcovers.

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

I Have learn'd from my tender Years, that Royalty conſiſteth not in the Chair of State, nor in external Honours and Magnificence, but in ſuch Actions as are ſuitable to the Dignity of a Prince: What my Actions in Government have been ſince I return'd to you, I take God firſt, and then my People, to witneſs. If my Conduct be not agreeable to you all, and you think I have been too rigorous in any Particular, lay aſide all Prejudice, and let the Conſideration of the Welfare of the State, the ſettling of Juſtice, the eſtabliſhing of Peace, Order, and good Morals in my Kingdom, over-ballance all private Conſiderations. My Endeavours and Deſigns have been, and are, to aboliſh all Faction, to remove Diſcords, and ſuppreſs Oppreſſion: And as you are now free of any foreign Enemy, or their Encroachments, let it not be ſaid that you ſhould devour and deſtroy one another: I am ſlow in puniſhing Injuries, but theſe I moſt ſharply correct, which are done to the Commonwealth. I have call'd this Parliament to diſcloſe my Mind to you with Candour and Truth; I therefore beg of you, my Lords and Gentlemen, to accept of my friendly and affectionate Addreſs to you, to beg you to lay aſide all Rapine, Revenge, and Outrages. Compoſe yourſelves and the Nation to a civil and regular Form of Life: Let it be apparent in your Conduct, that you believe manly Virtue and Civility are true Nobility. A Man's Merit begets his Glory, and he is the greateſt who is the beſt Man. In this Channel, and by Obedience to their Princes, your brave Anceſtors purchas'd what you now enjoy. Though by Leagues, Confederacies, Factions, and the confounding all true and ſolid Policy, Man may imagine he can eſcape the Judicatures of this Life, let none, through Miſtake, conceive that he can evade Puniſhment from Almighty God. Authority, Virtue, and Honeſty, are

* From whom the Earls of Kilmarnock are deſcended.

not

not idle Names. Do not reckon that it is right to gain by Force and Violence. As for me, I am determin'd to behave myſelf as I muſt anſwer to God; and as for you, my loving Subjects, do you behave firſt, as you will anſwer to God, and next, as you can anſwer to your Prince whom God hath ſet over you.

This noble and elegant Speech, worthy of a Solomon, and hardly to be match'd in many Kingdoms, from Princes of a more modern Date, demonſtrated the Wiſdom and Integrity of the Mind from whence it proceeded: He ſtrongly enjoin'd them after this, to do Juſtice to the Oppreſs'd, to ſupport the Innocent, and not to be influenc'd by the Greatneſs or Meanneſs of any Subject in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, but to do Right, not regarding the Perſon or his Quality to whom it is done. The Revival of this noble, golden, and princely Maxim, in many Kingdoms and Empires, would make a more brilliant and ſplendid Figure in promoting the Grandeur, the Glory, the Strength, and Honour of any Nation, than the Encouragement of Vice, Debauchery, rigorous Severities for Humour, and all infamous and informing Practices; which are the Diſhonour of the State, and the Reproach of a Magiſtracy, wherever they exiſt.

*This Speech had great and good Effects.*

After theſe affectionate, tender, and paternal Expreſſions of the King, their Royal Father, the King, with his Parliament, mutually bind themſelves to one another, by the moſt ſolemn Oath: The King binds himſelf to ſupport, with all his Might and Alliances, the Rights, Properties, and Liberties of his Subjects; the Conſtitution, Dignity, and Honour of his Kingdom; to do nothing mean or baſe, to degrade the Regard of the Nation: And the Parliament (each Man) ſolemnly engag'd himſelf to ſupport his King in all his Rights, and to aſſiſt his Majeſty faithfully, in ſuppreſſing all Rebellions and Diſorders in the Kingdom. His Majeſty likewiſe, by his Oath, did bind himſelf to ſupport the Clergy and the Church in all their Rights, Privileges, and Properties, and to reſtore to them whatever they had been wrongfully depriv'd of.

*The King and Parliament after this take a mutual Oath.*

*The Nature of the Oath taken by the King and by his Parliament.*

The King now finding by the Parliament, that they were determin'd to ſupport his Majeſty, he laid before them the Plots and Deſigns of ſeveral of the Nobility; upon which, with the Approbation of Parliament, the King order'd Murdoch Duke of Albany, with his Sons Alexander and Walter, to be taken into Cuſtody; and after Examination, they were committed to cloſe Priſon, together with the Earl of Lenox and Robert Graham, two who were capable to commit ſuch Things as no honeſt Man could bear to think of; they were order'd Priſoners to Faulkland, but the Duke of Albany was ſent to Carleverock*. Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, William Earl of Angus, the King's Nephew, George Earl of March, and Walter Ogilvy, were likewiſe committed Priſoners at this Time; but ſoon after, upon their Examination and Vindication, they were acquitted and diſmiſs'd; but Adam Hepburn of Hales, and Thomas Hay of Yeaſter†, were ſent to the ſtrong Priſon in the Caſtle of St. Andrew's. The Day the Duke of Albany was committed, the King took Poſſeſſion of his Caſtle at Faulkland, and of all his Eſtates in different Places; the Dutcheſs of Albany was remov'd from her Seat at Down in Monteith, to Tantallon, a Caſtle on a Rock, which was for a State Priſon in Lothian. Upon theſe Misfortunes to the Duke of Albany's Family, his youngeſt Son James, (who hitherto had been eſteem'd a very mild, gentle, and promiſing young Nobleman, and had been innocent of all the Deſigns and Conſpiracies in which his Father and Brother were concern'd) he, from an overheated and violent Reſentment at the Treatment of his Father's Family, and being highly enrag'd at the Proſpect of immediate Ruin, which threaten'd them all, he gather'd together a Body of outlaw'd Deſperadoes, Highlanders, and Banditti, and upon Holyrood Day, call'd the Invention of the Holy Croſs, they came to Dunbarton, ſurpriz'd the Place, and laid it in Aſhes, killing Stewart of Dundonald, and thirty more Perſons with him; upon which James Stewart, the Duke of Albany's Son, with his Siſter-in-Law, Walter Stewart's Lady, and her two Sons, Andrew and Alexander, all fled together to Ireland, and reſided there till the Reign of James the Third.

*The King lays a Conſpiracy before the Parliament.*

*James, the Duke of Albany's Son, rais'd a Poſſe, and committed many Outrages; then fled to Ireland with his Siſter-in-Law and Nieces.*

The King was juſtly enrag'd at ſuch groſs Inſults and inhuman Barbarities, and therefore, finding his Clemency abus'd, and his Authority the more deſpis'd, he order'd that the Chiefs of the Conſpirators ſhould be directly brought to Trial; and accordingly, the Judges being appointed, and the Jury ‡ fix'd, the Lords and other Criminals were brought to the Bar, and arraign'd; Murdoch the Governor, with the Earl of Lenox, and the Governor's two Sons, were found guilty, full Evidence being brought againſt them for Acts of the higheſt Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Villiany, in the King's Abſence; upon which they were condemn'd, and having receiv'd Sentence of Death, upon the ſame Day that Sentence was paſt, the Governor's two Sons, Walter and Alexander, were brought out, and beheaded upon a Hill facing Stirling Caſtle; the Day following Murdoch the Governor, their Father, with the Earl of Lenox, were executed. Theſe four Noblemen, particularly the Governor, whom the Rabble and Mob had ſo much flatter'd and eſteem'd, (in his Proſperity and Power) now rejoic'd, and inſulted them all, both at the Trial, and when they in vaſt Crowds attended the Execution. The idle Story of King James ſending

*The Duke of Albany's Sons Walter and Alexander executed; then their Father and the Earl of Lenox.*

* Carleverock is a ſmall Village, about a Mile from Dunfries, where formerly there was a Caſtle fortify'd.

† The Stock of the Noble Family of Tweedale.

‡ The Jury, according to the Conſtitution of Scotland, are fifteen choſen Perſons, of Rank ſuitable to the Perſons to be try'd, viz. a Chairman, and 14 Jurymen, all ſolemnly ſworn; the Criminal at the Bar is allow'd to except againſt any Man upon the Jury, and his Objections, if relevant, will caſt the Juryman from ſitting. The Jury, by the Scots Law (founded upon the Roman Law) have no further Concern than with the Proof; the Judges examine the Evidence in Preſence of the Jury, and when the Proof is ſumm'd up by the Judges, then the Jury are enclos'd, to conſider of the Validity and Fullneſs of the Evidence: When they have weigh'd the Evidence, they then return their Verdict proven or not prov'd.

the Heads of theſe Perſons to Iſabella, the Governor's Lady, ſeems not atteſted nor prov'd by any Hiſtorian of Note; but this Event of the Trial and Execution of ſo many of the firſt Rank in the Kingdom, did acccompliſh the Overthrow of Murdoch Stewart's Family; and the horrid Practices of Robert his Father, when Governor of the Kingdom, were ſufficiently repay'd by the Judgments of Divine Providence; the Murder of his Nephew David, by ſtarving him to Death, the horrid Exactions and Oppreſſions during his Adminiſtration of the Kingdom, his unnatural and wicked Barbarity to his Brother the King, and all the Royal Family; and his voluntary Neglect and delaying of the proper Means to have his Nephew James the King recall'd, and reſtor'd to his Throne; all theſe together being now ſet in open View and full Light, made the Memory of him and his Family hateful to the King, and abominable to the whole Kingdom.

Providence rewards juſtly the Wickedneſs of the Governor and his Poſterity.

By the Attainder and Forfeiture of the Governor's Eſtate, the Earldoms of Fife, Monteith, and Lenox, devolv'd to the Crown; the Caſtle of Inch Merin in Lochlomond, which belong'd to James, the Governor's youngeſt Son, now an Exile in Ireland, which had ſtood out, and been defended againſt the King, was at laſt reduc'd and taken, by John Montgomery and Humphry Cunningham.

James's Eſtate was taken Poſſeſſion of by the Crown.

The other Nobility and Gentry who had been committed for Crimes and Miſdemeanors, finding the King had made ſo many ſuffer, begun to be in great Fears about their Fate; however, his Majeſty being a Perſon of a moſt ſedate, equitable, and mild Spirit, by the Examples which he made, meant and intended only to ſtrike the other Offenders with Terror, and to make them believe their Safety and Happineſs was plac'd in their dutiful Subjection, and their ſincere Loyalty, to their Prince and Sovereign: He wiſely and tenderly ſtopp'd all further Effuſion of Blood, and after the Criminals had been for one Year impriſon'd, order'd them all to be brought to his Royal Preſence, and, like a Father to his People, ſharply and juſtly reproving their ungrateful Practices, and rebellious Deſigns, he firſt, in affectionate Terms, earneſtly exhorts them to Duty and future Loyalty; and to bind them the more effectually to their Loyalty and Intereſt, he not only granted them a free Pardon, but reſtor'd them to his Royal Favour, and to the Poſſeſſion of all their Eſtates and Honours. Such a forgiving merciful Spirit was ſuited to the Soul of a Prince, and demonſtrated he was a King not in Shew and external Titles only, but in Mind and Underſtanding, having Judgment and Capacity proportion'd to his Dignity, adorn'd with Benevolence and Royal Integrity: Theſe Qualities, by Picture and Example, were fit to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, and worthy of the Imitation of their ſucceeding Kings.

The King wiſely ſhews Mercy to all the other Priſoners, and treats them in a moſt encouraging Manner.

While King James is labouring hard to bring his People into the Practice of Trade, and to civilize their Manners, his neighbouring Kingdoms were waſting their Men and Treaſure by War; England contending to maintain her Conqueſts in France, and the King of France ſtruggling to diſlodge them, and recover the Whole of his Kingdom. The French found their Force not ſufficient, and therefore Charles the Seventh, King of France, (who was a Man of Spirit, Judgment and Bravery) with the Advice of his Council, appointed the Earl of Douglaſs, now a Marſhal of France, with Charters, Archbiſhop of Rheims, the Chancellor of France, and John Stewart, of Darnley, to go Ambaſſadors-Extraordinary for Scotland, to renew the former Treaties betwixt both Kingdoms, to demand a freſh Supply of Men (the Veterans of the Scots Auxiliaries being moſtly worn out, or dead, thro' the Continuance of the War;) and laſtly, to demand Margaret, King James's Daughter, in Marriage with the young Dauphin Lewis. Upon the Arrival of theſe Ambaſſadors, they were receiv'd with particular Marks of Affection and Regard by his Majeſty King James, and the Nobility; the Treaty betwixt Scotland and France was renew'd without Heſitation, and conſiſted of the four following Articles:

Ambaſſadors come from France to demand the Princeſs in Marriage, and a Reinforcement of Auxiliaries.

The Articles of the renew'd Treaty.

Firſt, That upon England's declaring War, or committing Hoſtilities, againſt either France or Scotland, both Kingdoms ſhould make it a common Cauſe, and unite their Forces againſt the common Enemy; and ſo as to any other Nation attacking Scotland or France.

Secondly, That upon the Engliſh declaring War, or acting in a hoſtile Manner againſt France, the Scots Nation ſhould be bound to ſupply their Ally with Succours, to be upon French Pay. And,

Thirdly, That if Scotland ſhould be attack'd, the French ſhould furniſh them with ſufficent Forces, to be pay'd by Scotland.

Fourthly, That neither Scotland nor France ſhould make any ſeparate Treaty with England, or any other Nation, but act mutually in Concert with one another, in all Points which concern'd the Welfare of both Kingdoms.

Theſe Points being ſettled, and the Treaty ſign'd, the Overture of the Marriage of King James's Daughter, the Princeſs Margaret, with the Dauphin, was agreed to; but the firſt Things executed relating to the Treaty, was the raiſing the proper Supplies to be ſent over to France, to reinforce and recruit the French Army, which was done with all poſſible Diligence and Diſpatch. The Ambaſſadors having obtain'd all their Requeſt, and without Loſs of Time, they return'd, well pleas'd at their Reception and Succeſs, to acquaint the French King, Charles, of all being concluded, and the Marriage agreed to.

The Auxiliaries are ſent over, without Loſs of Time, to France.

After this, his Majeſty King James apply'd himſelf to the Reduction and ſettling of the Northern, mountainous, and Highland Part of his Kingdom, where nothing but Force and Violence were practis'd, and no Acceſs for the Power of Laws to operate. The Southern and Champain

Part

Part of the Kingdom, which was the beſt inhabited, and of greateſt Value, was under entire Subjection to his Majeſty, and the Laws of the Land, and in Manners quite different from the ſavage and unbroken Mountaineers. The King, the more effectually and ſpeedily to bring the wild ungovernable Highlanders to Reaſon, reſolv'd to go in Perſon, attended with proper Guards, and a Number of his Nobility, to make Trial what his Royal Preſence might do, and at firſt to encourage them by gentle and eaſy Meaſures, to ſubmit to good Order, to Induſtry, to Peace, and mutual Benevolence with their Neighbours; to form their briſk and manly Genius to be uſeful, and not deſtructive in the Commonwealth. Theſe were great and well judg'd Deſigns in the Mind of a King: Accordingly, having now all to the South of the Grampion Hills * under his Subjection, and in perfect Tranquility, in the Year 1426, his Majeſty order'd the Caſtle of Inverneſs † to be repair'd and fortify'd, to be in Readineſs for the Reception of his Majeſty and his Court, he having intimated his Royal Pleaſure, that he was preparing to come and reſide there ſome Time, to be at Hand to hear the Complaints of the Highlanders, and to receive the Submiſſions of the Chiefs of the Clans who had not come in.

The King order'd the Caſtle of Inverneſs to be repair'd for his Reception, and accordingly went thither.

In the Year 1428 his Majeſty King James went for Inverneſs, attended by his Court, and a Body of Men: Upon his Arrival, his Majeſty order'd all the Chiefs of the Clans to repair to his Royal Preſence, to ſhew their Duty and Submiſſion; at the ſame Time he appointed the proper Court to adminiſter Juſtice, and to ſuppreſs all Robbery, Rapine, and Diſorders in the Country. His Majeſty receiv'd numberleſs Complaints of the moſt inhuman Ravages, and repeated Inſults, of one Clan againſt another: Theſe Chiefs of Plunderers were ſo powerful, that they could, upon the ſhorteſt Warning, bring to the Field ſome one Thouſand, ſome two or three Thouſand, ready to obey and execute the Orders of their Chiefs, to ſlay, deſtroy, and lay waſte, as he dictated to them. However, his Majeſty's Preſence, and the ſtrict Application of Juſtice, brought them into a better Way of thinking; ſome were frightned into good Behaviour, others perſwaded; forty of the moſt noted were taken, and put in Priſon; upon Trial, their two Ringleaders, Andrew McRory, and John McCarthur, were caſt, condemn'd, and executed. At the ſame Time John Campbell, a Chief of theſe thieving Banditti, was executed for Murder and Barbarity, for he murder'd John of the Iſles, and put all his Country to the Sword.

The King at Inverneſs calls in all the Chiefs of Clans.

The Chiefs and Heads of the Clans and Highlanders being thus either confin'd in Priſons, or put to Death, the King being averſe to ſhed more Blood than Law and Juſtice requir'd of him, did not proceed to execute his Power without Bounds of Reaſon, nor to butcher the poor, Country, ignorant Menials, and common People, who had been forc'd out by their Chiefs, under Pain of Fire and Sword; but reſtraining himſelf and his Soldiery from all Acts of cold Blood, Villainy, or inhuman murdering and ruining of Families, his Majeſty judging right, chus'd to be belov'd, to be fear'd by his Subjects from Love, and to ſecure their Affections by the Ties of Gratitude, of Mercy, and Clemency. This demonſtrated how great and elevated the Soul of this Prince was; he conven'd the Multitudes to his Preſence, and from his Mouth, with mild, but perſwading and powerful Expreſſions, brought them to a peaceful Diſpoſition, and ſhew'd them the Danger of their Rebellion, which had the happy Effect to gain their Affections, and to make them innocent and peaceable for ſome Time.

The King ſhews a merciful Spirit to the poor Country People.

Notwithſtanding the Pains the King had taken, by mild and gentle Meaſures, to make theſe unruly Mortals know and do their Duty, there ſtill remain'd one Chief, and the moſt important, who had not been try'd, nor had he given Satisfaction to his Majeſty for his extraordinary and horrid Extravagancies againſt his Neighbours; this was Alexander, Lord of the Iſles, and Earl of Roſs, the Subject, of the whole Nation, next in Power to the King himſelf: This Earl of Roſs commanded the whole of the Weſtern Iſles as his own Eſtate, and having the Acceſſion of the County of Roſs to his Eſtate, he became immenſely rich: He was Earl of Roſs as Heir-Male by his Mother, Daughter to Walter Leſlie, the former Earl of Roſs.

The King had Succeſs in perſwading the common People in the Highlands to live peaceably.

This Alexander of the Iſles came to Court to wait of the King; he found his Majeſty moſt reaſonable, mild, and ready to forgive, for the King receiv'd him as a Father would have receiv'd a rebellious Child; the King us'd the ſtrongeſt Reaſons and Arguments to perſwade the Earl of Roſs to a peaceable, neighbourly, and inoffenſive State of Life, but it had not the deſir'd Effect; for tho' (by the Interceſſion of Friends, and thro' Hopes of a better Behaviour, the King pardon'd all that was paſt, yet, inſtead of making a good Uſe of his Majeſty's Goodneſs, Alexander of the Iſles left the Court abruptly, went Home, and rais'd a Poſſe of his old Companions and Aſſociates, and march'd forward, with above a Thouſand Banditti and Ruffians, to attack Inverneſs. He parted from the King at Perth, upon a ſolemn Promiſe of never committing any future Hoſtilities; but no ſooner got he Home, than he muſter'd up his old Partners, and made the Deſcent upon Inverneſs, reſenting, as he pretended, his being kept in Cuſtody ſome Days by the King's Order. The Manner in which Alexander of the Iſles came down upon Inverneſs was, he, with a few Gentlemen of his Retinue, came to the Town, leaving Orders for his Army of Banditti, to the Number of about 2000, to follow ſlowly, and to take Shelter in the Woods, Fens, and Hiding-Places, within two Miles of the Town, till Night; when the Lord of the

The Lord of the Iſles and Earl of Roſs came to the King. Was mildly and gently receiv'd. Alexander of the Iſles pardon'd. But he left the Court, and again rebels. Alexander attacks and burns Inverneſs.

* The Grampion Hills are a Ridge of Mountains, rocky, and full of Heath, reaching from the German Ocean, nigh to Aberdeen, to the Weſtern or Iriſh Sea, or to Inverlochy.

† Inverneſs, a pleaſant Town, with a ſtrong Caſtle, or Citadel, ſituated on the River Neſs; which will be fully deſcrib'd in the Geographical Part of this Hiſtory.

Iſles

Iſles came to Inverneſs, he was waited on and regaled by the beſt of the Place, and notwithſtanding the Civilities he met with, upon the Signal given, his Men in the Night enter'd the Town, plunder'd it, put the Inhabitants to the Sword and burnt the Town; then he beſieg'd the Caſtle: But the News of his Behaviour reaching the King's Ear, he without Delay, ſent ſufficient Force againſt him, forc'd him to raiſe the Siege and to retire with Precipitation to the Iſles, where finding he was not ſafe, he determin'd to get over to Ireland, in which he was diſappointed, the King offer'd a Reward for apprehending of him; upon which he was chas'd like a Partridge and being in Deſpair as to his Eſcape, he reſolv'd upon a Stratagem, which had the Succeſs he wiſh'd for, he got himſelf provided with a proper Garment, to repreſent him in Mourning, all cover'd over from Head to Foot, in ſuch a Manner as to make an Appearance to move and excite the Compaſſion of all the Spectators, particularly his Majeſty, his Queen, and the Nobility of the Court, finding that none of his Interceſſions nor the Intereſt of his Friends, could prevail upon the King to pardon his repeated Rebellion, and his late Abuſe of the King's Mercy; and being inform'd, that his Majeſty had ſolemnly declared, he would hear of no Interceſſion nor Application, in Favour of Alexander of the Iſles; but inſiſted he ſhould ſurrender himſelf, and ſubmit Life, Fortune, and all to the King's Pleaſure. Alexander, with all theſe piercing and affecting Circumſtances, perplex'd, toſs'd and diſturb'd in Mind, could not determine himſelf for ſome Time; but at length, compoſing himſelf to Reſignation, he reſolved to venture into the Preſence of his King, array'd in his pityful, ſorrowful and mourning Habit, to ſupplicate at publick Worſhip, his Majeſty's Pardon, and to ſubject himſelf wholly to the King's Pleaſure; accordingly, upon the Feſtival of Eaſter, when his Majeſty, with the Queen and all the Royal Family, were at Divine Service, in the Royal Chapel of Holy-Rood Houſe* Alexander diſguis'd, gets in among the Crouds, which attended to ſee their Majeſties, and unregarded, by Ways and Means, thro' the Multitude, makes his Way into the Royal Chapel, where advancing to the Front, at the Foot of the Throne, he kneel'd down in this his frightful and ſurpriſing Habit, and with Tears, begging, in the moſt moving Terms, his Majeſty's Royal Mercy and Compaſſion to him, and his Family, to ſpare his Life, and to take him under his Royal Protection. This extraordinary Appearance, ſo affected the Queen and all the Court who ſurrounded the Throne, that after Divine Service, her Majeſty with the Nobility, made ſtrong Interceſſion for him, ſo as to prevail upon the King to ſpare his Life; but he had ſo heinouſly affronted his Majeſty's former Clemency, and was a Man of ſo revengeful and deliberately malicious a Spirit, that the King very juſtly thought it neither prudent nor ſafe, to truſt him at full Liberty, as he was before; therefore, the King wiſely determin'd to confine him for Life, and ſent him under the Care of Douglaſs Earl of Angus, to the Caſtle of Tantallon, there to remain. Alexander's Mother, Eupham Leſly (Daughter to Walter Leſly, formerly Earl of Roſs) was ſent to the Iſle of Colm, to be kept there from exciting Sedition, or doing further Miſchief; ſhe was chiefly blam'd for ſetting on her Son, the Earl of Roſs, upon all his extravagant, outragious Inſults and Attacks upon his Neighbours: After the Mother and Son were thus ſafely in Hold, Donald Balloch fir'd with Reſentment at the Confinement of the Lord of the Iſles, his Couſin, raiſes over all the Iſlands and Highlands, all the looſe and diſorderly Fellows, Thieves, Out-laws, Robbers, and compoſes an Army of ſome thouſand Deſperadoes, with which he paſſes into Lochaber. Stewart Earl of Murray, and Allen Earl of Cathneſs, march'd againſt him, with a Body of Men; but Balloch was ſo artful as to ſurprize theſe Earls in the Night in their Camp at Inverlochy, where he and his deſperadoe Army, ſo furiouſly attack'd the Militia under the Command of the Earls of Murray and Cathneſs, that moſt of them were kill'd, with my Lord Cathneſs, upon the Spot, and the Earl of Murray was forc'd to fly with the ſmall Numbers remaining. Upon which Donald Balloch, fluſh'd with his Victory, over-run all the adjacent Country, laying all waſte, and having carried off all the Plunder he could with his Banditti, he return'd to the Iſles. The King having Intelligence of the Defeat of the Earl of Murray, and the Death of the Lord Cathneſs, loſing no Time, he took the Field directly, with a good Army, and march'd for Dunſtaffnage Caſtle, with Deſign to tranſport his Army to the Iſlands, to go in Search of Balloch. The Surprize and Terror of the King's ſudden Approach with his Army, diſconcerted the Chiefs of the Clans, and therefore they were forc'd to chuſe Submiſſion, rather than Reſiſtance, ſo they came in to his Majeſty, with the ſtrongeſt Proteſtations of Zeal and Loyalty to the King, and a hearty Inclination to execute every Meaſure the King pleas'd to order, for the apprehending Balloch and all his Followers. The King accepted of their Service, and tender'd to them all the Oath of Fidelity to his Majeſty's Intereſt, which they readily took, and to make themſelves the more acceptable to the King, they rais'd all their Force, purſued and took great Numbers of Balloch's Men. The King order'd three hundred of them to be hang'd, and the reſt he ſpar'd, only inſiſted they ſhould continue in Search of Balloch, to have him taken dead or alive. Balloch eſcap'd to Ireland, but the King received Notice in whoſe Lands he was conceal'd and ſhelter'd, he ſent Expreſs to the Lord of that Mannor, whoſe Name was Odo, to have him deliver'd up, with a ſecret Promiſe of a Reward of his Royal Friendſhip if he did ſo; upon which Odo found out Balloch, but fearing he might eſcape in his Return, or be reſcued before he was brought to King James, to be

He then beſieges, but is forc'd to raiſe the Siege, and fly to the Iſles.

The Earl of Roſs his Contrivance.

The Earl of Roſs ſubmits to the King, and comes to him when at divine Service.

The King pardons him, but did not give him his Liberty.

The Earl of Roſs and his Mother both confined.

Balloch makes an Inſurrection.

Balloch defeats the Earl of Murray.

The King in Perſon with an Army marches to purſue Balloch.

The Chiefs of the Clans join the King and ſubmit to his Pleaſure.

Balloch fled to Ireland.

* The King's Palace at Edinburgh, called Holy-Rood Houſe, the Chapel Royal remains to this Day, and the Palace is a magnificent fine Structure of Hewn Stone adorn'd with all the Orders of Architecture of two Squares or Courts.

certain

certain of the Reward, Odo cut off Balloch's Head, and ſent it ſafe to the King, now at Stirling; after this, the Clan Cattons and Camerons, did ſo vent their Rage againſt one another, as to make their Country almoſt a Deſolation; they ſo effectually ruin'd one another, that they ſtood in Need of no Force to ſuppreſs them. The King pardon'd two notorious Ringleaders of the Plunderers, who infeſted the Northern Part of the Kingdom: Theſe two Heads or Chiefs, Angus Duffus and Angus Murray, were no ſooner diſmiſs'd, than they rais'd all the Poſſe they could muſter, and they were capable to muſter above fifteen hundred Men each. They were no ſooner in the Field, than they quarrell'd with one another, and ſo without any other Enemy, Duffus and his Party fought ſo deſperately againſt Murray and his Men, till there remain'd only about 12 of a Side alive, and theſe deſperately wounded. This Event clear'd the Country of the moſt dangerous Robbers, and deſperate Parties, for ſome Time. Notwithſtanding the Numbers of theſe rebellious and diſorderly Fellows were ſo far diminiſh'd and deſtroy'd, one McDonald, a notorious Fellow for all Manner of Cruelty, Rapine, and Barbarity, ſtill remain'd unpuniſh'd; he, with his Party, came down upon Roſs, and plunder'd wherever he came, without any Mercy or Humanity towards the Poor: This exaſperated the King much, and oblig'd his Majeſty to ſend Parties in Purſuit of him. The King's Wrath was chiefly kindled againſt him becauſe of his horrid Cruelty to a poor Widow, a Farmer in the County of Roſs, whom he us'd frequently to ſtrip of all her Cattle, and what was valuable about her Houſe: The poor Widow Woman being exaſperated with her Loſſes, and his unmerciful Uſage of her, told McDonald one Day, ſhe would go purpoſely to the King, and lodge her Complaint againſt him.

Balloch taken and beheaded.

New Rebels declare themſelves, but are cut off.

McDonald continues to diſturb the Country.

His Cruelty to a poor Widow.

The cruel, vile Fellow, upon her expreſſing theſe Words, anſwer'd, "Very well, I ſhall endeavour to forward you for your Journey, by getting you well ſhod." Upon which, he order'd directly a Smith to fix two Iron Shoes, after the Manner of Horſe-ſhoes, on the Woman's Feet, and to drive the Nails thro'; which Torture the poor Woman endur'd with great Reſolution and Bravery. After they had her ſhod, ſhe found Ways and Means to get from them; and being a ſtrong, robuſt, and hardy Woman, ſhe forc'd herſelf to keep travelling ſlowly, till at length ſhe came to the Place where the King was. His Majeſty having the News of the cruel Barbarity, call'd the Woman to his Royal Preſence, beheld her thus ſhod, and examin'd her: The King immediately after diſpatch'd Orders to have this McDonald taken, dead or alive; at length he and many of his Party were taken, and carry'd up to the King; his Majeſty order'd them all to Priſon, and to have their Trial directly: The King order'd the Woman to wait to ſee his Puniſhment. Being caſt at his Trial, with all his Correſpondents, he, by the Judges, was order'd to be ſhod by a Smith, in the ſame Manner he had ſhod the Woman, and, with the Executioner before him, by Proclamation, declaring his Crime; he was made to walk for three Days round the City of Edinburgh: The next Day he, the Captain of the Gang, was beheaded, and 12 of his Confederates were hung in Chains, on the different Highways, to be a Terror to Offenders. Thus the poor Widow was aveng'd of theſe cruel Fellows.

The Widow complains to the King.

The King order'd him to be taken, dead or alive.

McDonald taken and condemn'd.

He is ſerv'd as he did to the Widow; afterwards he and his Confederates were executed and hung in Chains.

After this, the King appointed Judges-Extraordinary, who ſhould make their Circuits all over the Nation, at different Times of the Year, to judge Criminals in all the Quarters of the Kingdom. By this wiſe Eſtabliſhment of the Juſticiary Court, his Majeſty ſoon reform'd the Manners, and reſtrain'd the Robberies, of the North and Weſt Highlanders. His Majeſty likewiſe ſettled proper Weights and Meaſures for all Goods, Corn, Merchandize, or other Things weigh'd or meaſur'd, and enacted ſevere Penalties againſt Offenders and Tranſgreſſors againſt the wholeſome and equitable Regulations he had ſettled all over the Kingdom.

While the King is thus with anxious Concern promoting the Good of his Nation and People, her Majeſty the Queen is brought to Bed of Twins, both Sons, baptiz'd Alexander and James, at Holyrood Houſe, in the Month of October, 1430; Alexander dy'd in his Infancy, but James ſucceeded to the Throne. Upon the happy Event of the Queen's ſafe Delivery, the King pardon'd ſome Offenders, and in particular Archibald, Earl of Douglaſs, and Sir Gilbert Kennedy, the King's Siſter's Son: My Lord Douglaſs was Priſoner at Lochleven, and Sir Gilbert at Sterling. In a little after the Earl of Roſs was ſet at Liberty. The King to gain the Affections of his People the more, and particularly to engage the Douglaſſes to Fidelity, honour'd the Earl of Douglaſs to make him Sponſor and Godfather to his young Sons the Princes, at their Chriſtning, made Douglaſs's Son, and fifty more Knights on this Occaſion, and did every Thing which a good King could conceive, to engage and encourage his Subjects to be faithful and loyal.

The Queen brought to Bed of Twins.

The King pardons ſeveral Nobility on this Occaſion.

The King was a great Encourager of Arts and Sciences, and took the moſt effectual Means to poliſh the Manners of his People; for he gave Rewards to all ingenious Artiſts, to encourage them; he ſent for the moſt curious Mechanicks and Tradeſmen from England, and other Places, giving them a handſome Settlement in Scotland, in order to propagate the Uſe and Practice of handicraft Trades and Manufactures. His Majeſty likewiſe ſent for Men of Learning from all Quarters, and made genteel Settlements upon them; and the more effectually to promote Learning and Politeneſs, he enacted, that no Nobleman or Gentleman ſhould ſucceed to his paternal Inheritance, until they were well inſtructed in the Civil and Municipal Law, and well acquainted with the Laws, Cuſtoms, and State of their own Country. The next Thing his Majeſty gave Attention to, was the Reformation of the Clergy, who, thro' the continu'd and long Troubles at Home and Abroad, had taken too much Advantage of the Confuſion of the Times, and uſurp'd more Power than became them: They were ſo inſolent, that they thought themſelves bound to acknowledge no Juriſdiction but the Pope's: However, the King took care to abridge their Pride,

The King's Character and Taſte for Learning and Ingenuity.

He promoted Trades and Schools of Learning.

He brings the Clergy to Order.

by giving large Appointments out of their Revenues, to the Encouragement of Learning, and by enacting, that none but Men of Learning and true Piety ſhould be promoted to an Office in the Church. The King did indeed found one new Monaſtery of Charters at Perth, and endow'd it with a conſiderable Revenue; but he took care that the Members of this Society ſhould be no idle nor impoſing Fellows, but for Sanctity and Knowledge equal to their Character in Life.

The King introduces Organ-Muſick.

His Majeſty was a great Lover of Muſick, and particularly Church-Muſick; therefore he order'd the inſtructing of Singing-Boys and Girls, and the erecting of Organ Muſick in the Churches: Before this Time there had been no ſuch Thing in Scotland. In a little Time, the People were mightily pleas'd with this Alteration in Worſhip, and the Improvement of Church-Muſick. The King himſelf was not only a Lover of Muſick, but a great Judge both of it, and of the moſt ingenious Arts and Sciences. Scotland now became the Retreat and Seat for the Muſes; Learning began to be faſhionable, and ſo the Gentry of Faſhion were gradually rought to a Hatred of the former prevailing and beariſh Ruſticity of their Country, and to value themſelves upon Politeneſs and genteel Education. This introduc'd a Neceſſity of reforming the the Abuſes in the Church, which was owing to the Ignorance and baſe Practices of the Clergy. The Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom now were not to be pleas'd, as formerly, with their Jargon and Nonſenſe; but (being Men of Knowledge and polite Education) were Judges both of the Conduct, Form of Worſhip, and Preaching of the Clergy: They join'd the King in the reforming the Abuſes and Impoſitions introduc'd into the Church. In the preceding Reigns, the Nation being in continual War, and diſtracted with Commotions at Home, and Wars Abroad, the Clergy had Opportunity to act and inſtruct as they pleas'd; they had no Controul, therefore they became indolent Epicures, neglected the Care of their Flocks, and committed the Inſtruction of their People to the Mendicant Fryars, their Journeymen, who, being artful, cunning Fellows, got ſo much into the Favour and Good-liking of the People, that they impos'd upon them all their Stuff and Trumpery of the Merit of good Works, of praying for departed Souls, of Indulgencies, and the Purification of Souls in Purgatory, as proper Engines to ſcrew out Money from the People, both for themſelves and their Friends. The ſuperior Clergy ſo fatted themſelves with Luxury, Idleneſs, and Gaiety, that they allow'd the Whole of the former eſtabliſh'd Worſhip to be totally ſubverted, and for ſome conſiderable Time, by their bad Management, the Whole of Worſhip was become ſo ludicrous, unintelligible, and farcical, that it reſembled more a theatrical Shew, than the decent publick Worſhip of the Supreme Being; Singing of Pſalms and Hymns, an eſſential and heavenly Part of Worſhip, was quite dropp'd, or chang'd into muttering and chattering over, in alternate Verſes and Reſponſes, a Set of Words which the People did not underſtand, and were not to be explain'd; theſe were the early Arts of the Tools of his Holineſs of Rome.

The Muſick of the Church much improv'd; and other Abuſes rectify'd.

The Reaſon of the Corruption of the Clergy.

The preſent degenerated State of the Church.

The Character and Abuſes of the Clergy.

Parſonages were nothing but a Reward beſtow'd upon a Son or Sons of a noble Family, for Services done (tho' none of the beſt;) lazy, cloudy, and gutted Fellows, were preferr'd in the Church, from no Motive but their Intereſt as Noblemen's Children. The King judg'd well, that an ignorant Nobleman, and Nobility without Knowledge and Underſtanding, was only an Image exalted on a Hill to publick View, for the Deriſion and Contempt of the Spectators; and therefore he for the future determin'd, that only Piety, Learning, and Politeneſs, ſhould be the Grounds and Motives for Preferment in the Church; therefore he gave ſtrict Charge to all the Univerſities and publick Schools, that they ſhould let his Majeſty know the Students under their Care, who were the moſt ingenious and promiſing in the Progreſs of Learning, that he might promote them, and give them Encouragements ſuitable to their Genius and Application. It was excellent, manly, and great in his Majeſty, to give ſuch particular Attention to the ſacred and religious Intereſts of his People, and to iſſue out ſo endearing, judicious, and noble a Declaration, that, without Regard to Birth or Deſcent, if any Youth over the Nation were diſtinguiſh'd for Genius, and was found to excel in any Branch of Learning, they ſhould have his Royal Encouragement, be promoted, and enabled to proſecute their Studies, and be ſupported in the Improvement of their Learning from his Royal Bounty, which, for this End, he made very large and extenſive. Theſe were Actions and Rules for the Imitation of future Kings over Europe; but, notwithſtanding that the King himſelf gave the beſt Example in his Moderation, Juſtice, Equity, good OEconomy, and Abſtinence from Luxury, or Extravagancy in Apparel, and otherwiſe; yet, thro' the Continuance of Peace ſo long, Eaſe and Pleaſure had laid hold on the Minds of the Nobility and Gentry of the Court; and having no Interruptions by Commotions or War, the Court did degenerate into Pleaſure, Luxury, Gaiety, and Debauchery, ſo as to corrupt the Manners of the better Sort in ſuch Manner, that, inſtead of Temperance, Study, and the Encouragement of Learning, Trade, and Manufactures, were introduc'd, Balls, Maſquerades, Concerts, Feaſting, Extravagancy in Apparel, in the Uſe of Jewels, of Gold and Silver Lace, of rich Ermin, and coſtly Furs; and, in ſhort, all the Extravagancies in Diverſions, in Eating and Drinking, that could be contriv'd. The King himſelf was moderate, and reſtrain'd himſelf from all Manner of Exceſſes: but this Degeneracy, Effeminacy, and Luxury of the Court, was all charg'd upon Madam the Queen, as her Engliſh Taſte, ſhe reliſhing all Gaiety, Diverſions, Finery in Apparel, and foreign Modes and Faſhions, however coſtly and extravagant. There were Numbers of the Engliſh who came now to Court, and their Cuſtoms, Manners, and Diverſions, all became faſhionable and pleaſing to the Queen, which made the Scots Nation diſſatisfy'd; the Clergy, from their Pulpits and otherwiſe, declaim'd openly againſt the Vice and Debauchery

The King's excellent Charge to the Univerſities, for the Encouragement of Learning.

Learning now was the Object of Royal Favour.

Peace introduc'd Luxury.

The King's Encouragement of Sobriety, and his Averſion to Luxury.

The Engliſh introduc'd Luxury and Debauchery into Scotland.

Debaucher y of the Court, but without Succeſs, until the Primate of the Kingdom made ſtrong Remonſtrances; and he having rais'd a Clamour over the Nation againſt the Debauchery of the Court, his Majeſty, to gain and ſettle the Affections of the whole People in his Favour, was forc'd to call a Parliament.

The Clergy declare againſt the Court.

The Parliament being met, the Lords and Commons, by a great Majority, paſs'd ſeveral good Laws, for the reſtraining and ſuppreſſing national Extravagancy, Debauchery, and Luxury. In this Seſſion they diſcharg'd the wearing of Pearls, and all other Jewels, but a Tire or two of Pearl about Womens Necks. They, under ſevere Penalties, diſcharg'd the wearing Gold and Silver Lace, Furs, Ermin, Houſes of Pleaſure, extravagant Feaſting, Maſquerading, and unlawful Gaming; all Interludes, Buffoonry, and ſuch Trumpery, as tended only to ruin the Youth of the Nation, and promoted not the leaſt good Purpoſe; theſe were all ſuppreſs'd. This Year, 1430, the firſt Day of June, there happen'd a total and frightful Eclipſe of the Sun, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon, when, for half an Hour, there was total Darkneſs, and very nigh as great as if at Midnight; therefore the Country People call'd it the Black Hour.

The Parliament call'd to ſuppreſs Debauchery and Luxury. All Silver and Gold Lace, and all Extravagancies, prohibited. An Eclipſe of the Sun.

After this, his Majeſty King James employ'd himſelf in a ſtrict Enquiry into the Rights of the Crown, and the Ways and Means of enlarging the Revenues, which was a dangerous Undertaking, and laborious; for, thro' the Confuſion and Troubles of former Times, ſeveral of the Nobility had taken Poſſeſſion of Crown-Lands; and the diſpoſſeſſing of ſuch was like to have produc'd great Diſcontents, beſides a general Revolt of a conſiderable Faction in the Nation. Theſe Dangers were entirely owing to the Profuſion and wicked Miſapplication of the Revenues by the Governors, to compaſs their own Ends, and ſupport their Power; but, notwithſtanding all Difficulties, the King perſiſted with Reſolution in a ſtrict Examination into the Crown-Revenues, and in the ſofteſt, mildeſt, and ſafeſt Manner, reſtor'd the Revenues to their antient and juſt Eſtabliſhment.

The King enlarges the Revenues of the Crown, by a careful Enquiry into the Mal Practices of the Governors.

The Eſtate of the late Earl of March being forfeited, the King and his Council were juſtly of Opinion, that the late Governors of the Kingdom had no Right to pardon, or reſtore the Eſtate to that Family, as they had done; ſo the King diveſted the preſent George, Earl of March, of all the Eſtate he now poſſeſs'd, but had been forfeited in his Father's Perſon. George, Earl of March, highly offended at this, expreſs'd himſelf in too ſtrong Terms, and oppos'd the taking away his Eſtate; upon which his Majeſty order'd him directly into Cuſtody in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and appointed William Douglaſs, Earl of Angus, to take Poſſeſſion of the middle March, and William Chricton, Chancellor, with Sir Adam Hepburn, of Hales, to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of Dunbar, and all the Eaſtern Marches of his Eſtate; which was accordingly executed, and Sir Adam Hepburn was order'd to keep Garriſon in the Caſtle of Dunbar.

The Earl of March loſes his Eſtate.

But the King's merciful Spirit was ſo favourable to the Earl of March, that in a little Time he releas'd him from his Confinement, and, in order to prevent his following his Father's Example, by running into England, upon every Grudge or Diſcontent at the Court, to raiſe new Diſturbances, his Majeſty wiſely kept the Eſtate of the Family of March, upon the Border of Scotland, and annex'd it to the Crown, but granted an Equivalent to George, Earl of March, by the Earldom of Buchan in the North, with an additional Penſion, payable out of his paternal Inheritance; by this, he ſettled my Lord March to the North of the two great Rivers, the Forth and Tay, ſo as to part effectually the Earl of March from his Friends the Engliſh, and render him incapable of jumping by Surprize into England. The Earl of Buchan's Eſtate (now transferr'd to the Lord March) return'd to the Crown by the Death of John Lord Buchan, Son to Robert the Second, who dy'd without Iſſue, being kill'd at the Battle of Vernveille in France: At this Time, the Earl of Marr's Eſtate was ſequeſtrated to the Crown, by the Death of Alexander Stewart, late Earl of Marr, who was natural Son to Alexander Stewart, Son to Robert the Second: This Alexander Stewart was a Man of ſingular Bravery, and of good Underſtanding; he ſerv'd ſeveral Campaigns under Philip Duke of Burgundy, and after this marry'd Jane, Daughter to the Earl of Holland; he it was, who firſt brought over a Brood of fine Hungarian Horſes into Scotland.

The Earl of March releas'd, and an Eſtate granted him in the North. March's Eſtate on the Border, and Murray's annex'd to the Crown. The Ground of this Sequeſtration.

The Earl of Strathern's Eſtate likewiſe return'd to the Crown, upon Default of Male Iſſue by David Stewart, Earl of Strathern, the King's Uncle; for the Earl of Strathern had but one Daughter, marry'd to Patrick Graham, younger Brother to Lord Graham*, and the Eſtate of Strathern was entail'd to Heirs Male alone.

King James now poſſeſs'd the Eſtates of three Brothers, Son of Robert the Second; the Generality of People were well ſatisfy'd with this large Acceſſion to the Revenues of the Crown, believing now the enriching the King's Coffers ſo far would be a Mean to prevent the Impoſition of Taxes and heavy Exactions on the People, which had produc'd the Ruin and Overthrow of former Monarchs; but notwithſtanding his Majeſty did endeavour to conduct all in a calm, eaſy, equal Manner, his engroſſing ſuch a conſiderable Acceſſion to the Revenue rais'd the Diſcontent, Envy, and Noiſe of ſome turbulent Spirits: The chief Promoter of this Clamour againſt the King, as covetous and ſelfiſh, was Robert Graham, Tutor and Guardian to Miles Graham, Son to the Earl of Strathern, by Euphawe, Daughter to Robert the Second: This Robert Graham, with the other Nobility who were diſſatisfy'd, began to cabal, to promote Faction and ill Nature againſt his Majeſty, notwithſtanding that the King had given to Miles Graham, in

The Revenue much enlarg'd.

Some Factions and Diſcontents ariſe.

* From this Lord Graham come the great, noble, and brave Family of Montroſe.

September 1428. The whole Eſtate of Monteith, in Return for the Earldom of Strathern.

The King of Denmark ſends an Embaſſy into Scotland.

At this Time, a ſolemn and extraordinary Ambaſſy was ſent into Scotland, by Eric King of Denmark, to demand payment of the Arrears due by the Crown of Scotland, to the King of Denmark as King of Norway, of the Tribute paid by Scotland, by Way of Acknowledgement for their Poſſeſſion of the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland. This had been ſtipulated and agreed upon, betwixt both Nations, in the Reign of Alexander the third, when Magnus, Son of Acho, was King of Norway: The King having deliberated upon this Embaſſy, order'd Sir William Creighton, Chancellor, with another Officer of State, to go over to Denmark, to renew the former Treaties ſubſiſting betwixt the two Kingdoms, and to end the Matter in Diſpute to his Daniſh Majeſty's Satisfaction, which was accordingly executed without Delay.

All Times are ſettled amicably betwixt both Crowns.

An Ambaſſy from France to demand the Princeſs.

Immediately upon this, there came Embaſſadors from the French King, to demand the Princeſs Margaret of Scotland for the Dauphin, as had been promiſed and ſtipulated, and the Embaſſadors were ordered to carry over with them, in great Magnificence, the young Princeſs, who now was thirteen Years of Age. The Engliſh being aware of this, ordered, at the ſame Time, the Lord Scrope, who then was Ambaſſador at the Court of Scotland, to demand the Princeſs Margaret in Marriage to Henry the Sixth, now King of England. The King of England had order'd his Ambaſſador to declare, that, if the Alliance with France, were laid aſide, and his Demand complied with, he would return Berwick to the Scots, with all the Lands betwixt the River Tweed and the Red Croſs; which is the old Fragment of a Croſs near Richmond, in Yorkſhire, near to Stanmore: This was the Boundary or March, betwixt Scotland and England, when William the Conqueror gave up Cumberland to the Scots Nation. My Lord Scrope, in order to perſwade the King and Council of Scotland, into his Propoſals, exerted all his Eloquence in the following elegant Speech in Council.

The Engliſh ſend an Ambaſſador likewiſe to demand the Princeſs to Harry the ſixth.

Lord Scrope's eloquent Speech.

I am directed hither by the King my Maſter, upon an Affair, in which the Honour and Intereſt of both Kingdoms is highly concerned; for eſtabliſhing a laſting Peace, Friendſhip, and right Underſtanding, betwixt both Nations. The Propoſal I am to make, is the moſt effectual of any could be offer'd or projected, for this great and good End; happy will it be, when by the wiſe Superintendency of divine Providence, both Kingdoms ſhall be united into one Body; but ſtill happier, if one Day they be under the Government of one King. We are all Witneſſes, how vain it has been to expect the connecting of both Kingdoms, by the Power of Arms; all our Diſputes and Fighting have been only a profuſe Effuſion of human Blood, without anſwering the good Ends of War, which is to ſecure a laſting Peace. The eaſieſt, the moſt effectual and the faireſt Way to make all Enmity ceaſe, and old Qarrels vaniſh, was begun in your Majeſties Perſon, by your Marriage with the Duke of Somerſet's Daughter, Niece to Henry the fourth, and Grand-Daughter to the Duke of Lancaſter; this has been the happy Means of ſecuring Tranquility ever ſince; and now to eſtabliſh and rivet without Fear of Diſſolution, the Friendſhip now ſubſiſting betwixt England and Scotland, it is the Requeſt and Deſire of the King my Maſter, and of the Court of England, that your Majeſty may renew and eſtabliſh the Alliance and Friendſhip with England, by giving your Daughter the Princeſs Margaret in Marriage with our young King. In aſking of her, we demand but our own, for ſhe is deſcended of our Royal Stem; and if again ſhe be grafted in that Stock out of which ſhe ſprung, it is but natural; yea, where can you find a Match more for the Honour and Intereſt of both Kingdoms? Are we not People of the ſame Iſland? Have we not the ſame Language, of the ſame Habit and Faſhion, guarded and ſeparated from all other Nations, by the great Depths of the Ocean? What evil Cuſtoms have got in among you, from your Alliance with England? Nay, what Policy, Civility and good Order have followed upon your being allied together, to the Extirpation of Barbarity? If this Marriage be agreed to the Glory of both Realms; will encreaſe Power, Defence, Strength, and all neceſſary Supplies, will be ready upon all Occaſions, to repel the common Enemy.

He ſhews the happy Effects would proceed from the Marriage.

The Ambaſſador inſiſts ſtrongly for the Marriage.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador ſets forth the Advantage of Friendſhip with England.

We are not ignorant, that your Lady is deſigned for France; but how long (alas) will you continue prodigal of your Blood for France? What Advantages have you reap'd by your Alliances with France? By conferring on you unprofitable Titles of Honour, they have taken from you, what is real and ſubſtantial: Ye are, by the French reſeryed as a Poſtern Gate, by which they may enter England, to divert our Forces, and to remove the Theatre of War to our Border: Learn to forget your French, or if you be ſo enamour'd, love her as we do: Come, take a Share, and partake of our Victories: Our Forces when united are ſufficient to bring in Chains, the King of Burges, and to make ourſelves Maſters of the Continent. France in twenty Years, never did as much good to Scotland as they have loſt in one Year, by the War with England, for their Love to France. Are not your Wounds at Vernville and Cravant, ſtill bleeding, and all for the French? It was your Bravery and not French Courage, which ſtopt the Current of our Conqueſt and Progreſs; had it not been for your Swords, we had erected our Trophies on the loftieſt Tops of the Alps and Pyrennian Mountains. Ye ſay, ye can't break the old League and Confederacy! Happy League, but woe to the Keepers of it! Unhappy Scotland too, too unhappy, becauſe thy Honeſty is the Cauſe of thy many Misfortunes; you waſte your Lives and Fortunes, and loſe your better Friends. The Genius of this Iſle, methinks, cries to us, now to ſtop cruel Hands, and to embrace the Opportunities we have, of mutual Alliances and Friendſhip, and not to go on deſtroying one another; ſo to unite ourſelves as to eſtabliſh a per-

She ſhews how dear French Favour was purchaſed.

The Expreſſions here are ſtrong and nervous.

This is well repreſented.

perpetual Union and Peace by the Interchange of Marriages betwixt us: The Strength of this Iſland is Peace, Amity, Union, and Alliance, by ſtrict Faith among ourſelves, ſtronger than Mountains, Caſtles, Rocks, or Ramparts; and that you may know how highly we value the Friendſhip of Scotland, if you agree to theſe Propoſals I have made, we will give you Roxborough, Berwick, and all the Lands from the Tweed to the Red Croſs: We, as Friends and Neighbours, do entreat you lay hold of this Opportunity, and do not uphold or ſupport the French in the Sun-ſet of their Fortune, and at the weakeſt receive both Sides, French and Engliſh, in the Way of Friendſhip, but neither Side in the Way of Faction: Set not your Shoulder to ſupport a falling Wall, but preſerve your Neutrality, living peaceably within yourſelves.

Great Offers made by the Engliſh Ambaſſador.

After my Lord Scrope had deliver'd his Speech, and his Audience was over, the French Ambaſſador was admitted, who indeed made a long Speech, and entertain'd the King and his Council with all the Rhetorick he was Maſter of. His Speech was as follows:

IT ſeemeth ſtrange to me that it ſhould be queſtion'd, or fall within the Circle of Deliberation, whether old, and ever true and certain Friends, or old, never truſted, and only Enemies, ſhould, in an honourable Suit, be preferr'd; whether ye ſhould ſtand by a Nation, who, in all your Calamities, never did forſake you, or be carry'd away to embrace one who always aim'd at your Overthrow. The Engliſh ſue for your Alliance and Friendſhip, but it is to make you leave your old Confederates, and to turn the Inſtruments of their Ruin, and, in the Event, to fix and rivet Chains upon yourſelves. The French ſue for your Friendſhip to ſupport themſelves, and to keep off Servitude and ſlaviſh Dependence from you: Had it not been for your Friendſhip with France, the Power, Policy, and Numbers of the Engliſh, had long ſince overturn'd your Sovereignty, and reduc'd you to the moſt abject Slavery. Had France been an idle Spectator of the Attacks and Encroachments of the Engliſh upon Scotland, the Name of Scotland, before now, had been bury'd and loſt. Can you prove ſo ungrateful, and ſo inconſtant, as not to ſupply them who ſupported you? Do you forget the many glorious Wounds you receiv'd in the Cauſe of France? Do not be cowardly, to turn your Back upon her in her greateſt Diſtreſs, defacing all the Traces of your former Fame and Glory. With what Countenance could ye look upon theſe Heroes, who, at Vernville and Cravant, left their Lives in the Bed of Honour, if, unprovok'd, you ſhould join yourſelves to the Enemies and Slayers of theſe illuſtrious Perſons? Tho' you would incline to forſake the French now, entangled in many Difficulties, and not regard their ſtanding and well-being, at leaſt be careful of your own Safety: It can't conſiſt with your Safety to ſuffer a bordering Nation, always in Enmity with you, to ariſe to that Pitch of Power and Grandeur, as to be capable to make an Acceſſion of France to their Dominions. The Moment any State or Commonwealth hath a Neighbouring State, in Strength and Power capable to ſubdue it, it is no longer a free State. The Engliſh are already overgrown in Power, and nothing leſs than the Union and Force of neighbouring Kingdoms, acting in Concert, and with Vigour, can prevent the Torrent and Rapidity of their Fortune, and confine their Views within the Bounds of Reaſon and Equity. Neglect not therefore the faithful and certain Love of the French, for the uncertain, and (in a little Time) forgotten Alliance of the Engliſh, your lately reconcil'd Enemies.

After mutual Marriages have united your Kingdoms into one, they need ſeek no Pre-eminence of your State, they will be knit up in perfect Union with you; but remember the Water of Rivers is loſt, when diſcharg'd into the Sea, and ſmall Brooks loſe their Name, when their Streams are empty'd into mighty Rivers. Ye do now enjoy a mix'd Government, under no abſolute Sovereignty: The King, your Sovereign, proceedeth more by Prayers and Entreaty, than by arbitrary Meaſures or Command; he is your Head, and rules you as a Nation not conquer'd; but when you are join'd under the ſame Head with that Kingdom, which is abſolutely royal and monarchical, and find yourſelves rul'd by the Laws of a Conqueror, you will experience a woful Transformation of Condition; you won't have the free Management of your own Affairs; Magiſtrates, Honours, Judges, and all, you muſt have from the Engliſh; the Wealth of your Kingdom muſt be transferr'd to theirs; and, if you won't be ſubmiſſive, they will treat you as a conquer'd People; be reduc'd to a Province, have Deputies, Governors, Garriſons, and all Officers, Military and Civil, appointed you, to keep you tame, and under Subjection. What Courteſy can you expect of the Nation who detain'd your King 18 Years, and at laſt made you pay an exorbitant Ranſom; and, without Hoſtages, would not let your King return Home. I come in the Name of the King of France, my Maſter, and in the Name of the whole Kingdom, to demand the Princeſs Margaret for our Prince in Marriage. It is no new Demand, it is to have that fulfill'd which you long ſince aſſur'd us of, and promis'd; we therefore claim but our own: You have had the Truſt of her Perſon and Education for ſome Time. They are ambitious of your Alliance, but for this End only, that they may make you hate them who love you, and love them who hate you, acting by you as if you were a rough, ignorant, and unpoliſh'd People. The Offers of Roxborough and Berwick are Snares, they know they can retake them when they pleaſe. They want you to be ſilent and neutral Spectators of the War betwixt us and them at preſent, and nothing can endanger your Safety and Liberty more. If you take not Care to join in giving Bounds to their Power and Appetite, your Country will be their next Prey: Prove therefore firm to us, your old and faithful Allies; regard your own Intereſt

with Vigour and Reſolution; join your Force to ours, and, by the Aſſiſtance and Favour of the Divine Providence, attending our juſt Defence, we ſhall be capable to cut out as much Work for the Engliſh, as to make them uncapable to do you any Hurt at Home.

Having given you the Subſtance of theſe two authentick Speeches, deliver'd by the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadors at Court, I ſubmit it to my Readers to judge of the Matter and Stile, and to determine which ſpoke beſt. It appear'd afterward, that the French Ambaſſador ſpoke moſt effectually; but, from the Face of the whole Addreſs deliver'd by the French Ambaſſador's Speech, it appears plain, that it is couch'd in ſtrong, artful, and perſwading Expreſſions; he ſhews himſelf Maſter of Flattery, fit to make Uſe of all Topicks for his Maſter's Intereſt, and very alert in giving dangerous, diſadvantageous, and ſuſpicious Repreſentations of his Oppoſites, touching the proper Points to engage the Attention and Regard of them he ſpoke to.

The Speech of the Engliſh Ambaſſador is not dreſs'd up with that Art and Cunning, and does not deſcend to Flattery, but bluntly, yet in a manly, plain, and nervous Dreſs, ſets forth the Whole of his Demand and Deſign; but the French Speech cuts inſenſibly and ſoftly, yet, with irreſiſtible Power of Eloquence, lays hold on the Affections. Some of the French Ambaſſador's Sentences go nigh to entitle him to the Character of a Prophet, as to the future State of the Scots Nation; but the French Speech being better receiv'd, and deliberately weigh'd, the King, with the Advice of his Council, thought proper to intimate to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, my Lord Scrope, that they by no Means would break off from their Alliance and Friendſhip with France: Upon which the Engliſh Ambaſſador chang'd his Notes, and from ſmooth, oily, and engaging Expreſſions, he fell to bluſtering, threatning, and bullying; which the Scots receiv'd very coolly. The Engliſh Ambaſſador declar'd, he had Orders to take this Refuſal as an immediate Declaration of War, and to aſſure the King and Nobility of Scotland, that as the Engliſh had a Fleet ready to put to Sea, they would intercept the Princeſs in her Voyage to France. Having thus made their Declarations in the Name of the King of England, and his Council, they return'd for England, without taking Leave of the King and Court of Scotland.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador highly offended.

The King of Scotland, no Way diſturb'd nor diſorder'd by the ſtrutting and inſulting Behaviour of the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, directly order'd a Fleet to be mann'd and victuall'd, to be ready in a few Days to put to Sea: Accordingly, the Fleet being equipp'd, and ready for ſailing, the Princeſs Margaret, with a numerous Retinue of Ladies and Nobility attending her, went on Board; and the Wind favouring, they ſet ſail for France. The Scots Fleet was double mann'd, and well arm'd; the Engliſh Fleet lay in the Way to intercept them, but happily miſs'd them; the Engliſh miſtaking a Fleet of Hollanders, laden with Wine, from Rochelle to Flanders, for the Scots Fleet, gave Chace, and came up with the Wine Fleet, heavily laden, and laid hold of them all, becauſe they were bound for Flanders. Before the Engliſh could bring their Prizes into Port, the Spaniſh Fleet came up, and reſcu'd the Dutch Fleet, with all their Cargo, from the French, after they had ſeverely ſhatter'd the Engliſh Fleet. The Scots Fleet took the Opportunity to get into Rochelle, while the Engliſh Fleet had this Diverſion; and being all ſafe arriv'd in their Port, they landed Princeſs Margaret, with all her Retinue there. The Nobility of France, and Officers of State, repair'd to Rochelle directly, and receiv'd her Highneſs in great Pomp and Solemnity: The Princeſs was brought with great Magnificence and Splendor to Tours*, where the Marriage was celebrated, to the entire Satisfaction of both Nations, and with incredible Rejoicings over the Kingdom of France.

The Engliſh attempt to intercept the Princeſs in her Voyage to France.

The Engliſh foundly beaten by the Spaniſh Fleet.

The Princeſs lands ſafely at Rochelle.

The Engliſh Hiſtorians, particularly Edward Hall, and Grafton his Plagiary, who writes on this Subject, reviles King James, and charges him with Ingratitude, Falſhood, and Perfidy; but the Calumny is ſcandalous, and without Foundation: The Engliſh were juſtly to be blam'd, firſt, for acting contrary to the Law of Nations, and to all good Faith and Friendſhip, by making the King on his Travels a Priſoner, and detaining him for 18 Years. At the Time King James was intercepted by the Engliſh, there was Peace betwixt both Kingdoms, and therefore their Detainer of James was falſe and perfidious to the higheſt Degree. They affirm in their own Defence, that they educated, ſupported, and car'd for the Prince of Scotland, as if he had been Apparent-Heir to their own Crown; but this the Engliſh did for a Name, and out of Vanity, that they might have it ſpoke of, and mention'd in the Annals of future Ages. They reſtrain'd themſelves from killing the Prince, for fear of making them abominable and hateful to all Nations of the World. It appear'd in the Event then, that what they did was from ſelfiſh and intereſted Views; and therefore the Merit of their good Nature, and pretended Hoſpitality, can be none, but, by Hiſtorians of the greateſt Candor and Impartiality, goes for nothing. It was evident, that the Deſign of detaining and educating James in England, was to make him act as an Engliſhman when King; but, in the firſt Place, what the Engliſh aim'd at, was a good Sum of Money for Ranſom; and if they gave a Sum of Money for the Queen's Fortune, it only pay'd Part of the King's Ranſom. Thus the whole Behaviour, in the Eye of the reſt of the World, appear'd entirely an Impoſition, and lord over the Kingdom of Scotland with a Sneer. In publick and in private Life, if Favours are granted, and ſeemingly beſtow'd, out of humane and generous Principles, yet, after it is found that the Perſons on whom theſe Favours and Acts of Hoſpitality are beſtow'd, are reproach'd, revil'd, and expos'd, by the Perſons granting the Favours, the Merit

The Engliſh Hiſtorians not juſt to King James.

King James's Behaviour vindicated on this Occaſion.

The Arguments of the Engliſh refuted.

The Matter juſtly ſtated and repreſented.

The miſtaken Notion of Friendſhip and Hoſpitality.

* Tours, a great City on the Loire.

of

of ſuch Friendſhip is juſtly none, and the Obligations from ſuch Favours and Acts of Friendſhip are in Reaſon and Juſtice diſſolv'd; yea further, what a Perſon is compell'd to, is not the Deed of the Perſon, but of ſuch as compel; therefore, I am ſorry to affirm on this Head, againſt ſome Engliſh Hiſtorians, that they have loſt the Argument, and can't ſupport what they contend for, i. e. to darken the Character of King James on this Occaſion, for the Preference given to the Dauphin of France.

The King impoſes a new Tax on his Subjects, which was diſlik'd.

King James, to defray the Expence of his Daughter's Equipage and Voyage to France, impoſed a Tax on his Subjects, which they being diſcontented with, the King, to ſatisfy them, he order'd Part of the Money to be return'd, and diſcharg'd the collecting the other Half.

The Engliſh invade Scotland.

The King bore with the Inſults and Encroachments of the Engliſh, both by Sea and Land, as long as was poſſible; but at length, Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, marching into Scotland with four Thouſand Men, the King was under a Neceſſity to declare War, and repel Force by Force; upon which the King ordered William Douglaſs, Earl of Angus, Sir Adam Hepburn, of Hales, Alexander Elphinſton, of Elphinſton in Lothian, and Alexander Ramſay of Dalhouſie, to raiſe an Army directly, and to march againſt Piercy of Northumberland; having got together betwixt four and five thouſand Men, they advanc'd to the Border, and came in Sight of the Enemy, near Popperden, a Place not far from Bramſtown, Rhodam, and Roſeden; which are water'd by a Brook out of the Cheviot, which diſcharges itſelf into the Till, and the River Till into the Tweed, after many Windings; the Geography of which Places I am to deſcribe in the ſecond Part of this Hiſtory.

The Scots gather their Forces, and march againſt them.

The Van of the Scots Army advanc'd under the Command of Sir Adam Hepburn of Hales, and Alexander Elphinſton; Alexander Ramſay and Henry Cliddſdale brought up the Rear, the Earl of Angus led on the Center; after the Army was form'd, the Earl of Angus, attended by his Generals, rode round the Lines, addreſs'd the Army in the moſt affectionate and engaging Manner, minding them of former Bravery, ſpiriting them up to an acute Senſe of Reſentment of the Affronts of their Enemy; and having elevated their Minds, and put them in high Spirits, he begun the Attack with great Fury, ſo that, in a little Time, the Shoutings of the Scots Army ſilenc'd and over-power'd the Noiſe of all the Drums and Trumpets.

The Scots Army attack the Engliſh, and, after an obſtinate Diſpute, defeated them.

The Uſe of Fire-Arms firſt tried in this Action.

In this Action firſt appear'd the Uſe of fire Arms in Fighting, and the Scots made ſuch good Uſe this firſt Time of their Guns, that they gall'd the Engliſh Army, and put them ſoon into Diſorder, but they rallied and return'd to the Charge, with great Bravery and Conduct; ſo that the Engagement continued for ſeveral Hours very hot, the Scots advancing and bearing down upon them with great Obſtinacy and Fury.

The Engliſh were routed with great Slaughter.

At laſt, having kill'd ſome of the beſt Engliſh Generals, the Engliſh were diſhearten'd, and ſo took to Flight; all that Piercy could do, was not capable to prevent their Confuſion and running away; he did behave himſelf with the greateſt Bravery, but being forſaken by all his Men, he was forc'd to ſave himſelf by flying from being taken Priſoner.

The Scots loſt many Gentlemen.

This Action at Popperden was remarkably Bloody, tho' the Scots kept the Field, and had the better; the Victory was purchas'd by much Blood, two hundred Gentlemen and private Men of the Scots Army, beſides Alexander Eliphinſton, lay in the Field. The three Engliſh Generals, Sir Henry Cliddſdale, Sir John Ogle, and Sir Richard Piercy, were kill'd this Day (the laſt of them in the Purſuit) beſides fifteen hundred Gentlemen and Soldiers of the Engliſh, and four hundred taken Priſoners.

King James declares War againſt England.

Upon this Succeſs and Victory, and having ſufficient Foundation from repeated Provocation, the King was determin'd to publiſh a Declaration of War againſt England, which he accordingly did, being encouraged to it by his Advices from France; for there happen'd very luckily for King James, a Difference and Miſunderſtanding betwixt Edmund Duke of Somerſet, and the Duke of York, by which the Meaſures of the Engliſh againſt the French were diſconcerted and weaken'd in their Progreſs in France.

King James encourag'd by the French to War.

The Duke of Burgundy was now likewiſe united to Charles the King of France, by ſtrict Friendſhip; by theſe Events, the Engliſh were diſlodg'd from Paris, and other Places, and the French daily gain'd Ground. All theſe Circumſtances concurr'd to haſten King James to take the Field againſt the Engliſh; and accordingly, without Delay, his Majeſty march'd his Army for Roxborough (which is Marchmond) and directly beſieg'd the Caſtle, which was gallantly defended by Sir Ralph Gray; but the Scots Army carrying on the Siege with Vigour, the Beſieg'd at laſt offer'd to capitulate, juſt as the Garriſon was upon the Point of ſurrendering to the King of Scotland.

The Queen comes to the King's Camp, and diſcovers a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty.

The Queen of Scotland came up to the Army, and went in great Hurry and Uneaſineſs to the King her Huſband, to acquaint him of a dangerous Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon and Family: The King ſtruck with Surprize, and willing to gratify the Queen, deſiſted from any further Attempts, diſcharg'd his Men, only reſerving a ſufficient and ſtrong Guard of choice Men, to eſcort him, the Queen and the Nobility Home to Perth.

The King returns and diſbands his Army.

Some will affirm the Queen did this to prevent any further Attack upon her Countrymen, the Engliſh; but it is certain, from what ſoon follow'd, that bloody and baſe Deſigns were hatch'd againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, but it was unſeaſonable, imprudent, and too ſecure in his Majeſty King James, to diſband his Army; for at ſuch a Conjuncture, his Safety was plac'd in a good Army about him, for his Protection; then there could be no Danger of Attack or Surprize from Aſſaſſins. It is true, that Kings have been attack'd and aſſaſſinated even in their Camps, and when ſurrounded by their Army; a recent Inſtance of this was in the Caſe of Henry the Vth. of England, whom the Dauphin of France deſigned to have cut off, by Means of the Earl of Cambridge, Brother to the Duke of York, Henry Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Gray, who were all diſcover'd, ſurpriz'd and taken: The King

King ſuſpected and fear'd all, becauſe he had not the Names of any, but he chiefly dreaded his Army, many of whom were in the Army, and ſhew'd their Diſlike at his Government: His Majeſty much perplex'd and diſturbed in Mind, came to Perth, and takes up his Reſidence in the Convent of the Dominicans, call'd the Black Fryars, cloſe by the Town Wall, keeps here in private, until he ſhould make Diſcoveries of the chief Conſpirators. But the Faction of Aſſaſſins having Notice of the King's Deſigns, and how he was employ'd, they determin'd to loſe no Time, and to prevent all Diſcovery by the immediate Execution of their bloody Deſign. The chief Men engag'd here, Robert Earl of Athol the Head, Robert Graham, Tutor and Guardian to Miles Graham, and Robert Stewart, Nephew to Walter Earl of Athol, with one of the King's ſworn Domeſticks. The Earl of Athol was the chief Projector, and the King's Uncle by his Father, whoſe Hatred proceeded from no leſs than a pretended Right to the Crown; he contended that he was the righteous Heir, as the Son of King Robert II. by his Queen Euphemia, and that the preſent King's Title was deriv'd from (John nam'd Robert) the Son of Elizabeth More, who was only the King's Whore, and all her Offspring Baſtards; but the Earl of Athol, full of premeditating Wickedneſs, Blood, and Violence, only wanted to be aveng'd of the Poſterity of Robert III. as being deſcended of Elizabeth More, to his Prejudice; but he did not conſider the Conſequence of attacking or attempting to cut off a King ſettled upon the Throne, by a Parliamentary Sanction, and choſen by the Conſent of the whole Kingdom; yea, he might have remember'd how ſacred the Title and Dignity of a King is to the Scots Nation in general, and therefore how dangerous any Attempt againſt the King muſt be, when in the Exerciſe of his Government, and belov'd by his People: The Earl of Athol was blinded to his own Ruin, and was deceiv'd by a Soothſayer of the Highlands, who told him he would be crown'd in a grand Aſſembly; which fir'd his Imagination to perſwade him, this was a Preſage or Prophecy of his future Elevation to the Regal Dignity: By the Hopes of his Arrival at the Throne, he was inſtigated to do all the Miſchief that he could contrive againſt the Children and Deſcendants of Elizabeth More. Robert Graham, the other Conſpirator, had been long confin'd, by the King, tho' not deſerving of Clemency; but he was a Man of an implacable Spirit, once offended, never to be reconcil'd again, factious, ambitious, and conceived a mortal Hatred againſt his King, ever ſince he had transferr'd the Earldom of Strahern from his Nephew, Miles Graham. The third Conſpirator, Robert Stewart, was in great Familiarity and Favour with the King, having Acceſs to his Preſence and Perſon, but yet a Man very unfit for ſuch a Truſt; he was rul'd by no Principle but his Ambition and Pride, and neither regarded Honour or Reputation, but the executing his wicked Purpoſes againſt all who oppoſed him. Theſe Conſpirators having engag'd for their Purpoſe, and to aſſiſt them in executing the deſign'd Villainy, the vileſt and moſt profligate Deſperadoes they could find, who would ſtick at nothing, but venture on any Enterprize whatever, they appointed a general Meeting of all their Confederates, in the Month of February, with the utmoſt Secrecy, and being aſſembled, the Earl of Athol, the Head of the Faction, made the following Speech to their Meeting.

The King much perplex'd, determines to make ſtrict Enquiry.

The Aſſaſſins deſign to ſurprize the King

The Conſpirators were the King's own Relations.

The Earl of Athol, the Chief, hurries on the Deſign.

The Earl of Athol deceiv'd.

He was of a wicked malicious Spirit, and Robert Graham of ſtill a worſe Character.

The Character of Robert Graham.

A Set of Banditti join'd in this, and they meet all together.

THE Engagements being ſo ſtrong, by which every one of you is connected to another, and mine to you all, founded upon the ſtrongeſt Obligations of Friendſhip, Conſanguinity, and Intereſt, from Wrongs committed and receiv'd, excite me to diſcloſe my Mind, with all my ſecret Intentions, to you all.

The falſe Repreſentations of Facts, and the State of Things, to fire his Confederates.

The Tragedies which have been acted ſince the Commencement of this Engliſhman's Government, are recent in the Minds of all here preſent; Murdoch, his Children, and the Earl of Lenox, have been all put to Death; the Nobility are diſſatisfy'd with their Government, the King is jealous of all his Nobility, the common People are ready to break out into open Rebellion; theſe all the Effects of my State undermining Policy: Hitherto all my Deſigns have been attended with Succeſs, and they ſhew that they were laid with Ingenuity. What more refin'd Contrivance could be, than to make the Weapons of their Strength turn, and act to their own Hurt; and if there were Miſtakes as to private Perſons, in ſmall Matters Wrong muſt be done, that Juſtice may take Place in great and publick Matters. My Fears are, and have been, that the taking down of Murdoch's Scaffold might be for the erecting of ours. Crown'd Heads can't bear Rivals; the World knows, and he is conſcious of it, that the Right of Blood to the Crown of this Kingdom, by Deſcent from Robert the Second, my Father, was in the Perſon of David, my Brother, and is juſtly claim'd now by me and our Nephew. As for the Act of Parliament ſettling the Succeſſion in that other Race, and as to Oaths of Allegiance, no Parliamentary Authority can take away Right, Juſtice, and the Law of God: An Oath is not binding, when it has a direct Tendency to ſubvert and to ſuppreſs Right and Equity. Tho' for ſome Time theſe Acts and Oaths have taken Place, yet, if our Deſigns do ſucceed, we have a Proſpect ſoon of having our own Parliament, declaring all the Race of them Uſurpers, and aboliſhing all their Titles to the Crown. This one Man and a Child taken away (if we can give the Blow) the Kingdom muſt be ours; againſt whom, what Subject dares revolt or diſobey? It was ſimple in him to think, that ſmall Preſents ſhould aboliſh old and heavy Injuries, and that I ſhould reſt contented with the Title of Earl, when I ought to have been King. By his tyrannizing Juſtice he is not belov'd, but rather hated; he is become terrible to his People, who deſire, thro' his Grievances and Oppreſſion, an Alteration.

This Speech ſhews nothing but a vile and villainous Mind.

The Art and Villainy of Athol's Speech.

He

He now fears that to be done to him which he deſerves; let us reſolve his Doubts: Our Ends are Honour and Revenge, our Wills all alike: The Heavens ſeem to conſpire with us againſt him; we have forc'd him to diſband his Army, and make his Retreat hither, where we have the faireſt Opportunity: Let us then follow the Invitation of Fortune rather than Virtue, which dictates a cowardly Patience. Remember how they did put the faireſt Gloſſes upon the fouleſt Deeds, and how they rais'd mighty Families for ſupporting their foul Facts. Shame never attends Victory, which ever Way it is purchas'd. Sovereignty, at firſt, was but the Uſurpation of the Stronger over the Weaker. It is more honourable to die, than prolong a Life of Miſery, to wander in the Scorn of other Mens Pride. Be reſolute then in your Plot, put your Enterprize into immediate Execution; Haſte is the Spirit of Actions dangerous. The worſt that can befal us is, ſince we can't ſubſiſt, (he being alive,) that he be taken away, while we run the Hazard of Death: The Action and Attempt is great; let us then, as one Man, all equally concern'd, not ſpend the Time in Deliberation which ought to be in the Execution of our Plot.

The falſe Diſguiſes and perverſe Impudence of ſuch Expreſſions, ſo bareface'd.

By this wicked Speech it is evident, what the Art and Cunning of a villainous Mind can contrive, to diſguiſe the baſeſt of Actions, and with what pretended Shew of Argument he endeavours to encourage, and fortify his Confederates to ſhed innocent Blood.

By this Speech they are hurry'd to the Fact.

Upon this, the Body of Aſſaſſins having ſettled their Deſign, Graham and Stewart, being daringly impudent and reſolute Men, and taking the Advantage of the Night, went directly to the Black Friars at Perth, and having by Concert, the Way open to them, they enter'd the Gallery fronting his Majeſty's Chamber, and there waited, expecting ſome of their Confederates, who were to have ſtole off the Bars from the Door; but they were ſav'd this Trouble; for Walter Stratton, the King's Cup-bearer, coming out of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, and finding arm'd Men ruſhing in upon them, gave the Alarm to the King, crying out, "Traitors! Traitors!" One of the Queen's Maids of Honour ran to the Door to ſhut it, and putting her Arm, in the Confuſion and Hurry, inſtead of the Bolt, in the Hole, to keep the Door ſhut, the Conſpirators burſt open the Door, and broke the Lady's Arm: All the Servants and Attendants, who made Reſiſtance, were kill'd. Then they made for his Majeſty's Perſon; the Queen, throwing herſelf over the King, receiv'd two Wounds, and was carry'd off; then they gave twenty-eight Wounds to the King, all nigh the Heart, and leaving him thus dead in his Blood, they went off. Thus theſe Monſters of Villainy murder'd a King who had done ſo much Good over the whole Kingdom. He reign'd thirteen Years, and ſuffer'd this cruel and barbarous Fate in the forty-fourth Year of his Age, upon the 21ſt of February, 1436.

The Aſſaſſins enter his Majeſty's Apartment.

The King murder'd, the Queen wounded, and ſeveral more kill'd. The Aſſaſſins eſcape.

King James was of middle Stature, well ſhap'd, and jolly, but not of ſuch a grand and graceful Preſence; his Conſtitution was healthy, robuſt, and fit for all Fatigue; he excell'd in all manly Exerciſes; he was Maſter of Philoſophy, of Muſick, and of almoſt all the liberal Arts and Sciences; he underſtood well the Rules of Government and Law, and enacted ſuch good Statutes, as ſufficiently prove his Judgment and diſcerning: His Qualities were fitting for a Prince; he was eaſy of Acceſs, mild, pleaſant, affable, and kind in his Addreſs, and, in his Way of Life, very temperate and ſober, abhorring Pleaſures of Luxury: His Education he ow'd to his being taken Priſoner, and kept in England: His natural Spirit was calm and cool, and therefore he often put up with great Abuſes, and was ready to forgive; but this his Virtue was groſsly abus'd by many of his ſtubborn Subjects: His Knowledge of the Art of War, and his Bravery, were ſufficiently demonſtrated to Henry of England (and are well atteſted by the Engliſh Hiſtorians) by his gallant Behaviour in France. King James, at the Head of a Body of Engliſh, beſieg'd the Town of Direx in France, and did carry on the Attack with ſuch extraordinary Bravery, Conduct, and Warmth, that he made the Beſieg'd deliver up the Place in ſix Weeks; the Engliſh Hiſtorians ſay, he effected it with ſuch Violence and Vigour that it was ſurpriſing. The King of England, upon this Event, propos'd to King James to uſe all his Efforts to draw off the Scots from the French Army; King James's Anſwer to the King of England was ſuch, as gave Henry the higheſt Opinion of his Honour and Underſtanding: King James told the King of England, "I am your Priſoner, my People are not bound by any Oath to me, "nor have I any Power over them; but, if I had, I ſhould firſt conſider, if it were juſt and "honourable in the Scots, to deſert and to forſake their Ally in her Diſtreſs, before I did per-"ſwade them to ſuch a Meaſure, ſo perfidious in Appearance."

The King's Perſon and Character deſcrib'd.

His Skill in the Art of War.

King James's Bravery and Conduct in France.

King James's Anſwer to Henry of England.

Tho' King James was accuſed with Rigour in the Execution of Juſtice, he was by no Means of ſuch a Spirit; but the licentious, looſe, and diſorderly, who thought the ſtrict and neceſſary Application of Juſtice was Rigour, they being kept in Order, hated his Majeſty. Equity, Juſtice, Temperance, Induſtry, Learning, and good Morals, were the Objects of his Care over the whole Kingdom, to make his People a civiliz'd and polite Nation. Hauthernden juſtly obſerves, he made his People a Nation, but the Nation made his Predeceſſors Kings; for none of them inherited his Qualities. The King left one Son, James, who ſucceeded, and ſix Daughters; Margaret, marry'd to Lewis the Eleventh of France; Elizabeth, Ducheſs of Bretaigne; Jane, Counteſs of Huntly, but firſt of Angus; Eleonora, marry'd to Sigiſmond, Arch-Duke of Auſtria; Mary, Lady Camphire; and Anna-Bella, the youngeſt. The Remains of the King were depoſited in the Charterhouſe * of Perth, which the King had founded and endow'd, and the Doublet in

King James's Character.

The Number of the King's Family.

His Burial, and the Conſequences of it.

* A Monaſtery or Convent in Perth, founded by King James.

which he was murder'd was preſerv'd as a Relict till very lately. Upon the News ſpread Abroad of this tragical and bloody Regicide, the Nobility, Commons, and Clergy of the Kingdom, aſſembled at Edinburgh, and, with the greateſt Unanimity, iſſu'd Orders out directly for Parties to go to all Quarters and Corners of the Nation, to ſearch for the Murderers; and accordingly they were ſo diligent, that in forty Days they got them all apprehended, and carry'd up Priſoners to Town: Their Trials were order'd directly, and they being brought to Trial, the common Fellows, who were Aiders in the Plot, (particularly Chriſtopher Cahown) were hung up in Chains, upon different publick Roads: The three chief Conſpirators, the Earl of Athole, Robert Graham, and Robert Stewart, were puniſh'd with Torture, and put to Death with the greateſt Ignominy and Diſgrace. The Earl of Athole was tortur'd for three Days before he was beheaded; the firſt Day he was ſtript naked to his Shirt, and by a Crane fix'd to a Cart, he was by Turns hoiſted up, and then let fall, till he was almoſt quite bruis'd and disjointed, and thus ſhewn to incredible Multitudes, who came to view him, thus dragg'd thro' the Streets; on the ſecond Day, he was plac'd on a high Pillar in the Market-Place, and crown'd with a red-hot Crown of Iron, with a Label on his Breaſt, having inſcrib'd on it, "The King of Traitors;" the third Day, he was laid naked along on a Scaffold, his Belly ript open, his Heart and Bowels taken out, and thrown into a Fire before his Eyes; then his Head was cut off, and fix'd upon the Top of the Spire of the City of Edinburgh; his Quarters were ſent to the moſt remarkable Towns of the Kingdom, to be ſtuck up. His Nephew, Robert Stewart, was only hang'd and quarter'd; but Robert Graham was in a different Manner puniſh'd; for the Gallows being fix'd in a Cart for him, his Right-Hand was nail'd to it, and ſo dragg'd along the Streets, the Executioners, with red-hot Pinchers, tearing the Fleſh from his Bones: Being thus tortur'd and mangled, he was open'd, his Heart and Bowels taken out, while alive, then beheaded, and his Head ſtuck up; his Quarters order'd for different Towns, as a Spectacle to deter others from ſuch Practices. The Multitudes rejoic'd at their exemplary Puniſhment, for the Loſs of ſo good a King. Graham, during his Torture, being ask'd how he could venture on ſo horrid a Crime, he anſwer'd, That having Heaven or Hell at his Choice, he had the Fortitude to leap or jump out of Heaven, and the Contentment of it, into Hell, and all the flaming Tortures of it. Æneas Sylvius, the Pope's Nuncio, from Eugenius the Fourth, then Pope, was Spectator of this terrible and frightful Scene, and was ſo affected, that he in publick affirm'd, he could not well tell whether the Spirit of thoſe who murder'd the King was more barbarous, cruel, and bloody, than of thoſe who contriv'd the Puniſhment and Torture of the Regicides.

Orders iſſu'd out to apprehend the Aſſaſſins, and they were all taken.

The Manner of puniſhing Athole, by new-invented Tortures.

The other two Ring-leaders executed.

Graham's Execution and Behaviour.

The Pope's Nuncio's Opinion of the Puniſhment.

It has been aſſerted by ſome, that the Queen was falſe to her Huſband; but this ſeems without any juſt Foundation; for ſhe always behav'd as an affectionate faithful Wife, tho' naturally attach'd to the Engliſh Nation; her Sufferings and Sorrow after the Murder of the King, ſufficiently demonſtrated her being no Way concern'd in ſo unnatural and bloody a Fact.

# JAMES the SECOND,

## The HUNDREDTH and THIRD KING.

JAMES the Second was now, at his Father's Death, but ſeven Years of Age, ſo that he enter'd upon the Kingdom in his Infancy, the 27th of March, 1436, which, by the Roman Computation, is the Sixth of the Calends of April. The young King was now at the Abbey of Holyrood Houſe at Edinburgh, and being ſo young, not able to hold the Reins of Government, by the Advice and Approbation of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, Alexander Levingſton was declar'd Regent and Vice-Roy, and Sir William Creighton continu'd Chancellor of the Kingdom, as he had been in his Father the late King's Reign.

James the Second declar'd King.

The Regent and Chancellor ſettled.

Levingſton and Creighton were regarded, and high in the Eſteem of the People, for their prudent and juſt Adminiſtration: Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, being a Man of the greateſt Eſtate in the Nation, and of great Power at this Time, the Nobility were afraid of putting him in Poſſeſſion of ſo much more Influence, and therefore were averſe from him, chuſing to have the two firſt Officers of State, the Regent and Lord Chancellor, to be a Check upon him; and therefore it was they fix'd upon Levingſton for Regent, and Creighton to be Chancellor. The Chancellor kept cloſe by the King in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, Levingſton the Regent attended upon the Queen at Stirling Caſtle.

Levingſton and Creighton were the Darlings of the People.

No ſooner was the Management and Adminiſtration of Affairs thus ſettled, than there aroſe Factions and Parties againſt the Regent and Chancellor; the chief Fomenter of the Diſturbance was ſuſpected to be Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, who, becauſe he had no Share in the Government and Management of the Kingdom, was determin'd to exert his Power and Influence to the utmoſt, to excite Confuſion, Diſorder, and Faction in the Nation, in order to make the Adminiſtration of the Regent and Chancellor odious, to embarraſs them, and to raiſe a national Clamour and Diſcontent at their Conduct. In order to effect this, Robberies, Murders, Outrages, and Diſorders, were begun in different Quarters of the Kingdom, to diſtract the Regent and Chancellor, ſo as that it ſhould not be in their Power to ſupport and maintain good Order over the Kingdom, and ſo to raiſe Diſcontent and Diſaffection againſt the Miniſtry of State. Annandale and Douglaſs were now broke looſe into Diſorder, having their Parties in all Quarters committing Abuſes, plundering, and laying waſte the neighbouring Counties. The Regent and Chancellor made ſtrong Remonſtrances upon this to the Earl of Douglaſs, firſt in a friendly and decent Manner; and when this had no Effect, in a ſharp and commanding Style, inſiſting for Subjection, Peace, Order, and good Behaviour, from Douglaſs, his Vaſſals, Tenants, and Dependents. The Earl of Douglaſs, taking Advantage of the Confuſion, Troubles, and Diſorder, now begun and encreaſing over the whole Kingdom, paid no Regard to the Intimations of the Regent and Chancellor, but, on the contrary, iſſu'd out his Orders to all his Vaſſals, Dependents, Farmers, and others, under his Juriſdiction, that they pay no Regard to the Judicatures of Juſtice appointed by the Regent or Chancellor, but that he, according to his Charter and Royalty, was entitled to the Privilege of judging, in all criminal Matters, his own People, in any Part of his Eſtate, and they ſhould appear before no other Judge. The Reaſon of Douglaſs's haughty Behaviour was, that he thought it upon the Matter his Birth-right, to have the firſt Place in the Government of the Kingdom, during the King's Minority, becauſe of the Merit and many great and noble Actions of his Anceſtors, in the Defence, and for the Welfare, of their Country; and he likewiſe believ'd his own Actions had deſerv'd ſo well of the Publick, that he ought to have been regarded as the Perſon of firſt Rank and Conſequence in the Kingdom.

Factions ariſe againſt the Regency.

The Deſign was to make their Adminiſtration contemptible.

The Regent and Chancellor complain to the Earl of Douglaſs.

Douglaſs oppoſes the Authority of the Regent and Chancellor.

Douglaſs contends upon his Merit.

After Douglaſs had put the whole Nation in a Flame, and thus impreſs'd the People with the Notion of Weakneſs of the Adminiſtration, and the Want of proper Authority in the Officers of State, to command Peace and Order, he retir'd to a Part of his Eſtate moſt remote, to enjoy the Retirements and Diverſion of the Country for that Seaſon, and to wait for what new Events and Conſequences might ariſe in the Interval of his Receſs into the Country. Matters turn'd out according to his Wiſh and Projection; a Miſunderſtanding aroſe betwixt the Chancellor Creighton, and Levingſton the Regent, about the Manner of compoſing and quelling the Commotions and Diſorders of the Nation. Upon this, the Regent reproach'd and loaded the Chancellor with the Blame and Fault of the whole Confuſion, with enhancing the whole Power over the King to himſelf, engroſſing all Favours to his own Family, his Creatures, and Friends, and giving ſuch Counſel to his Majeſty, as was the Cauſe of the Diſcontents, Outrages, and Diſobedience of the People.

The Regent and Chancellor divide, and oppoſe one another.

The Chancellor is accus'd by the Nobility and the Regent.

People. The Chancellor, on his Part, reproach'd and impeach'd the Regent with too cool an Indifferency, or rather, Encouragement given to theſe Diſorders, and ſetting the Queen upon Meaſures of Schiſm, Diviſion, and Oppoſition to the King's Intereſt. The Effect of theſe Miſunderſtandings and Oppoſition betwixt the Regent and Chancellor, was, to encourage the tumultuary Part of the Country to the more licentious and outrageous Diſorders, from the Hopes of Impunity, and a Stagnation to the Courſe of Juſtice.

The Nation are put into Confuſion.

The Queen's Wit and Stratagem. The Queen counterfeits a Pilgrimage.

The Queen was a Woman of Art, Wit, and Cunning; ſo taking the Opportunity of the troubled and muddy Situation of Affairs, counterfeits an intended Journey, by Way of Pilgrimage, to the North in Buchan, diſguiſing her real Deſigns and Affections; ſhe pretended great Concern and Uneaſineſs at the Confuſion and Diſtraction over the whole Kingdom, and therefore, before ſhe proceeded on her intended Pilgrimage, ſhe, in an affectionate and reſpectful Manner, acquaints the Chancellor, who kept cloſe with the King in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, that ſhe was to pay him a Viſit of Friendſhip, and to her Son the King; that ſhe wanted to talk with him concerning the preſent divided and diſturb'd State of the Kingdom, to conſult if any Expedient could be fix'd upon to give univerſal Satisfaction, to heal all Party Diviſions, and reſtore Friendſhip among the Nobility and the Officers of State. This Offer of her Majeſty's Viſit was well receiv'd by the Chancellor, and he receiv'd her Majeſty into the Caſtle with all the Marks of Regard due to her Rank; gave her immediate and free Acceſs to her Son, not ſuſpecting in the leaſt her Deſign. The Queen and the Chancellor had a long Interview in private, in which the Queen addreſs'd the Chancellor with ſo much Politeneſs and ſeeming Friendſhip, that he was quite ſecure from any Apprehenſions of any Hurt from the Queen. The Queen acquainted the Chancellor of her intended Pilgrimage, and that after ſhe had ſent her Domeſticks before her with the Baggage, ſhe would take Leave of her Son, and then proceed on her Journey. The Chancellor allow'd the Queen all the Time ſhe pleas'd to paſs with the King alone. The Queen having ſtay'd ſome Days in the Caſtle, watch'd her Opportunity, when none was aware of it; ſhe propos'd to the King her Son to go with her to Stirling, and that ſhe would convey him ſecretly, without the Chancellor's ſuſpecting the leaſt, until he was gone. Accordingly, the young King, being fond of his Mother, and willing to be nigh to her, humour'd the Stratagem for Joke and Diverſion. The Queen, pleas'd with this, packs up her Son the King in a Cloaths Cheſt, which ſhe carefully ſent off with ſome Servants, as containing her own beſt Cloaths, (the Chancellor ſuſpecting nothing.) The Queen took her Leave, and went for Leith, where ſhe ſet herſelf and the Cheſt on Board a Veſſel, which carry'd them directly to Stirling Caſtle. Buchanan ſays that the Queen, the better to amuſe the Chancellor, the Day before ſhe went off, came to the Chancellor, told him ſhe would only ſtay with her Son for that Night, and go off in the Morning early for White Kirk in Buchan, the Place of her pretended Pilgrimage; and that in the Morning early ſhe ſent off her Son in the Cheſt before, and follow'd him directly. When the King's ordinary Time of riſing in the Morning came, they were all in waiting for his Majeſty's Call; but after the Hour was paſt, they were in Amaze and Surprize that the King never ſtirr'd. By this Time the Queen, with her Son the King, were nigh Stirling; the Wind ſetting in very fair, and a briſk Gale, they arriv'd ſafe in the Evening at Stirling, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the whole Court, but particularly of the Governor, who now thought he had out-witted his Oppoſite the Chancellor.

The Queen viſits the Chancellor, and artfully ſteals off her Son the King.

The Manner how the King was ſtole from the Chancellor.

The Queen with her Son ſet Sail, and land the ſame Day at Stirling.

The Chancellor having, thro' Uneaſineſs and Fear about the King's Safety, made a Search into the Royal Apartments in the Caſtle, and finding the King was gone, concluded he had been ſtol'n by his Mother the Queen; and this was confirm'd to him by the News from Stirling, that all over the Country there were nothing but rejoicing, feaſting, and carouſing, upon the King's Arrival at Stirling: Upon which, the Chancellor judg'd himſelf in immediate Danger of being over-power'd by his Enemy the Regent, and the Queen's Intereſt with her Son; therefore he determin'd to defend himſelf in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and accordingly prepar'd for being beſieg'd. He very well knew his Oppoſites would loſe no Time to ruin him, if poſſible, now that they were Maſters of the King's Perſon; in which the Chancellor was not miſtaken.

The News of the Stratagem cauſe univerſal Laughter at the Chancellor.

The King comes with his Mother to Stirling.

The third Day after they got the King to Stirling, the Nobility and Gentry of the Regent's Faction repair'd to Stirling, to pay their Compliments to the King, and to congratulate him upon his being now at Liberty, and deliver'd from the arbitrary Impoſition and miſtaken Adminiſtration of the Chancellor. The Nobility and Gentry now met at Stirling, next held a Council, to deliberate on the moſt effectual and ſpeedy Way to reduce the Chancellor; they repreſented him to the King, and to the Queen his Mother, in the worſt Light, as a Man of the moſt ſordid Avarice, and of the baſeſt Principles; a Man, who wanted to dictate all to the King, and to uſe the Queen ill; and a Man, whoſe Views went no higher than the having the King entirely at his Command, and under his Direction, for the eſtabliſhing in Power and Eſtate his Creatures and Favourites, to make himſelf formidable: The Queen therefore, with the Regent, and all his Party, came to an unanimous Reſolution to raiſe a powerful Army with all Expedition, and to attack the Chancellor in Edinburgh Caſtle; which was accordingly executed: For how ſoon the Army was aſſembled, they march'd directly for Edinburgh, ſummon'd the Chancellor by Proclamation, in the King's Name, to ſurrender both his Perſon and the Caſtle of Edinburgh. Upon his Refuſal, the King's Army beſieg'd the Caſtle in Form, and block'd him ſo up, that he had no Way to convey Succours, nor any Thing neceſſary for making a Defence for any conſiderable Time. However, he found ſecretly a Way to carry ſome Meſſages to the Earl of Douglaſs, in

The Chancellor accus'd of all the Misfortunes and Diſorders in the Kingdom.

The Queen and Regent raiſe an Army; they attack and beſiege Edinburgh Caſtle.

in his preſent tottering Condition, the Chancellor made large Offers to Douglaſs, with the moſt ſolemn and ſacred Vows and Promiſes of perpetual future Fidelity and Friendſhip to him, provided he would join him, and for his Relief advance with an Army toward Edinburgh, to raiſe the Siege, and to ſupport him to defeat all the Meaſures of his Enemies. The Earl of Douglaſs being a haughty and revengeful Man, was well pleas'd to ſee the Chancellor and Regent ſo divided, as to go nigh to deſtroy one another, and therefore he, with Contempt and Scorn, rejected the Offers of the Chancellor, and order'd the Chancellor's Meſſenger to declare, in his Name, he would take Concern with neither Side; that he thought it would be a national Advantage if both he and the Regent were deſtroy'd: Their Quarrels and Diſputes were not for the publick Good, but for their private Intereſts and Views, to promote their indirect and Self-Intereſt. This haughty Anſwer was immediately blown over both Armies, upon which the Chancellor and Regent came the ſooner to an Accommodation: The Chancellor being cloſely beſieg'd, and no Poſſibility of Succours advancing to relieve him, ſent a Meſſenger to the Regent to demand an Interview; which was granted. When the Regent and Chancellor met, they agreed upon a Truce for two Days, and in that Time, they ſo well underſtood one another, that they found it for their mutual Intereſts to bury in Oblivion all paſt Injuries and Miſunderſtandings, to unite in ſtronger and heartier Friendſhip than before, and ſo to diſappoint the Hopes and Wiſhes of their common Enemy. Upon this, all Things were agreed and ſettled; the Chancellor, in Teſtimony of his Submiſſion and Duty to the King, delivers up the Caſtle to his Majeſty; and thereupon the King enters the Place, honours the Chancellor to ſup with him, and next Day order'd new Commiſſions to paſs for eſtabliſhing both the Regent and Chancellor in their former Offices of State. The King not only upon this Reconciliation reſtores the Chancellor to his Office, but continues him in the Government of Edinburgh Caſtle; ſo that by theſe Means the whole Diſpute (which had nigh inflam'd the Kingdom) being adjuſted, Matters went on in a calm and peaceable Manner over the Country. The Nation was no Way now diſturb'd but by ſome thieving Parties and Banditti, who went about diſtreſſing their Neighbours in the Highlands, from Family Quarrels; but the Ringleaders of theſe were ſoon ſuppreſs'd by exemplary Puniſhment, and their Gangs ſcatter'd.

The Chancellor applies for Succours to Douglaſs, but rejected.

Douglaſs's Anſwer to the Chancellor.

The Chancellor, Regent, and King, are reconcil'd together.

The Chancellor reſtor'd to the King's Favour, and to his Offices.

There happen'd at this Time an unhappy Difference betwixt Allen Stewart of Darnly, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock; Allen Stewart, truſting to Thomas Boyd's Honour, agreed to meet him betwixt Linlithgow and Falkirk, to have an Interview for Accommodation of Differences: When they were met, Thomas Boyd treacherouſly murder'd Allen Stewart, which rais'd an irreconcileable Reſentment and Quarrel of the one Family againſt the other, ſo groſsly injur'd: Allen Stewart's Brother therefore, next Year, upon the Ninth of July, rais'd a Body of his Men, and march'd againſt Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock: Both Parties met, and engag'd with Rage: The Stewarts fought like Lions, in Reſentment of the treacherous Murder of their Chief. There was great Slaughter in this Encounter, Boyd of Kilmarnock was kill'd on the Spot, and ſo his Men took to their Heels; ſo this Feud, betwixt theſe two Families of Diſtinction, was eaſily quell'd by the Government. But the Event which ſtrengthen'd and fortify'd the Power of both the Chancellor and the Regent moſt, was the Death of Archibald Earl of Douglaſs, this Year, who dy'd of a ſhort Fever, the Year after James the Firſt's Murder: He was ſucceeded in Honours and Eſtate by his Son, William Douglaſs, who inherited all the Pride and ambitious Spirit of his Anceſtors: His Genius was naturally quick and witty, of great Underſtanding, and a ſteady Thought; but his Education was not anſwerable to his natural Endowments: He was the ſixth Earl of Douglaſs, and but fourteen Years of Age, in Poſſeſſion of Honour, and ſuch an opulent, yea, immenſe Fortune. He was expos'd, in his tender Years, to the Flattery and Arts of deſigning Inferiors; which made his Spirit ſo enflam'd and exalted with his ſuppos'd extraordinary Merit, that he look'd upon himſelf as a Prince, ſupported his Houſhold and his Equipage accordingly, in ſo grand and extravagant a Manner, that none of the Nobility could equal him in Pomp; yea, his Retinue exceeded even the King's.

Boy'd baſely murder'd Stewart of Darnly.

Kilmarnock and Darnly deſtroy one another.

1437, the Earl of Douglaſs dies, and his Son ſets up an extravagant Equipage.

The young Earl of Douglaſs was deceiv'd into this Magnificence in Retinue, and of his Houſehold, by a Pack of ſycophant Fellows, whoſe Trade was Flattery, and whoſe Buſineſs was to make a proper Uſe of the Folly of opulent young Noblemen, for their own Ends; they ſuggeſted to this young Lord the Magnificence, Bounty, Grandeur, and Regard of his Father; and the Son, from a conceited Deſire to maintain the Honour and Dignity of his Family, was reſolv'd to excel and outdo the Father; which led him into great Extravagancies; for he oblig'd his Vaſſals and Dependents, in all his Journies, to attend him; and to make his Appearance the more ſplendid, he hir'd ſeveral Heads of Clans to attend on his Perſon, when he went on a Journey; and to make as great a Shew as if he march'd at the Head of an Army, his Retinue ſometimes were nigh two Thouſand, and eclips'd any Appearance the King could make: But he was not nice in his Choice of his Retinue and Attendants; for ſome of them were notorious Thieves, and more worthy to die than live. With ſuch a mix'd and opprobrious Retinue, the Earl of Douglaſs came frequently to Court, to ſhew his Vanity, and to glory in his Power, and the Greatneſs of his Eſtate; by this he, in Part, ſtruck Terror to the other Nobility, who envy'd his Grandeur. To gratify his Vanity, he ſent an Embaſſy, (viz. Malcolm Fleming, and John Lauder) into France, to demand the ſame Titles and Inveſtiture which his Father and Grandfather had enjoy'd, and were beſtow'd on the Family for his Grandfather's great and faithful Services to the Crown of France; which Requeſt the French Court preſently yielded, and re-

The young Earl of Douglaſs very extravagant.

His Retinues exceeded the King's.

Douglaſs was a Terror to all the other Nobility.

He is created Duke of Turein, and deſpiſes both the Chancellor and Regent.

new'd in his Perſon, his Patent, as Duke of Turein. This was a Mean to heighten the Vanity of the young Earl of Douglaſs; he became inſolent, and deſpis'd both the Power of the Chancellor and the Regent, looking upon them as his Father's Enemies.

William and James Stewart disaffected to the Regent.

William and James Stewart had a great Eſtate in Lorne, and the Neighbourhood; James Lord Lorne marry'd the Queen Dowager, and he, with his Brother, were highly diſpleas'd at the Regent and Chancellor, becauſe they had not allow'd them the leaſt Management of the Government of Scotland, tho' ſo nearly ally'd to the Crown, by the Marriage of the Queen: The Queen likewiſe reſented her being ſo much neglected by Levingſton the Regent, and therefore ſhe, with her Huſband the Lord Lorne, and his Brother William, were inclin'd, and ſecretly intended, to join Douglaſs and his Party, againſt the Regent and Lord Chancellor. The Chancellor and Regent having Intelligence of their Diſpoſitions towards Douglaſs and his Party, iſſu'd out an Order directly to take the Lord Lorne, and his Brother, William Stewart, with the Queen, into Cuſtody: Accordingly they were impriſon'd; the Brothers were put in Irons, and cloſe Priſon, the Queen was confin'd in a ſmall Chamber, with double Guards; and all remain'd thus to the Firſt of September, when the Regent and Chancellor diſmiſs'd the Queen, upon her making a full Vindication of herſelf: The Lord Lorne, and his Brother William, were admitted to Bail, giving Security never to attempt any thing for the future againſt the King, or the Regent: The Queen ſufficiently clear'd herſelf, and ſo this Affair was ended: But another of greater Moment directly broke out; all the Inhabiters of the Weſtern Iſles enter'd into an Aſſociation, rais'd their Force, and paſs'd over into the Continent, with a powerful Army, carrying Fire and Sword wherever they came: They were terrible to the whole Kingdom; they came down upon Lenox, kill'd a Gentleman * there, and put the Country People to the Sword: They call'd for a Nobleman of Lenox to an Interview, and treacherouſly murder'd him, at Inchmerin, in Lochlomond, contrary to all ſolemn Faith. Theſe outrageous Iſlanders committed many Barbarities over the Country, and, by their Diſorders, interrupted the Farmers from their Agriculture, which occaſion'd great Scarcity of Corn this Year; and this Calamity was follow'd by another, ſtill heavier, (the Peſtilence) which the People aſcrib'd to a Judgment upon the Regent's Mal-Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Nation; for the Regent and Chancellor aim'd only at engroſſing all Power and Dependency to themſelves: They were of ſuch a ſelfiſh and covetous Spirit, that the Nation judg'd them unworthy of their Truſt; and therefore, every Calamity, and unhappy Event to the Nation, was Occaſion for a freſh Outcry and Clamour againſt the Regent.

The Stewarts with the Queen confin'd, and at length ſet at Liberty, upon giving Security.

The Iſlanders make an Inſurrection, and ravage the Continent.

The Plague rages.

The Queen meditates Reſentment againſt the Regent.

The Queen and Chancellor reconcil'd.

The Queen perſwades the King to leave Stirling, and get off with the Chancellor to Edinburgh.

The King and Chancellor go off, and are attended by 4000 Horſe, to the Caſtle of Edinburgh.

The Regent deſires a Conference; which is agreed to.

The Queen, becauſe of her late Treatment, and her Huſband, my Lord Lorne's Confinement, conceiv'd an utter Hatred at Levingſton, the Regent: She repented her withdrawing the King, her Son, from the Chancellor; and finding the Chancellor ſtood her true Friend when ſhe was confin'd, ſhe was determin'd to outwit the Governor, or Regent, as ſhe had done the Chancellor before. The Chancellor had got now ſo much of the Queen's Regard, that ſhe was determin'd, if poſſible, to diſgrace the Vice-Roy, or Regent, and to put her Son once more under the Chancellor's Direction; for the Queen had a grateful Senſe of the Chancellor Creighton's Favour, when under her Confinement; he ſecretly made uſe of the Earl of Huntley, who was in very good Terms with the Regent, to procure the Queen's Liberty, and effected her's and her Huſband's Freedom with Addreſs, and without appearing as a Party in the Affair. The Queen, in Return, watch'd her Opportunity, when the Governor was gone to Perth, to adminiſter Juſtice, and acquainted the Chancellor to come privately in a Morning to Stirling: The Chancellor came in a Morning early to Stirling Park, and finding the King a hunting, went up to his Majeſty: The Queen had prepar'd the Mind of the King, her Son, by certain Topicks; ſhe repreſented the Governor as a Man who wanted to be Supreme, and Head of the Kingdom; that the King was, by the Regent, confin'd from acting; repreſented the Unreaſonableneſs of keeping his Majeſty ſo long under Age, whereas a King of France is declar'd of Age to rule and govern, when fourteen Years of Age: She added, that he could, if he pleas'd, live at Edinburgh with the Chancellor, like a Prince, with far greater Enlargement and Freedom than under the Reſtrictions of the Governor: The Queen likewiſe hinted to her Son, that now was the Time to diſengage himſelf, while the Regent was at Perth. By the Influence of his Mother, and the Perſwaſion of the Chancellor, the King goes off for Edinburgh, with the Chancellor; and they were met upon the Road by great Numbers of the Chancellor's Friends, and other Nobility, who were joyful on this Occaſion, highly pleas'd to ſee how the Queen had fool'd the Regent, in the ſame Manner ſhe had done the Chancellor.

The Regent, Levingſton, on his Return, finding how he had been ſerv'd by the Queen's Art, went directly for Edinburgh, and deſir'd a Conference with the King and Chancellor, by the Mediation of the Biſhops of Aberdeen and Murray, to prevent Matters coming to an Extremity. The King, Regent, and Chancellor, with the ſpiritual Mediators, the Biſhops, having met in St. Giles's Church, in Edinburgh, they, after reaſoning Matters coolly, came to underſtand one another, and all Matters were ſettled in an amicable Manner, without Noiſe: It was agreed the King ſhould keep his Court in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and the Chancellor live with him; the Regent was continu'd as Vice-Roy. The Speeches of the Regent, and of the Chancellor, at this Congreſs, in the Church at Edinburgh, are a Proof of the Sagacity of the two Officers

* Sir John Calhown, of Luſs.

of

of State. The Regent upon his entering the Meeting addreſs'd himſelf thus to the King and Chancellor, in very mild and ſubmiſſive Terms, in order to gain a Reconciliation.

I Am not inſenſible how great the Miſeries are, which ariſe to a State from Diviſion and Miſunderſtandings among the Miniſters of State; Concord is the great Mean to ſupport the Authority of all our Deliberations; the Diſagreement betwixt us proceeded not from Covetouſneſs, from any ambitious Deſigns or indirect Ends, but becauſe of the different Meaſures we take in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs; we both wiſh heartily well to the Publick, but are not of one Mind: We are in the preſent Caſe to take Care that our private Differences may not affect the public Intereſt: The Eyes of all Men are upon us two, to obſerve all our Management: The baſer Sort of the People want to have the Nation embroil'd to introduce Confuſion, that they may execute their diſorderly and licentious Purpoſes with Impunity: We are the Objects of the Envy and Ill-will of the malicious and detracting Part of the Nation, and therefore we ought to conſult our own Safety and Eſtabliſhment, and be guarded againſt all Deſigns and Attempts of ſuch, who only wait for, and would rejoice at our Fall and Ruin. Laying aſide all Thoughts of private Intereſt, let us unite our Councils and Deſigns all for the public Good, that thereby we may have Honour and Regard, and likewiſe be capable to ſhew our effectual and united Reſentment againſt our auguſt Enemies. Let our Conteſt for the future be, who ſhall excel in Moderation and Juſtice; by this we ſhall make the People, who now hate us, regard and eſteem our Name. The Nobility and Gentry, who encouraged themſelves in all licentious Practices through our Diſunion, will be brought to ſubmit to good Order and Regularity. I freely forgive all my unjuſt Accuſers; I am conſcious to myſelf I ever was ſolicitous for the publick Welfare, and the Happineſs of the Kingdom; and if I have done any Wrong in my Adminiſtration, I ſhall ſubmit my Part to the Judgment of candid, impartial and diſcerning Arbitrators, and upon their Judgment I will give full Satisfaction to you all: If you alſo be of the ſame Mind with me, you may both reſt ſafe and ſecure, no evil can or will happen but what we can repel. I am ready to demonſtrate that the Evils under which we groan are not my ſeeking, and can by Peace and Unity ſoon be remedy'd, at leaſt ſomewhat reliev'd and mitigated by our Harmony in future Proceedings.

*The Regent's ſubmiſſive ſmooth Speech.*

*The Regent ſpeaks well on this Occaſion.*

*The Regent urges a ſtrict future Friendſhip.*

*The Regent's Submiſſion.*

The Chancellor made Anſwer thus:

I Was forc'd to enter upon the Stage of Contention, I was much againſt it, but now nothing is more agreeable to me, than to find ſo hearty a Diſpoſition to an honeſt Agreement. I did not take up Arms, 'till highly provok'd by the repeated Injuries done me; ſo your Modeſty on this Occaſion, preſſes me not to let the Publick or the Nation ſuffer by my Obſtinacy. I perceive as well as you, that by our Diſcord, good Men are expos'd to the Injuries of the baſer Sort, who want our Ruin; good Men are always expos'd to the Injuries of the bad; the Minds of the Seditious are always meditating Innovations; the Dignity of the Crown is degraded; the Nation made a Prey to Plunderers; publick Safety expos'd; and while the national Safety is in Danger, our particular Intereſts muſt ſuffer. We are hated both equally by the ſeditious and factious Part of our Country; they take Advantage of our Diſcords and Diviſion; therefore, that for the future we may be together ſucceſsful in promoting the Welfare of the State, I, for my Part, freely and heartily forgive all paſt Injuries and Wrongs, for my Country's Sake; for my firſt and higheſt Views ſhall be the Good and Happineſs of the Kingdom, and the ſuppreſſing all Diſorder or Rapine and Family Quarrrels.

*The Chancellor's Speech.*

*The Reaſoning here is good.*

The Chancellor having thus ſpoke, the King, Biſhops and Nobility preſent, highly approv'd of the peaceable Diſpoſition of both Sides. They nominated Arbiters or Judges to terminate all Differences; theſe met, and having pull'd up the Roots of all former Diſcords, they eſtabliſh'd betwixt the Regent and Chancellor a new and well founded Friendſhip, ſo that they went on jointly in the Adminiſtration of Government with Succeſs, and by their prudent, mild, forgiving Spirit toward one another, they became more regarded and loved by the Body of the Nation.

*A new Friendſhip ſettled betwixt the Regent and Chancellor.*

The Vice-roy and Chancellor having now ſettl'd all Points relating to their particular Offices, it was judg'd neceſſary, the Parliament ſhould be ſummon'd to meet, without Loſs of Time, to lay before them the preſent diſtreſs'd State of the Nation; which was accordingly done. The Parliament met, and directly apply'd to the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. There were ſuch Multitudes of Complaints from all Quarters of the Kingdom, and of ſuch a ſhocking and terrible Nature, that it was a Reproach and Diſgrace in any Country (call'd Chriſtan) that ſuch horrid Barbarities and Exceſſes ſhould have been committed by the Inſtigation and Countenance of Perſons of Diſtinction: Fathers robb'd of their Children, Women of their Huſbands, Huſbands robb'd of their Wives, horrid Murders, and Deſtruction of Corn, Cattle and valuable Effects, by ravaging Parties which ran over the whole Country; while Juſtice and Puniſhment did not take Place, thro' a Contempt and Neglect of the Authority of the Adminiſtration. Multitudes who repair'd to Parliament and lodg'd their Petitions, reſembled an Army of ſo many Counties; whole Families came, and in ſuch a deplorable Condition by their Sufferings, they were frightful to the Parliament.

*A Parliament ſummon'd.*

*Numbers with Complaints come from all Quarters to the Parliament.*

*The deplorable State of the Nation at this Time.*

The

The Parliament were very ſenſible, who were the Authors and Projectors of all theſe Calamities and Diſorders over the Nation, and by the Accounts they receiv'd. It was evident it was owing to William Earl of Douglaſs, whoſe Power, Influence, Riches and Pomp, made him rather a Scourge than a Benefit and Support to his Nation, embroiling all national Affairs, diſturbing and embarraſſing the Exerciſe of Government, to gratify the Reſentment of this violent Ambition. The Parliament deliberated ſome Time, in what Manner they ſhould conduct themſelves as to the Earl of Douglaſs. After weighing all Circumſtances and conſidering the Danger of Douglaſſes Power, both at Home and Abroad, they judg'd it might directly kindle a civil War, to uſe any violent or compelling Meaſures with my Lord Douglaſs. Therefore, they unanimouſly reſolv'd, to invite him to take his Seat in Parliament, by a moſt obliging and polite Letter, that he might concur with the Nobility and other Eſtates of the Kingdom, to reſtore the Peace, Order and Welfare of the Kingdom. This Letter ſign'd by the Regent and Chancellor in the Name of the Lords and Commons, was ſent by the proper Meſſenger. Douglaſs upon receiving theſe Honours, from the Parliament of Scotland, determin'd to go to Parliament, and accordingly, he order'd his Equipage and all his Retinue, to be got ready for his Journey. The Youth was ambitious of Glory, Honours and Regards; and his Friends were amus'd and blinded ſo by the enſnaring Letters he receiv'd from Parliament, and the great Officers of State, that they approv'd of his going to Parliament: He ſet out with a moſt ſplendid and brilliant Retinue, and with great Numbers. When the Chancellor had receiv'd Notice, that the Earl of Douglaſs was on his Way to Edinburgh, he went out to meet him for ſeveral Miles, and having met, he brought the Earl of Douglaſs to his Caſtle at Creighton, where the Chancellor receiv'd him and all his grand Retinue, with the greateſt Marks of Tenderneſs, Friendſhip and Regard, and entertain'd him for two Days in a very ſplendid Manner. While the Earl of Douglaſs was at Creighton Caſtle, the Chancellor took the Opportunity in private, to addreſs him in a very affectionate and ſeemingly kind Manner, reminding him of the Glory and Grandeur of his illuſtrious Anceſtors, and beſeeching of him, to ſupport their great and ſhining Character in his Perſon, by Actions great, noble, and princely, in the Service of his Country, and for the ſuppreſſing of all diſorderly Parties, who ravag'd the Country, and had done ſo much Miſchief. The Chancellor talk'd to my Lord Douglaſs in ſuch an inſinuating Manner, that he fully convinc'd the Earl of Douglaſs of his Friendſhip, and my Lord Douglaſs look'd upon him as a ſincere Well-wiſher; thus far Maſter of Diſſimulation and Diſguiſe was the artful Chancellor.

Douglaſs was the Author and Promoter of all the Diſturbances

The Stratagem the Parliament fell upon to draw Douglaſs to Edinburgh.

Douglaſs by his Approbation. goes for Edinburgh. He is met with great Reſpect by the Chancellor.

The Earl of Douglaſs deceiv'd by the Chancellor.

The deceiv'd and blinded young Lord taking all for good Coin, proceeded with his Brother David for Edinburgh; but on the Road ſeveral of his Attendants hinted to him that they expected Danger to him and his Company; and from certain Circumſtances had Reaſon to ſuſpect that there was ſome Plot in Hand. My Lord Douglaſs had been ſo effectually brought over to the Chancellor's Way of thinking, that he would not liſten to any Hints or Suggeſtions for his Caution and Safety: He believ'd the Chancellor ſincere and honeſt, and was regardleſs of all Danger till too late, tho' that ſeveral Gentlemen of his Retinue, had told him there had been a continual Hurry of Meſſengers backwards and forwards from Edinburgh to the Chancellor, while the Chancellor was with my Lord at Creighton Caſtle. Some Gentlemen gave Advice to my Lord Douglaſs not to hazard his Brother David's Life, but to leave him behind; he was offended at this Propoſal, and therefore taking their Council as officious and encroaching, he with his Brother rode off for Edinburgh Caſtle, having only a Part of his Retinue, who kept Pace with him, with ſuch Rapidity, as if he hurried for his own Deſtruction. Upon his Arrival at the Caſtle of Edinburgh, he had immediate Acceſs, with great Marks of Reſpect paid to him: The Chancellor receiv'd him in a very grand Manner, and immediately after came into their Company the Regent, by them my Lord Douglaſs was introduc'd to his Majeſty, and was moſt graciouſly receiv'd; he was invited to dine at his Majeſty's Table: My Lord Douglaſs was mightily pleas'd with his Reception, and in all Probability had the King and Miniſtry been ſincere in their Profeſſions of Regard for him, the Earl of Douglaſs for the future would have eſtabliſhed the King's peaceable Reign, and have been the greateſt Support of the Crown, and the moſt uſeful Perſon of the Nation, to ſuppreſs all former Depredations and Ravages from the Highlanders: But as my Lord Douglaſs ſat at Dinner, looking for nothing but Friendſhip, there appear'd, ſurrounding the Table on a ſudden, ſo many arm'd Men; the ſurprize of this made Douglaſs riſe to get away, but the arm'd Men held him, and put a Bull's Head upon his Head; this was of old a certain Forerunner of Murder: Upon this the Villains employ'd to commit the treacherous Murder, carry'd him from the King's Preſence to a Court nigh to the Caſtle Wall, and having firſt murder'd him, they cut off his Head, then they butcher'd my Lord's Brother David, and Malcolm Fleming. I am ſorry to relate ſuch a tragical Story of the Scots Nation, which is indeed hardly to be match'd for the Villainy and Aggravations of the Treachery, which ſhews itſelf through the whole Deſign. A laſting Blot upon the Faith, the Honour, the Sincerity, and the Solemnity of the parliamentary and regal Faith! Monſtrous and vile Deceit! hatch'd with Deliberation, and executed without the leaſt Shew of Law, Decency, Humanity or common Honeſty. A Parliament to give ſolemn Faith and a friendly Invitation to one of the firſt Nobility of the Kingdom, to invite him to take Part in the Government, and to draw him into a Snare in the royal Preſence, to make their King a Witneſs, an Author of deliberate and deceitful Murder, to deface his Royalty by Blood, ſhed without Law. Such a Scene! juſtly the

Object

Object of the Indignation of every fair and honeſt Mind. If Douglaſs was a Traitor, a Criminal, he was now in their Hands; let him have a fair and juſt Trial; let Friends and Enemies have nothing to reproach: But the Meanneſs, the Baſeneſs of the Spirit and Conduct of this cut-throat Parliament, who conceiv'd and executed ſo vile and dirty a Deſign, muſt give me the moſt abject and contemptible Idea of their Spirit, Honour, and Integrity, at this Time in Scotland. If the Event had not been remarkable, and of ſuch a publick important Nature, I ſhould not have choſen to have mention'd an Action which reflects ſo much Diſgrace upon a Nation, in the Perſon of their Heads and Repreſentatives: But it is of ſo publick a Nature, and carries with it a Kind of Parliamentary and Royal Sanction; for which ſuch barefac'd Barbarity and Villainy, done by publick Authority, ought to be expos'd, to make all in future Ages refrain from ſuch Proceedings.

This is a laſting Stain upon the Officers of State.

The King witneſſing the bloody Tragedy, wept over my Lord Douglaſs's Body; but the Turkiſh unrelenting Spirit of the Chancellor, delighting in Blood, made him chide his Majeſty for his Concern, which was the natural Effect of a young and tender Mind, not blotted with ſhedding of Blood.

The King mourns over Douglaſs.

The Earl of Douglaſs dy'd without Heirs Male of his own Body; therefore the Land Eſtate, and Honours, deſcended to James Douglaſs, his Couſin, (who was ſurnam'd the Groſs;) the perſonal Eſtate, which was very conſiderable, devolv'd to his Siſter Beatrix, eſteem'd the Beauty of the Country. This James, now Earl of Douglaſs, was always look'd after by the King and his Miniſtry with a watchful Eye, as a very dangerous and formidable Perſon, though he acted nothing againſt the Government: He did not encourage or ſhelter Robbers, as his Predeceſſors had done, neither did he ſupport ſuch a ſplendid Retinue, but ſeem'd more inclin'd to a private and indolent Life: However, before he had Time to declare himſelf, or to make any great Appearance in his high Degree of Life, he was cut off by a ſhort Illneſs, in two Years after he took Poſſeſſion of his Titles and Eſtate.

Douglaſs's Eſtate goes to his Couſin and his Siſter.

James Earl of Douglaſs ſoon dies.

James Earl of Douglaſs left ſeven Sons, the Eldeſt, William, ſucceeded to his Honours and Eſtate: He was an enterprizing young Nobleman, and therefore wanted to ſupport the Grandeur and Splendor of his Anceſtors; for which he projected to make a great Acceſſion to his opulent Eſtate, by marrying his own Couſin, his Uncle's Daughter, who was Heireſs to ſeveral Countries: Some of his Relations oppos'd the Match, leſt he ſhould be too powerful; and the King did intereſt himſelf to have it laid aſide; but the King was diſappointed, for William Douglaſs addreſs'd the young Lady with ſuch Diligence and Importunity, that he prevail'd upon her to be marry'd to him without Delay, and directly after the Marriage, he conſummated the Nuptials that Night; by which he got the better of all their Deſigns, and came to the Poſſeſſion of an immenſe Fortune. This, however, had a bad Effect upon William Douglaſs; for he was ſo elated, and (being naturally proud) became ſo inſolent, that all the other Nobility and Gentry were afraid of him: Ringleaders, and Captains of Banditti and Robbers, were every-where let looſe, who, with their Gangs and Parties, kept the whole Kingdom in continual Fear and Dread of Plunder and Murder: They were ſuſpected to be all encourag'd, to theſe Diſorders, by the Earl of Douglaſs; they interrupted all publick Juſtice, made Law their Scorn, and carry'd all before them by Violence and Strength. Theſe Heads of Thieves became ſo impudent, that one notorious Fellow, George Gorm, of Athol, who commanded a Party of Deſperadoes, openly attack'd the Sheriff of the County of Perth, when guarding a notorious Thief to the Place of Execution, with a ſtrong Body of Men: The Sheriff receiv'd him warmly, and George Gorm (deſigning to reſcue the Felon from Death) attack'd the Guards with great Fury, and for ſome Time fought deſperately; but at length the Sheriff and his Men kill'd George, their Leader, and thirty of his Men; upon which he forc'd the Remains of the Party to fly, to ſhelter themſelves in the inacceſſible Mountains and Rocks.

William Douglaſs ſucceeds; he projects a Marriage.

The Earl of Douglaſs marries his Couſin the Heireſs.

Robberies encreaſe daily.

The Sheriff of Perth attack'd in the Execution of Juſtice.

The Influence of the Douglaſſes extended over the whole Nation, and their Friends carry'd on Matters in all Quarters with open Strength: At Dumbarton, which is a Place of great Strength, both by Art and Nature, there is a double Fort, one, the Lower Caſtle, and the other call'd the High; at this Time they were guarded by two diſtinct Garriſons, and Lieutenant-Governors, each having a ſeparate Entry to his Fort: The Lieutenant-Governors happen'd to differ, and their Difference came to an open Rupture; for Robert Semple, the one Lieutenant-Governor, ſuſpected that Patrick Galbreth, who commanded the High Caſtle, was ſecretly in Concert with Douglaſs, and favour'd his Deſigns; obſerving likewiſe, that he defended the Place but with a ſmall Number of Men, and that he guarded his Caſtle ſlightly; without the neceſſary Care and Precautions, not obſerving ſtrict Duty, Robert Semple takes him into Cuſtody, and order'd him, in few Days, to remove all his Goods and Effects from the Fort; when Patrick Galbreth was allow'd the Liberty to go, with four of his Acquaintance, unarm'd, to carry off his Goods from the Fort: The Porter gave them Acceſs, according to Orders; but no ſooner had Galbreth enter'd, than he laid hold of the Porter, being alone, and then got to the Arms which were higheſt his Hand, beat out the Porter, and all who were in this Upper Caſtle; then having got the People in the Neighbourhood to aſſiſt him, he beat them all, who oppos'd him, from the Lower Caſtle, and ſo made himſelf Maſter of the Whole of Dumbarton Garriſon.

Dumbarton twice ſurpriz'd.

The Officers of Dumbarton Garriſon quarrel.

Galbreth, with great Bravery, expels the whole Garriſon, and replaces a new one.

This was a Time of great Diſorders over the whole Kingdom; Murders and Robberies were ſo frequent, that the whole Nation were in Danger of deſtroying one another. The Fault of this

The Kingdom in great Diſorder.

this was all lodg'd upon the Douglaſſes, their Friends, and Favourites: Therefore, in ſuch an Extremity, the King, Lords, and Commons, were determin'd to exert themſelves by ſome vigorous and bold Reſolutions, to ſuppreſs and extinguiſh theſe Doings. Douglaſs having Information of the joint and unanimous Reſolutions of the King and his Eſtates, and finding he could not withſtand the Torrent and Flood which threaten'd him, he wiſely and ſeaſonably determin'd to go to Court, to make the moſt humble Submiſſions to his Majeſty, to give the moſt ſolemn Aſſurances of future Loyalty, Affection, and Fidelity, to his Majeſty's Perſon and Goverment; only begging his Majeſty would ſpare his Life, and allow him his Eſtate, that, for the future, he might employ both, for his Majeſty's Service and Intereſt; which he would faithfully and ſacredly accompliſh. Douglaſs accordingly came to Stirling, where the King was, and having by proper and well apply'd Preſents to ſome of the Officers of State in waiting, found the King's Wrath was cool'd, and his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions toward him were kind and merciful. The King was now of Age, and kept a grand Court at Stirling Caſtle. Douglaſs ventur'd into his Majeſty's Preſence, all the Nobility ſurrounding him; he fell down at his Majeſty's Feet, begg'd his Majeſty's Royal Pardon, confeſſing his former Miſbehaviour, loading himſelf with all former Abuſes and Miſconduct, he ſolemnly and ſacredly promis'd the ſtricteſt Loyalty and Submiſſion for the future, to his Majeſty; and added, that as his Family had not come by their Eſtate and Honours by oppreſſing the Poor, but by generous and noble Actions, he wanted only that his Majeſty would allow him, and put it in his Power, to exert and employ both his Perſon and Fortune, in doing uſeful and faithful Services to his Majeſty. My Lord Douglaſs having ſpoke to his Majeſty, ſo as to give his Majeſty full Satisfaction, and to gain great Applauſe from the whole Court, the King not only pardon'd all former Faults, and gave him his Eſtate, but made him one of his Privy Counſellors; and afterward he had the chief Ear with his Majeſty.

Douglaſs ſubmits to the King, and comes to Court.

Douglaſs ſubmits to the King, and ventur'd into his Royal Preſence.

He obtains Pardon.

Douglaſs is receiv'd into Favours, and preferr'd.

Douglaſs, by his ſubmiſſive, faithful, and grateful Behaviour toward the King, had ſo gain'd upon the King's Affections, and his generous Spirit had beſtow'd ſo liberally on all about the Court, that he came to be in high Eſteem both with the King and thoſe about him, (the Regent and Chancellor alone excepted) they dreaded his Influence, and riſing Intereſt with the King; and foreſeeing his Majeſty would liſten more to the Earl of Douglaſs than to any other, they agreed betwixt themſelves to reſign their Offices; and accordingly waited of his Majeſty, and gave up their Commiſſions; ſo they withdrew into the City of Edinburgh: The Chancellor, Creighton, he kept the Caſtle of Edinburgh, but Levingſton, Regent, went afterwards to his own Eſtate in the Country. Douglaſs now had the Aſcendant in the King's Regard, and therefore thought he could have a fit Opportunity to be aveng'd of the Concerters of his Predeceſſor's Murder: Accordingly, having the King alone, he perſwaded his Majeſty to ſend a Meſſenger, to command the Regent and Chancellor to return to Court, and to carry along with them their Sons, particularly Alexander and James, Levingſton's two Sons, and order'd them to make a full Account of their former Adminiſtration, and to juſtify their Conduct in their Offices. Douglaſs's Deſign in this was well laid; he knew his Party now prevail'd at Court, and he intended (in Reſentment for the groſs Murder of his Kinſman, by the Arts of the Chancellor and Regent) to bring them back to Court, either to deſtroy them in Retaliation, or to diſgrace them by a Trial for their Mal-Adminiſtration; and if that they diſobey'd his Majeſty's Command, and refus'd to come to Court, then he would engage the King to have them declar'd Enemies to his Majeſty, and to the Kingdom; ſo he was ſure to have them outlaw'd, and which ever Way they conducted in this Perplexity, they were at his Mercy. The Anſwer theſe Officers of State (the Regent and Chancellor) made to the Meſſengers ſent to the King, was, that they were ready and willing to ſtand Trial before impartial Judges; but that the Judges who were to ſuperintend and conduct their Trial at this Time, were Perſons biaſs'd and govern'd by the large Preſents and Bounty of their mortal and implacable Enemy, now at Court, and high in his Majeſty's Eſteem; that the Roads were lin'd with arm'd Men, and that they only withdrew and retir'd from Court, to eſcape the Violence and Rage of their mortal Enemy: They reſerv'd their Lives for better Times, until the Heads and Ringleaders of Thieves were remov'd from Court; then, and not before, they were capable to juſtify their Adminiſtration, and to ſupport their Innocence to his Majeſty, whoſe ſacred Perſon and Government they were ready to ſupport and defend to all Extremities.

Douglaſs forces the Chancellor and Regent to quit the Court.

Meſſengers ſent to recall the Regent and Chancellor to appear at Court.

The Regent and Chancellor would not comply with the King's Requeſt.

The Meſſengers were ſent back with a haughty Anſwer.

Upon Return of the Meſſenger, and the reading of his Anſwers, the King, thro' the Influence and Advice of Douglaſs, and his Party at Court, ſummon'd a Council extraordinary, and laid the Returns of the Meſſengers before them: The Council, after Deliberation, judg'd the whole Behaviour of the Regent and Chancellor to be the higheſt Indignity to his Majeſty's Authority, Dignity, and Honour, and a manifeſt Diſobedience of the King's Order: Upon which, they voted the Regent and Chancellor both Enemies to the King and Nation. Upon this, their Real Eſtates were forfeited, and their Perſonal Eſtates immediately ſeiz'd upon: Thereafter, John Foreſter, of Corſtorphine, was ſent out by the Earl of Douglaſs, to expoſe all to Sale, and carry in the Money to the King's Exchequer. Some of the Regent's and Chancellor's Caſtles ſurrender'd, others were taken by Storm, and ſo their Eſtates ruin'd. Douglaſs's Party carry'd Home rich Booty from the Eſtates of the Regent and Chancellor; but they had not well got Home, before Creighton, the Chancellor, and his Friends, had collected a Body of Men, well arm'd, and with them march'd into the Eſtates of the Douglaſſes and Foreſters; Corſtorphine, Strabrock,

The Regent and Chancellor declar'd Enemies to the King and Country.

Creighton's and Levingſton's Eſtate forfeited.

Creighton raiſes an Army, and makes Repriſals.

Strabrock, Abercorn, and Blackneſs *, were the Places ſuffer'd moſt from them; they ſet Fire to their Houſes, deſtroy'd their Corn, and all Manner of Subſiſtence, carrying along with them any valuable Effects they thought proper: Creighton, in theſe Repriſals, carry'd off the fine Brood of Mares belonging to the Earl of Douglaſs. Douglaſs, highly provok'd at this, and other Acts of the Chancellor's Outrages againſt his Eſtate and Friends, in Return, determin'd to be aveng'd of theſe Friends, who had ſupported the Chancellor, and ſupply'd him with Men, for committing ſuch Diſorders. The Perſons who ſecretly ſupported Chancellor Creighton, were James Kennedy, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, George Earl of Angus, and John Earl of Moreton, with their Dependents. Angus and Moreton were deſcended of Douglaſs's Family: The Earl of Angus was born of the King's Aunt, Mother to James Kennedy, and my Lord Moreton had marry'd the King's Siſter. Theſe being Men of Rank, were join'd by Numbers; but what chiefly promoted their Influence and Regard, was their publick Spirit, and their Regard for the Welfare and Happineſs of their Country, beyond all their private Intereſts. Kennedy, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was the Man of greateſt Regard and Authority, becauſe of his Judgment, cool, diſcerning, and wiſe Councils; Douglaſs pointed therefore his Wrath chiefly againſt the Archbiſhop, and in order to diſtreſs him, the Earl of Crawford, with Alexander Ogilvy, were ſent, with an Army, to lay waſte the Biſhop's Eſtate in Fife, and elſewhere; which they effectually executed, and return'd Home well loaded with Plunder. The Archbiſhop did not repel Force by Force, but commenc'd a Law-Suit againſt the Earl of Crawford, and all concern'd; which Suit my Lord Crawford deſpis'd, being ſupported by the Intereſt of the Earl of Douglaſs: But the Archbiſhop next had Recourſe to his Spiritual Armour, and attack'd the Earl of Crawford by the Eccleſiaſtick Courts, who inflicted their heavieſt Cenſures; theſe, however, he ridicul'd, and proceeded in his Encroachments upon the Archbiſhop: But, in a ſhort Time, the Archbiſhop was deliver'd from the Earl of Crawford; for the Monaſtery of Benedictines at Aberbrothock †, having made Choice of Alexander Lindſay, my Lord Crawford's Son, to be their Sheriff, or Civil Magiſtrate, to determine all their Affairs, and to take care of their Intereſts, ſeeing they, by their Eſtabliſhment, and of Choice, were not to be concern'd in Secular Affairs, nor in any Law-Suits: Lindſay kept about him a Number of Fellows, partly for Defence, and partly for executing his Orders; by this he came to be expenſive, and a Trouble, rather than a Support, to them: He behav'd rather as their Superior and Maſter, than employ'd by them; upon which they diſcharg'd him, as too heavy a Burden upon them, and made Choice of Alexander Ogilvy. Lindſay, reſenting this highly, raiſes a ſmall Army, and marches againſt Ogilvy: The Earl of Crawford, Lindſay's Father, having Intelligence of all that paſs'd, thinking his Appearance, and the Interpoſition of his Authority, would be ſufficient to remove this Difference, and to reſtore Peace among them, he takes Horſe, and rode up to them, juſt as they were both ready to engage; and riding in betwixt the two Armies, he ſtopt his Son from engaging, and then call'd out to Ogilvy, demanding a Conference: Upon which, one of Ogilvy's Men, of Surprize, darted a Spear at my Lord Crawford, which pierc'd through his Mouth, and ſtruck him dead from his Horſe: Upon this, both Lindſay's and Ogilvy's Army were alarm'd, and engag'd with great Wrath; Lindſay's Army were well provided with Spears or Pikes, as well as Swords; but, in the Beginning of the Engagement, the Cliddſdale Men, ſent by the Earl of Douglaſs to Lindſay, made a Corps de Reſerve, all with Pikes; and after both Armies had fought for ſome Time, Sword in Hand, with great Slaughter of both Sides, the Cliddſdale Men, to conceal their Pikes, dragg'd them by the Point behind them, that they might not be obſerv'd by the Enemy, till very nigh; ſo, upon their coming up to the Enemy, they turn'd their Pikes round to the Front, and they being long, ſharp, and ſtout Weapons, both for thruſting and ſlapping, they handled their Pikes to ſuch good Purpoſe, that they cut down Ogilvy's Men like Willows, by which Lindſay got the Victory. This Encounter happen'd January the 24th. Alexander Ogilvy was taken Priſoner by the Lindſays, and the Earl of Huntley narrowly eſcap'd in his Wounds. Ogilvy loſt 500 Men, and Lindſay 100. In the Purſuit, the Slaughter had been great, if it had not been that the Darkneſs of the Night favour'd their Eſcape. Ogilvy dy'd under his Confinement, partly thro' Grief, and the Loſs of Blood.

The Earl of Douglaſs executes his Reſentment upon the Chancellor's Friends.

The Archbiſhop diſtreſs'd by the Earl of Douglaſs's Influence.

The Lord Crawford deſpiſes the Archbiſhop.

Ogilvy and Lindſay quarrel, and take the Field with Deſign to fight.

The Earl of Crawford kill'd.

The Armies engage, and the Lindſays by the Help of the Cliddſdale's Men keep the Field after routing their Enemy.

Ogilvy taken Priſoner, and dies ſoon after.

The Lindſays behav'd very ill.

The Lindſays did not improve their Victory to any good Purpoſes; for they exercis'd ſuch Cruelties, and acted with ſuch Barbarity, (making the Country almoſt a Deſolation) that neither Friends nor others could vindicate their Conduct. This Quarrel betwixt the Lindſays and Ogilvys was not properly national, but of a more private perſonal Nature than that of the Diſpute betwixt the King and his late Officers of State, the Regent and Chancellor; for this laſt was occaſion'd by a plain and publick Contempt of Regal Authority, and therefore might juſtly be term'd Rebellion and War againſt the King and Nation. This Quarrel was carry'd to ſuch a Height by the Chancellor's levying an Army to make Repriſals, that there was no Meaſure fit to reduce them but open Force; therefore the King order'd the Earl of Douglaſs to attack the Chancellor in Edinburgh Caſtle, and to beſiege it with Vigour; which he accordingly executed. In order to carry on the Siege with the greater Expedition, and that Douglaſs might be at Hand, the Parliament, now ſitting at Perth, was, by the King's Order, remov'd, July the 15th, to

The Earl of Douglaſs beſieges Edinburgh Caſtle by the King's Order.

* Blackneſs, an old and ſtrong Fort, where is ſtill kept a Garriſon, about ten Miles Weſt of Edinburgh, enclos'd by the Sea on all Sides, when High Water.

† Aberbrothock, an antient Town, ten Miles North Eaſt of the Tay River, ſituated on the German Ocean, formerly of great Trade, with a fine Harbour, ſurrounded with a moſt fertile rich Soil for all Sorts of Grain.

Edin-

The Parliament mov'd to Edinburgh

Edinburgh, there to ſit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. The Chancellor made ſo obſtinate a Defence, that the Siege continu'd for nine Months, till laſt, both Parties being heartily tir'd out, the Chancellor agreed to ſurrender the Caſtle, provided he were fully indemnify'd by his Majeſty, and ſecur'd from all future Proſecution, he and his Men allow'd to march out with all their Baggage and Arms. Upon the Capitulation being ſign'd, on theſe Conditions, the Chancellor went Home, and liv'd peaceably and retir'd, till he was recall'd to Court, which happen'd ſome Time after, when he was reſtor'd to his Majeſty's Favour, replac'd in the Office of Lord Chancellor, by univerſal Approbation, and reconcil'd to the Earl of Douglaſs; but he ſhunn'd acting in his Office as much as poſſible, and liv'd moſtly in the Country. The Earl of Douglaſs now fix'd his Reſentment againſt Levingſton, the Regent, which ſoon after appear'd with great Warmth.

The Chancellor ſurrenders to the King and is indemnify'd.

Many Broils, Murders, and Commotions in the Kingdom.

The late Quarrels and Party-broils in the Kingdom, had almoſt eras'd and extinguiſh'd many Families of Figure; they carried Matters ſo far by their Reſentments, that Murder, Cruelty, and horrid Severities attended their Attempts againſt one another, and ſo the whole Nation were nigh involv'd in Party or Family Quarrels: By theſe Means, Sir James Stewart, a Gentleman of Diſtinction and Fortune, was baſely murder'd by Alexander Liſle and Robert Boyd, two Miles from Dumbarton Caſtle, at Kirkpatrick: After perpetrating this bloody Act, they laid a Snare to have his Wife, who at this Time was big with Child: Sir James Stewart's Lady having Notice of her Huſband's Death, prepar'd to go where his Body lay, which the Murderers underſtood; they therefore ſent a Prieſt to the Lady, as if he had been ſent from a Friend, to acquaint her the Roads were lin'd the whole Way with arm'd Horſe and Foot, that her ſafeſt Way would be to come by Sea to Dumbarton, where Robert Boyd was: The Lady knew not that Robert Boyd was one of her Huſband's Murderers, and therefore ſhe innocently follow'd their Directions, and came to the Place: At her Arrival, finding herſelf impos'd upon, and how they had conducted their Villainy, ſhe, thro' Indignation, Sorrow and Surprize, was taken ill, which produc'd her Miſcarriage and her Death in a few Hours after.

Sir James Stewart and his Lady baſely murder'd.

Robert Boyd commits great Villainy.

Lord Hales beſieg'd in Dunbar Caſtle.

The Earl of March ſurprizes the Caſtle.

At this Time, the Queen Dowager, with Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Hales, kept Poſſeſſion together of the Caſtle of Dunbar, where they had taken Sanctuary during the Confuſions and Diſorders over the Country. Archibald Dunbar, Earl of March, taking this as an Encroachment and Invaſion of his Rights, in the Night ſurpris'd the Garriſon in the Caſtle, took the Caſtle, and put the Garriſon to the Sword: Yet being afraid, he next Day ſurrender'd the whole to the Earl of Douglaſs, upon being allow'd to march out unmoleſted with all his Men, Arms and Baggage. This Event haſten'd the Queen's Death, who by her Behaviour, ſince King James's Death, was no better than a Whore; and by her Intrigues with different Officers of State, by Turns, embroil'd and diſturb'd the Nation. The Queen left three Sons ſurviving her, the Earl of Athol and Buchan, John and James, and Andrew Biſhop of Murray. After her deceaſe, my Lord Hales gave up the Caſtle and all to his Majeſty. The Earl of Crawford at this Time, took upon him the Power of Law, and without Trial or any regular Proſecution, laid hold of John Lyon, and order'd his Men without further Ceremony, to execute him at the Market-Croſs of Dundee, for no known Reaſon or Crime, but pretended Ungratitude.

The Caſtle deliver'd to Douglaſs, and afterward to the King.

Theſe are ſo many Inſtances of the diſorderly and confus'd State of the Nation at this Time, owing to the overgrown Wealth and Power of ſome Nobility, who exerted themſelves only in Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion againſt their Inferiors.

The Earl of Douglaſs proſecutes Levingſton, and all concern'd with him.

The Spirit of the Earl of Douglaſs was keen, in proſecuting his Reſentment againſt the late Regent, Levingſton, his Family and Friends; and in ſhort, againſt every one who oppos'd his Meaſures, or ſpoke with Freedom againſt him. An Example of this, was remarkable, in the Inſtance of James Stewart the King's Uncle, whom Douglaſs baniſh'd the Kingdom, becauſe he talk'd a little too freely againſt the Meaſures of the Miniſtry; of which the Earl of Douglaſs was now Head.

The Earl of Douglaſs procur'd an Order to ſummon Levingſton, the late Regent, with his Sons, James, Robert the King's Treaſurer, and David, to appear before the Parliament, to juſtify their Conduct and Management in all Points. Orders were likewiſe iſſued out for Robert Bruce, James and Robert Dundaſs, to appear at Court and anſwer for their Conduct: They all came to Edinburgh in Obedience to their Summons, but Robert Bruce and the Regent's Sons were put to Death, and the old Regent with the Dundaſſes, were remanded to Dumbarton Caſtle Priſoners. There is no certain Account what Facts were brought againſt the Regent, nor his Sons and Friends; all that can be learn'd, is from what is recorded in the Heads of James Levingſton's dying Speech, wherein he heavily complains of the Iniquity and Baſeneſs of his Treatment, contrary to all royal Faith and Honour, to take his Father's, his Brother's, his own, and his Friend's Lives away, for Facts which his Majeſty had long ſince pardon'd; and for which his Majeſty's ſeal'd Pardon, was a full Evidence. His Speech is pretty fully told in Buchanan's Hiſtory; the Account and Sum of which, is no more than his Declaration, by Way of Caution, to guard againſt the enſnaring Arts of ambitious Spirits, and to be always careful not to truſt too much to Men of Power: That in managing the Affairs of State, there is conſtant and certain Danger, which does more than ballance all the Honours of their high Station: No Safety, no Satisfaction, but when retir'd and remov'd from factious and deſigning Men, who are not nice, nor to be confin'd to Honeſty or Conſcience.

The Regent's Sons and Robert Bruce executed.

James Levingſton's Declaration.

The

The Earl of Douglaſs now carried his Intereſt and Influence with the King, to that Height of arbitrary Power, that he was determined to remove from Court, and from the Royal Preſence, every one whom he thought or ſuſpected not a thorough Dependant and Tool for his Intereſt. The general Diſſatisfaction among the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, from the rigorous Treatment of Levingſton the Regent's Sons, and the Bruces, who had been put to Death; together with his juſt Apprehenſions of the Danger of a Faction to undermine him at Court, by repreſenting the ſeveral Grievances and Diſcontents of the Nation to the King: Theſe together, exciting the Jealouſy and firing the Reſentment of the Earl of Douglaſs, made him project the direct Removal, from the King's Preſence, of all whoſe Acceſs to his Majeſty he was afraid of; and, beginning with the Chancellor Creighton, he found out an Expedient firſt for him, that he might not be Head of the Faction, who ſhould complain to his Majeſty againſt the arbitrary Meaſures of the Adminiſtration. The Earl of Douglaſs, therefore, perſuades his Majeſty to nominate the Chancellor to be Ambaſſador-Extraordinary for the Court of France: But, that his Embaſſy might have the greater Weight, and that my Lord Douglaſs might not be afraid of any Rival or Oppoſite at Court, the King was adviſed to join the Biſhop of Dunkeld and Nicholas Otterburn in the Embaſſy: The Subject-Matter of which was, to renew and eſtabliſh the ancient Treaties of Alliance and Friendſhip with the French Court; and next, to demand Mary, Daughter to the Duke of Guelders, in Marriage for King James. This Marriage had been projected and recommended to the King of Scotland, by Charles VII. of France; who was thought to have been directed to this by the Earl of Douglaſs.

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The Earl of Douglaſs, having thus far with Addreſs compaſſed his Syſtem, he improved his Time to good Advantage during the Abſence of the Chancellor, the Biſhop, and Otterburn. He took Care now to eſtabliſh himſelf ſo in his Majeſty's Affection and Regard, that whatever he propoſed was readily agreed to. That the Bruces, Levingſtons, Dundaſſes, and others, whoſe Friends the Earl of Douglaſs had cut off, might have no Acceſs to Court, my Lord Douglaſs introduced his Brothers, by his Majeſty's Approbation, to be Officers of State; and, that they might appear with greater Splendor, the King was pleaſed to promote them to Honours and Eſtates. Archibald, Brother to the Earl of Douglaſs, was created Earl of Murray, having married the late Earl of Murray's ſecond Daughter. The Earl of Douglaſs's Influence was of ſuch Force with the King, that his Brother Archibald had both the Titles and Eſtate of Murray; and Creighton, who married the eldeſt Heireſs, was deprived of his Right. The Earl of Douglaſs's other two Brothers were made Peers. George was created Earl of Ormond; and John, Lord Balvenie. Theſe Promotions in the State, and other Alterations for ſtrengthening the Earl of Douglaſs's Power at Court, were accompliſhed with great Diſpatch in the Year 1447, while the Chancellor was abroad: So that the Earl of Douglaſs now had encloſed and compaſſed the Throne ſo with his own Friends and Favourites, that he had no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger from his Oppoſites and Rivals; and therefore he made his own Will the chief Rule of his Adminiſtration.

The Earl of Douglaſs now carried his Intereſt and Influence with the King, to that Height of arbitrary Power, that he was determined to remove from Court, and from the Royal Preſence, every one whom he thought or ſuſpected not a thorough Dependant and Tool for his Intereſt.

The Earl of Douglaſs's Conduct at Court.

The general Diſſatisfaction among the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, from the rigorous Treatment of Levingſton the Regent's Sons, and the Bruces, who had been put to Death; together with his juſt Apprehenſions of the Danger of a Faction to undermine him at Court, by repreſenting the ſeveral Grievances and Diſcontents of the Nation to the King:

Theſe together, exciting the Jealouſy and firing the Reſentment of the Earl of Douglaſs, made him project the direct Removal, from the King's Preſence, of all whoſe Acceſs to his Majeſty he was afraid of; and, beginning with the Chancellor Creighton, he found out an Expedient firſt for him, that he might not be Head of the Faction, who ſhould complain to his Majeſty againſt the arbitrary Meaſures of the Adminiſtration.

None, but thro' Douglaſs, had Acceſs to the King.

The Earl of Douglaſs, therefore, perſuades his Majeſty to nominate the Chancellor to be Ambaſſador-Extraordinary for the Court of France:

The Chancellor ſent upon an Embaſſy, to remove him from Court.

But, that his Embaſſy might have the greater Weight, and that my Lord Douglaſs might not be afraid of any Rival or Oppoſite at Court, the King was adviſed to join the Biſhop of Dunkeld and Nicholas Otterburn in the Embaſſy:

Others likewiſe ſent away.

The Subject-Matter of which was, to renew and eſtabliſh the ancient Treaties of Alliance and Friendſhip with the French Court; and next, to demand Mary, Daughter to the Duke of Guelders, in Marriage for King James.

The young Queen is ſent for over.

This Marriage had been projected and recommended to the King of Scotland, by Charles VII. of France; who was thought to have been directed to this by the Earl of Douglaſs.

The Earl of Douglaſs, having thus far with Addreſs compaſſed his Syſtem, he improved his Time to good Advantage during the Abſence of the Chancellor, the Biſhop, and Otterburn.

Douglaſs ſecures the King's Ear and Favour to himſelf.

His Brothers and Friends all made Officers of State.

He took Care now to eſtabliſh himſelf ſo in his Majeſty's Affection and Regard, that whatever he propoſed was readily agreed to. That the Bruces, Levingſtons, Dundaſſes, and others, whoſe Friends the Earl of Douglaſs had cut off, might have no Acceſs to Court, my Lord Douglaſs introduced his Brothers, by his Majeſty's Approbation, to be Officers of State; and, that they might appear with greater Splendor, the King was pleaſed to promote them to Honours and Eſtates. Archibald, Brother to the Earl of Douglaſs, was created Earl of Murray, having married the late Earl of Murray's ſecond Daughter. The Earl of Douglaſs's Influence was of ſuch Force with the King, that his Brother Archibald had both the Titles and Eſtate of Murray; and Creighton, who married the eldeſt Heireſs, was deprived of his Right. The Earl of Douglaſs's other two Brothers were made Peers. George was created Earl of Ormond; and John, Lord Balvenie. Theſe Promotions in the State, and other Alterations for ſtrengthening the Earl of Douglaſs's Power at Court, were accompliſhed with great Diſpatch in the Year 1447, while the Chancellor was abroad: So that the Earl of Douglaſs now had encloſed and compaſſed the Throne ſo with his own Friends and Favourites, that he had no Reaſon to apprehend any Danger from his Oppoſites and Rivals; and therefore he made his own Will the chief Rule of his Adminiſtration.

None preferr'd but ſuch as were Friends to the Earl of Douglaſs.

The Earl of Douglaſs acts arbitrarily.

At this Time the Nation was convulſed in different Quarters, by the oppreſſive Meaſures of ſome Chiefs of Clans, and the ſuperior Clergy. A remarkable Inſtance of this, was in the Conduct of the then Biſhop of Glaſcow, James Cameron; who, being over-ballanced by his ſpiritual Fire, Avarice and Pride, (tho' Qualities too often annexed to the Mitre, yet unworthy and ill becoming the Cloth) did, in order to enlarge his Eſtate and Revenues, encourage and foment Proſecutions, Severities and Violence, againſt ſome of his moſt wealthy Vaſſals and Farmers; by which Proſecutions for pretended Crimes, many of the richeſt were condemned and executed. Upon theſe favourable Events for the Biſhop, he, by Virtue of the Law of Scotland as Superior, had their Eſtates and Effects forfeited and confiſcated to him; by which Fraud he made a conſiderable Acceſſion to his Revenue, which was already too opulent. But he was cut off by a ſudden and ſurprizing Illneſs, as Buchanan relates it: In the Night, being ſeized with a ſudden Fit, attended with a Surprize and Fright which was encreaſed by his Diſorder and Confuſion of Mind, he continued in great Agonies for ſome Time, and, extending his Tongue beyond his Mouth, expired in a terrible Manner. But the other Archbiſhop, of St. Andrews, was a Man of a quite reverſe Turn of Mind, poſſeſſed of all the Qualities which are neceſſary to adorn his Station and Character: Therefore, finding nothing ſo much encouraged, by the Power and Influence of the Earl of Douglaſs, as Rapine, Violence, Party-Rage, Oppreſſion and Iniquity, to all who were not Creatures and Dependants of the Douglaſſes, the Archbiſhop, not only retired from Court, but let them plunder and ſacrifice his whole Eſtate; chuſing to live retired, and to enjoy the Pleaſure and Happineſs of a devout and ingenuous Mind; and ſo employed himſelf in Study, Meditation and Devotion, waiting for an Alteration of Times.

At this Time the Nation was convulſed in different Quarters, by the oppreſſive Meaſures of ſome Chiefs of Clans, and the ſuperior Clergy.

The Nation at this Time very diſorderly.

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The Cruelty and Roguery of Cameron, Biſhop of Glaſcow.

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His Death unlamented.

But the other Archbiſhop, of St. Andrews, was a Man of a quite reverſe Turn of Mind, poſſeſſed of all the Qualities which are neceſſary to adorn his Station and Character: Therefore, finding nothing ſo much encouraged, by the Power and Influence of the Earl of Douglaſs, as Rapine, Violence, Party-Rage, Oppreſſion and Iniquity, to all who were not Creatures and Dependants of the Douglaſſes, the Archbiſhop, not only retired from Court, but let them plunder and ſacrifice his whole Eſtate; chuſing to live retired, and to enjoy the Pleaſure and Happineſs of a devout and ingenuous Mind; and ſo employed himſelf in Study, Meditation and Devotion, waiting for an Alteration of Times.

The Character and Behaviour of the Biſhop of St. Andrews.

The Truce with the Engliſh was now near expired, and both Sides began to commit Hoſtilities. The Engliſh ſent Parties into Scotland to plunder and deſtroy the Borders; and, in Return, the Scots invaded England. James, Brother of the Earl of Douglaſs, penetrated with a Body of Men as far as Anwick, plundered the Town, and then ſet Fire to it. The Lord Northumberland, in Repriſal, burnt Dunbar; and the Earl of Saliſbury, the Town of Dumfries. Theſe mutual and private Depredations, tho' not authorized by the Government of either Nation, at length produced an open Rupture. But, in the Interval, the Chancellor, in 1448, having executed the whole of his Commiſſion, as Ambaſſador-Extraordinary at the Court of

Mutual Depredations betwixt the Scots and Engliſh.

The Chancellor returns and brings over Princeſs Mary with a grand Retinue.

France, and ſucceeded in the whole of his Negociations, returned with the Princeſs Mary, whom he brought over to be married to the King. This Lady was attended in her Voyage to Scotland, by a numerous Court and Retinue of Nobility, Ladies, and Gentlemen of foreign Nations. She was not only Daughter to Arnold Duke of Guelders, but likewiſe Niece to the great Duke of Burgundy, and allied to the chief Princes of the Blood of France.

Several foreign Nobility attended her.

Upon her Arrival, ſhe was received by his Majeſty, King James, with the moſt tender Affection and loving Addreſs. The Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation came in great Crouds to Court to the Abbey of Holyrood-Houſe, the King's Palace at Edinburgh, to pay their Compliments of Congratulation. The Princeſs Mary was moſt agreeable and acceptable to all.

The Character and Deſcription of the youngPrinceſs.

The Nation were highly pleaſed with his Majeſty's Choice: For ſhe was a Lady of a comely, beautiful and majeſtic Countenance; of fine Preſence, and of eaſy, agreeable and pleaſant Addreſs; ſtately in Perſon, and tall in Stature. The Marriage-Ceremony was performed in few Days after her Arrival, with great Magnificence and Splendor; and, upon this Occaſion, the Court was very brilliant, occaſioned by the vaſt Concourſe of Nobility from all neighbouring Nations. But the Rejoicings for this happy Event and Solemnity were greatly abated, by the

Both Scotland and England are averſe to War at this Time.

Proſpects and Threatnings of War with England. However, both Kingdoms wiſely thought it the moſt uſeful and ſafe Expedient, to prevent timely the private Depredations, which had lately happened on both Sides, from affecting the Peace and Repoſe of either: And, having agreed to ſend Deputies to treat upon Terms of Accommodation, the Scots and Engliſh Deputies did meet, and ſettled Matters ſo, that a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities was agreed upon for ſeven Years, and ſigned; which made the Nation eaſy for ſome Time: Yet the Banditti, and ſome of the Chiefs of Clans, purſued their old Syſtem, and continued plundering, haraſſing and diſturbing their Neighbours. This Truce was concluded betwixt Scotland and England in 1449:

A Truce was agreed upon, and ſigned.

Some new Nobility created.

In which Year, Alexander Seaton Lord Gordon was created Earl of Huntley; and George Lord Leſly, Earl of Rothes.

The Duration of Peace, betwixt Scotland and England, was ſhorter than the Time ſtipulated for it. Neither Nation could refrain from Encroachments and Acts of Violence on each other.

The Borderers break in upon the Truce.

The Scots, in two Years after the Truce, entered Cumberland, to make Repriſals upon the Engliſh, for coming down upon them in the Night, and burning ſeveral Villages, then drawing off all the Cattle of the Country.

The Scots invade Cumberland.

The Attack by the Scots upon Cumberland, ſo provoked the Earl of Northumberland, that he aſſembled an Army with great Diſpatch, and joined Magnus Red-beard in the Command with him, as a Man from his Youth experienced and ſucceſsful in the Art of War. This Man, by the Scots, was called, "Magnus with the Red Main;" and bore a mortal Hatred to the Scots Nation: But, ſuch was his Vanity, that he undertook to conquer Scotland.

The Engliſh invade Scotland from the Weſt.

The Engliſh Army haſtened their March for Scotland, by the Weſt Road; and, paſſing the Rivers Solway and Annan, thay encamped on the Banks of the Sarc. But George Dunbar Earl of Ormond, who was appointed Captain-General of the Scots Army by his Brother the Earl of Douglaſs, Prime Miniſter of State, with incredible Diligence aſſembled all his Forces, being joined by great Numbers of the young Nobility and Gentry of Scotland.

The Earl of Ormond marches againſt the Engliſh.

The Army was ſoon formed, and they marched in high Spirits, fully reſolute to curb the Vanity of Red-beard; which, in the Event, they thoroughly accompliſhed. The Scots Army, by long Marches, came ſoon within few Miles of the Engliſh Camp upon the Sarc. The Engliſh, having full Intelligence of the Approach of the Scots Army, called in, in great Hurry, all their foraging and detached Parties, which they had ſent out to harraſs and diſtreſs the Country, and to levy Contributions; and, having collected their whole Force, they prepared to receive the

The Engliſh Army prepares to engage the Scots.

The Engliſh were very numerous.

Scots Army. The Engliſh were far ſuperior in Numbers, and experienced Archers for throwing of Darts: But the Scots were completely armed with Spears and Spikes, both Horſe and Foot; ſo that they were terrible upon any cloſe Attack. The Scots Army, in high Spirits to defeat the Expectations and Vanity of Magnus Red-beard, advanced with Reſolution towards the Engliſh Army.

When both Armies came in Sight of each other, they formed in Order of Battle. The Earl of Northumberland led on the Center of the Engliſh Army. Sir John Pennington and Sir Robert Harrington commanded the Right Wing, and Magnus Red-beard the Left of the Engliſh.

The Scots Army was led on by the Earl of Ormond, Captain-General in the Center; Wallace of Craig upon the Right, to attack Magnus Red-beard; and the Lord Maxwell, with

The Scots begun the Attack.

Johnſtone, on the Left. The Scots begun the Attack, and charged the Enemy with great Fury; but, keeping at too great a Diſtance, gave Opportunity to the Engliſh to uſe their Darts to great Advantage; by which they galled and wounded many of the Scots. Wallace obſerving this, with great Coolneſs and Compoſure of Mind, addreſſed himſelf to his Men, and the reſt

Wallace, by a ſeaſonable Speech, encourages his Men.

of the Army within Reach of his Voice, in the following Expreſſions: "Why do you not ruſh in upon the Enemy, ſtop the Current of their Darts, and come to cloſe fighting with your Spears and Pikes? — Puſh them ſo vigorouſly and warmly, by cloſe fighting, that you may once break in upon them, and then, when broke, let them not recover their Diſorder; ſo the Bravery of either Side will ſoon be determined." Having thus ſpoke, the whole Wing, commanded by Wallace, following their General, preſſed ſo hard and with ſuch Fury on the Enemy, that they immediately gave Ground, not able to ſtand the Shock of ſo violent an Onſet.

The Left Wing of the Scots Army behaved with great Bravery and Reſolution.

Onſet. Being thus broke, the Engliſh began to fly, and the Scots Army, receiving an Addition of Spirit by the Diſorder of the Enemy, purſued them with great Bravery and Speed.

Magnus Red-beard, with this ſurpriſing Change of Fate, in order, if poſſible, to recover the Spirits of his Men, and to make them return to the Charge, ruſhed in upon Wallace, with a ſmall Party of his moſt reſolute Fellows, with Deſign to cut of Wallace, and thereby confound the whole Scots Army, with the Loſs of ſo brave a General; and ſo change the Fate of the Day. But the whole of Wallace's Wing ſurrounded this Party, killed Red-beard, and cut the Party to Pieces who eſcorted him. Sir John Pennington and Sir Robert Harrington, in the Purſuit, were taken Priſoners, with ſeveral more: The Earl of Northumberland, with Difficulty, by the Care of my Lord Piercy his Son, eſcaped; but Lord Piercy himſelf was taken Priſoner. The greateſt Slaughter of the Engliſh was in the Purſuit; for the Tide had ſo ſwelled the Solway, that the Engliſh, in their Flight and Confuſion, could not croſs the River, and therefore were overtaken, and cut off by the Scots Army.

Magnus Red-beard, and his Party cut off.

The Tide ſtopt the Flight of the Engliſh.

This Victory was compleat; for there was a total Rout of the Engliſh Army. They had 3000 ſlain, beſides great Numbers wounded, and taken Priſoners; and the Scots Army carried off all their Baggage, Tents, Equipage, and rich Plunder. The Engliſh Priſoners, of Rank and Diſtinction, were ſent to Lochmaben Caſtle. The Earl of Ormond viſited them, treated them with great Decency and Generoſity, and then repaired to Court; where he was received by his Majeſty, and by all the Court, with the greateſt Marks of Affection and high Regard for this ſignal Victory.

The Scots by this Action obtained a compleat Victory.

This Event made the Earl of Douglaſs, and all his Friends, ſo eſtabliſhed and in ſuch Regard with the King, that they feared no Oppoſition. His Majeſty wiſely took an Opportunity, in private, to talk with the Earls of Douglaſs and Ormond in mild and engaging Terms; repreſenting to them, how ſenſible he was of the many, great, and ſeaſonable Services they and their noble and brave Anceſtors had done to his Kingdom; that, therefore, he ſhould always regard them as Noblemen of the greateſt Conſequence and Uſe to the Nation; but begged, in the moſt affectionate and moving Terms, that, as they had always ſignalized themſelves by great and glorious Actions in the Field, they would exert themſelves upon this Conjuncture, with that Influence of Power they were poſſeſſed of, to compoſe and quell all Diſorders, all Theiving and Robberies in their Neighbourhood, and to diſband all thoſe Banditti whom they had formerly employed, and out-hounded to diſtreſs and impoveriſh their Enemies. His Majeſty likewiſe, in a fatherly and tender Manner, exhorted them to uſe all their Power and Endeavours to civilize and compoſe the Clans, to bring them into good Order, and regular Behaviour; that his Kingdom might flouriſh by Peace, Induſtry, and the Improvement of Trade: And his Majeſty gave the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances, that the Name of the Douglaſſes ſhould always have the firſt Place in his Majeſty's Favour and Eſteem. With theſe encouraging Expreſſions and uſeful Councils, the King diſmiſſed my Lord Ormond and his Brother. Highly pleaſed with their Reception, and the Marks of the Royal Favour they had received, they went home from Court, and acted agreeable to his Majeſty's Expectations.

The King gives his Advice in private to my Lord Ormond and his Brothers.

The King aſſures the Douglaſſes of his ſteady Regard.

After this Battle upon the Banks of the Sarc, which happened the latter End of 1450, the Borders of Scotland continued, for ſome ſhort Time, free from any Moleſtation or Encroachment: But when the News of the Defeat, and Loſs of the late Engagement, came to London, and the Council deliberated upon what was proper to be done, the Miniſtry and Privy-Councillors appeared irritated and enraged to the higheſt Reſentment againſt the Scots Nation. To be avenged of them was the fixed Reſolution of the Engliſh Nation, and therefore they ordered a powerful Army to be levied without Loſs of any Time: But before they could execute any thing againſt Scotland, the civil Commotions in England, and the violent Convulſions in the State, from the Enterprizes and Deſigns of the Duke of York, the Earls of March, Warwick and Saliſbury, gave ſufficient Employment to the Engliſh Army at home: And this Event, with the repeated Succours ſent from France, fortified Scotland againſt any immediate Danger at this Time. The Engliſh therefore, to prevent any offenſive Attempt from Scotland, inſtead of executing their Reſentment for their Loſs at the Battle of Sarc, chearfully agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms, and an Interruption of all Hoſtilities for three Years.

The Engliſh were much enraged upon the News of the Defeat of their Army.

A Civil War breaks out in England, which produced Peace with Scotland.

Scotland, tho' now undiſturbed by any foreign Enemy, was annoyed with private and Family Quarrels; and the Nation was deprived of the Happineſs of publick Tranquility by the arbitrary and violent Meaſures of the Adminiſtration. The Douglaſſes, and their Adherents, were the only Officers of State in the King's Regard and Favour; and they carried all without Controul in the moſt inſolent and haughty Manner, ſo as to cool the Affections of the Court and Nation towards them. There happened a Difference betwixt Sir William Colvil and one James Achinleck, who was a Creature and Favourite of the Earl of Douglaſs. This Difference ended in a Quarrel, and, in the Scuffle at their Meeting, Achinleck was kill'd. The Earl of Douglaſs reſented Achinleck's Death in a Manner far below his Dignity, and degraded himſelf in the Eſteem of all by his ungenerous Behaviour to Sir William Colvil: The Earl of Douglaſs not only encouraged, but employed Fellows to cut off this Gentleman, and then laid waſte his whole Eſtate, after they had burnt down his Country Seat. This barbarous Treatment created a Diſtaſte to my Lord Douglaſs, and an Apprehenſion of Cruelty, Iniquity, and no Humanity to be uſed to all who were not intirely at the Earl's Direction. The Earl of Douglaſs ſoon

The Earl of Douglaſs, and his Friends, behave now in an inſolent and barbarous Manner.

Sir William Colvil and his Family deſtroyed.

ſoon perceived what Effects his inſolent Behaviour had upon the Minds, not only of the Nobility and Gentry at Court, but over the whole Kingdom; and therefore he thought it moſt expedient to retire from Court, not only to make Trial of the Affections of the People, but likewiſe to be free of the diſagreeable Appearances of the Diſlike which appeared at Court upon his late Behaviour. Therefore my Lord Douglaſs with his Friends concert his Departure for Flanders firſt, and thence to France: From which Place he proceeded to Rome, to join in the Jubilee there; pretending Religion was the Motive, and the chief Reaſon of his Journey.

The Earl of Douglaſs retired from Court and went abroad, with ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen:

The Earl of Douglaſs, having concerted Matters with the Nobility and Gentry of his Faction, who had agreed to attend him abroad, left the Management and Adminiſtration of all his Eſtate and Affairs to his two Brothers, the Lords Ormond and Balvenie; his Brother James (a Doctor of the Sorbon, and a Man of great Learning) chuſing to attend him abroad. Having prepared all Things for their Voyage and Travelling, the Earl of Douglaſs, with the Lords Grahame*, Seaton, Oliphant, and Salton, with James Hamilton of Cadyhow, and many other Perſons of Diſtinction, embarked for Flanders. They landed ſafe, and proceeded directly for France. Upon my Lord Douglaſs's Arrival at the Court of France, he had great Honours paid him, not only out of Regard to his own Rank, but out of Reſpect to the Memorial of the many noble Atchievements of his great Anceſtors for the Relief of France in her Diſtreſs, and when almoſt over-powered by the Engliſh. After a ſhort Stay at the French Court, they all went for Rome, where they were received with extraordinary Marks of Eſteem and Affection: Here the Earl of Douglaſs, with the other Nobility and Gentry, remained ſome Time. While my Lord Douglaſs was entertained at Rome with the greateſt Honours to himſelf and his Retinue, his Enemies in Scotland, having now, by his Abſence, full Acceſs to the King and the Court, were very diligent. All whom the Earl of Douglaſs had uſed ill, and who had received any Injuſtice or Injury from him or his Friends, ſecretly or openly, drew up their Complaints and Repreſentations, of all their Grievances and Sufferings, to the King. Their Complaints were very numerous, conceived in ſtrong Terms, and repreſenting groſs Cruelty, Rapines, and Barbarity. The Multitude, the Quality, and the Equity of the Complaints and Repreſentations, addreſſed with ſuch Strength and Reaſon to his Majeſty, forced his Majeſty's Attention and deliberate Conſideration of all. The Matters complained of were of ſuch an important and public Nature, that the King could not decline an Enquiry, nor evade it. The Earl of Douglaſs had authorized his Farmers, Dependants, Vaſſals, and all over whom he had Authority, to make ſuch Encroachments upon neighbouring Families and Eſtates as could not be juſtified. The Abuſes therefore committed being flagrant, and of ſo heinous a Nature, his Majeſty, with the Approbation of his Council, iſſued out immediate Orders for my Lord Douglaſs's Brothers, whom he had left in Truſt to manage all Affairs relating to the Eſtate, and otherwiſe, to appear before his Majeſty, and to anſwer for the whole of what was to be laid to the Charge of the Earl of Douglaſs, and all his Aſſociates; to make Reſtitution and Reparation for the Damage ſuſtained by many good Families in their Neighbourhood.

They went firſt for Flanders; and then to France, where they were well received.

The Earl of Douglaſs is impeached in his Abſence.

The Impeachment conſiſted of many heavy Articles, and ſupported by Numbers.

My Lord Douglaſs's Brothers ſummoned to Court.

The Earls of Ormond and Murray, and other Friends of Douglaſs, refuſe to obey the King's Commands.

They are outlawed.

My Lord Douglaſs's Brothers and Friends, upon the Receipt of the Royal Summons and Command, refuſed to obey, and only made Anſwer: That theſe Depredations, Inſults and Encroachments, were ſome of a new, ſome of an old Date; and, like Water ſpilt on the Ground, were not to be recovered: That the Earl of Douglaſs was abroad; and they, who were only Truſtees, were not in Safety to appear at Court in Perſon, to be judged and puniſhed by Perſons known to be fired with a malignant and inveterate Hatred, who would glory in the Sacrifice of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon Receipt of this haughty and rebellious Anſwer, the King determined to exert his Authority. They were, by his Majeſty and Parliament, directly declared Rebels and Enemies to his Majeſty's Government; and Orders were iſſued out to apprehend the Earl of Douglaſs's Brothers, and all their Adherents. Upon their being apprehended, they were brought to Court; and, when arraigned, the Judges, appointed to try them, divided in their Sentiments. Some were for cutting them off, to make them Examples for diſobeying the Royal Command: But others, ſupported by his Majeſty's Opinion, which over-ruled the whole, did judge it proper, that only Reſtitution ſhould be made to all who had been injured by the Earl of Douglaſs, out of the Profits and Rents of his opulent Eſtates; and to ſpare the Lives of the Brothers, who acted only in Truſt and from Affection to their elder Brother the Earl of Douglaſs. This mild and well-judged Determination of the King, approved of by a Majority of his Nobility, was an Indication of his Majeſty's generous, good and great Spirit; and aggravated the Ingratitude of any Fellows, belonging to the Earl of Douglaſs, who were not highly ſenſible of the Indulgence and Favour ſhewn to them, by the King's equitable and good Inclinations. The King and Judges inſiſted, that the Proctor, or chief Steward, of my Lord Douglaſs's Eſtate, ſhould be forced to give a full Account of all the Rents and Profits of his Maſter's Eſtates, and pay in the Rents into his Majeſty's Exchequer; which the Procurator and Steward refuſed to obey, as was thought, by the ſecret Advice and Order of the Earls of Ormond and Murray, the Lord Douglaſs's Brothers. This Diſobedience and Contempt of Royalty, ſo enraged the King and Council, that William Sinclaire, then Earl of Orkney, was ordered directly to march with a Body of Men, to take Poſſeſſion of all the Caſtles and Seats belonging to the Earl of Douglaſs; and to levy the Rents of the Eſtates for the Uſe of the Crown. The Earl of Orkney, according to his Majeſty's Order, went for Galloway and Annandale,

The King, with Mildneſs and Judgment, ſpares their Lives; but orders Reſtitution to be made to the Injured.

The Earl of Douglaſs's Stewards are called to account for their Conduct, and to deliver their Truſt to the Crown.

* The original and firſt Lord of the noble, brave and worthy Family of Montroſe.

Annandale, to take Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate of the Douglaſſes: But, upon his Attempt, Lord Orkney was repelled with Rage by the Country-Farmers, and others, depending upon my Lord Douglaſs: And ſo the Earl of Orkney, after a ſmart Repulſe, was obliged to return, and to acquaint his Majeſty that he had no Succeſs; nor could he levy the Rents.

The Earl of Orkney repelled by Douglaſs's Farmers.

The News of this Treatment and Inſult ſo affected the King, that he raiſed an Army, and ſent them againſt the Douglaſſes. He took Poſſeſſion of Lochmaben-Caſtle: But Douglaſs-Caſtle making ſuch a gallant Defence againſt the King's Forces, the King was determined to have the Place at all Events; and therefore ordered them to beſiege the Caſtle with the greateſt Vigor; which being done, the Caſtle of Douglaſs, drove to Extremities, was obliged to ſurrender; and the King, becauſe of their Obſtinacy, ordered it to be utterly deſtroyed, and made a Heap of Ruins.

The King, with Reſolution, aſſerts his royal Authority.

Douglaſs Caſtle ſurrenders.

Such of the Vaſſals and Farmers, upon my Lord Douglaſs's Eſtate, as ſubmitted to the Government, were ordered to pay in their Rents to the King's Treaſury; and to continue doing ſo, 'till the Earl of Douglaſs's Eſtate had ſatisfied all Demands made againſt him by the Parties injured. The King, having, by the Power and Influence of his Army, brought the Vaſſals, Friends and Dependants of the Douglaſſes to Reaſon, without exerciſing Severity or Rigor, diſmiſſed his Army; by which he demonſtrated to his People, that he wanted only to make them ſenſible of his Power, without Application of it in any other Way than for their Peace, Welfare and mutual Happineſs.

The King marches an Army into Douglaſs's Eſtate, and reduces them to Reaſon.

While the Earl of Douglaſs, with his numerous Retinue, were regaled and entertained with great Honours and Regard at the Court of Rome, there were Accounts tranſmitted to the Courts of France and Rome, of the Proſecutions carried on againſt the Earl of Douglaſs and all his Friends; that the whole Power and Force of the Government of Scotland, were united to ſuppreſs him and his Friends; and that they had been declared the King's Enemies, and outlawed by Parliament.

The Earl of Douglaſs, and the Scots Nobility, well received at Rome.

This diſagreeable Piece of News being made public at the Court of Rome, the Court began to cool upon the Earl of Douglaſs, the Honours paid him decreaſed, and even his own Retinue ſcattered and deſerted him. This humbled and ſoftened his haughty and ſtubborn Mind. Degraded thus at the Courts of France and Rome, and deſpiſed by his own Countrymen, he reſolved to return to Scotland, with his Brother James, Biſhop of Dunkeld or Caledonia; and try what was to be done by his Preſence there.

The Earl of Douglaſs being diſgrac'd leaves Rome, and returns to England.

Accordingly, he embarked firſt for England; where, having received proper Paſſports, he ſet out for Scotland. During his Stay at London, he had ſome private Interviews with ſome of the chief Nobility and Officers of State; but nothing was concluded or ſettled upon. On his Arrival on the Borders of Scotland, fearful of the Diſpleaſure and Reſentment of the King, he privately ſent his Brother James before to Court, to ſound and know in what Diſpoſition his Majeſty was towards him; and his Brother, finding the King mild, ready to forgive, and willing to accept of the Earl of Douglaſs's Acknowledgments and Submiſſion, acquainted the Earl of the whole Situation of Affairs at Court. Upon which the Earl of Douglaſs, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner and penitent Appearance, came to Court. His Majeſty received him with great Tenderneſs, and ſhewed a royal and great Spirit in the Manner of forgiving ſo readily, and receiving ſo eaſily, a Man who had inſulted regal Authority ſo much as my Lord Douglaſs, by his Conduct, had done.

Lord Douglaſs's Brother goes firſt to the King.

The King pardons and reſtores the Earl of Douglaſs.

Upon this Reconciliation of the King with the Earl of Douglaſs, the King put him in the higheſt Office of Truſt; appointed him Captain-General of all his Forces at home and abroad, and Guardian of the Kingdom under his Majeſty. Theſe Preferments and Honours, from a good and merciful Prince, over-ballancing all paſt Offences, had not the proper Effect upon the Mind of the Earl of Douglaſs. His ambitious and revengeful Mind could not paſs in Forgetfulneſs, the Proſecutions carried on againſt him and his Friends, while he was abroad. Flatterers and Whiſperers, to make themſelves agreeable, carried a great many Tales to the Lord Douglaſs, about the Deſigns of the Chancellor, and his Council to the King for rooting out the whole Name of the Douglaſſes. Theſe, with the conceived Opinion of his Sufferings, and the Affronts given to his Friends, with the Levies raiſed on his Eſtate, did all together ſo operate upon Douglaſs's high and enflamed Spirit, that he bent his Mind chiefly to meditate Reſentment for theſe ſuppoſed Injuries. He therefore takes a Journey privately into England, held ſeveral ſecret Conferences with the Engliſh Nobility, and was preparing their Minds to unite with him, that he might effectually proſecute his Reſentment againſt his Enemies at Court.

Douglaſs is made Guardian of the Kingdom.

Douglas, full of Reſentment againſt the Chancellor, and other Miniſters of State.

The King had timely Notice of this Journey, and Douglaſs was ſent for, by his Majeſty's Order, to appear, without Loſs of Time, and anſwer for his Conduct. The Earl obeyed, and came to Court without Delay. The Queen, and many of the Nobility, interceded hard in his Behalf; therefore, his Majeſty pardoned him for all paſt Offences: But, having Reaſon to ſuſpect his ſecret Correſpondence with ſome Engliſh Nobility to diſturb the public Tranquility, his Majeſty, with the Advice of his Privy-Council, thought it prudent and neceſſary to diveſt him of his great Employments; and therefore he was diſmiſſed his Command as Captain-General, and the Guardianſhip of the Kingdom under his Majeſty given to the Chancellor.

Douglaſs is ſent for to Court.

The King pardons but diveſts him of all his Employments.

Upon this Event, the Earl of Douglaſs returned home much diſcontented. His Mind was agitated and troubled, as with a Storm. Thus reſtleſs and diſturbed, he ſets himſelf to project

ſome new Deſigns for the Gratification of his Ambition and revengeful Spirit, and made up a Story of a Deſign formed ſecretly by the Chancellor Sir William Creighton, that he, the Chancellor, ſhould have told his Majeſty, That neither he nor his Kingdom would ever enjoy certain or laſting Tranquility, except the whole Name and Families of the Douglaſſes were totally extirpated, and rooted out of the Nation; and therefore, for his Majeſty's Safety, and the Welfare of the whole Nation, it would be abſolutely needful to ſuppreſs and cruſh the whole of this powerful People.

This invented and plauſible Story, propagated by my Lord Douglaſs, was with Deſign, firſt, to excite and to unite the Rage and Reſentment of the Douglaſſes, and all their Friends, againſt the Chancellor; and next, to be a Pretext for Acts of Violence and Reſentment againſt him and his Eſtate, which ſoon appeared to be Fact; for the Earl of Douglaſs got ſecret and certain Intelligence, of the Time when the Chancellor always went from Creighton Caſtle to the King at Edinburgh; and therefore he prepared to attack him ſecretly on his Way. The Earl of Douglaſs collected a Party of Ruffians, and ſecretly, at their Head, marched to a proper Place of Ambuſcade, and there waited for the Chancellor.

Douglaſs ſurprizes and attacks the Chancellor.

The Chancellor, in his Way to Edinburgh, was accordingly ſurprized by the Lord Douglaſs and his Party, who attacked firſt ſome of his Retinue. They, ſurprized and much frightened, run off, and left my Lord Chancellor in Danger; but the Chancellor, being a robuſt and hearty Man, of great Bravery, killed the firſt who attacked him, and mortally wounded the other next to him. Upon which the Chancellor, though wounded, made his Eſcape, and got to his Caſtle at Creighton; where he remained until his Wounds were healed. When he was recovered, ſo as to be able to ride, he gathered together a Body of ſtout, brave Fellows, to eſcort him on his Journey to Edinburgh. He ſet out with ſuch Secrecy and Celerity, that he was at Edinburgh before the Earl of Douglaſs could well know of his Journey. The Chancellor on his Road had very nigh laid hold of the Lord Douglaſs and his Attendants, which were very few, not ſuſpecting the Chancellor's Approach ſo ſuddenly: But Douglaſs fled with all Speed and Precipitation, and ſo narrowly eſcaped the Fate which he had lately deſigned for the Chancellor. The Chancellor, upon his Arrival at Edinburgh, laid all Matters, and the Conduct of the Douglaſſes, before the King and Council.

The Chancellor, wounded, eſcapes.

The Chancellor, in his Turn, ſurprizes Douglaſs.

Douglaſs enters into an unlawful League againſt the King and the Miniſtry.

The Lord Douglaſs, finding his Conduct hateful to the People, condemned by the Court, and the Affections of all Ranks leading for the Chancellor, juſtly apprehended himſelf in Danger from his wicked Practices; and, in order to ſecure himſelf, and to embarraſs the King and the Miniſtry, he carries on a Treaty by way of ſolemn League, both offenſive and defenſive, betwixt him, the Earls of Crawford and Roſs, and many more Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. This League was drawn up, concluded and ſigned without Delay, and with all poſſible Secrecy: An expreſs Article in it was, that they, all the contracting Parties, were mutually to ſupport and defend each other, and oppoſe all Force by Arms; yea even the King's Forces, if attacked by them.

Notwithſtanding their Secrecy, the King had Intelligence of theſe Proceedings, which, as they were highly inſulting of the royal Authority, the King determined to check theſe Deſigns timely, and to ſuppreſs the Promoters of them.

The King is juſtly offended at Douglaſs's Inſolence.

The Earl of Douglaſs had excited now his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure to a great Height, by his barbarous Murder of Sir John Herron, a Gentleman of Fortune and great Regard in the County of Galloway: This Sir John Herron would never join in my Lord Douglaſs's unneighbourly Practices of harraſſing, plundering, and diſtreſſing all who would not join in his violent and oppreſſive Meaſures. Sir John Herron heretofore had the Men of Annandale ſent in upon him to plunder and lay waſte his Eſtate: He complained of this often to the Earl of Douglaſs, but had no Satisfaction at all. At length, Sir John Herron, tired out with ſuch Encroachments and repeated Depredations, was determined to repel Force by Force: Upon this, he ordered all his Vaſſals, Farmers, and Labourers, to join him. They marched into Annandale, where the Douglaſſes met them; and, being overpowered by Numbers, Sir John Herron and his Men were taken Priſoners. They were carried to the Earl of Douglaſs, who, without Regard to Honour, to Equity, or Humanity, and in manifeſt Contempt of the King's Authority (who had written to Douglaſs not to cut off Sir John Herron) directly hang'd up Sir John Herron, like a common Thief.

Sir John Herron barbarouſly cut off.

The next vile Action, committed by the Earl of Douglaſs, was againſt M'Lauchlin, one of the fineſt and moſt antient Gentleman of Galloway, deſcended of an old Family, and poſſeſſed of a large Eſtate. This Gentleman in a Quarrel, happened to kill a Favourite of the Douglaſſes, though not deſigned. This Fellow was frequently detected in doing Injuries, and committing Depredations, againſt M'Lauchlin's Eſtate, and always protected by the Earl of Douglaſs. Upon M'Lauchlin's killing this Fellow in Self-defence, my Lord Douglaſs, in Diſregard to all Ties, civil, moral, or religious, executes his bloody Revenge againſt M'Lauchlin and his Brother. They were carried, by Douglaſs's Order, to Jail. The King ſent his royal Command, by Sir Patrick Gray, to the Earl of Douglaſs, to ſtop all Trial; and to order M'Lauchlin and his Brother to be brought to Court, there to have their Trials: But, in Contempt of the royal Command, and contrary to all Juſtice, Honour or Decency, the Earl of Douglaſs ordered both the Brothers to be executed; and pretended to make an Apology for ſuch Villainy to Sir Patrick Gray, entreating the King would excuſe him, becauſe

M'Lauchlin kills one of Douglaſs's Favourites.

The King orders Douglaſs to ſave Mac Lauchlin's Life.

The royal Command deſpiſed.

M'Lauchlin

M'Lauchlin and his Brother had been put to Death, without his Knowlege, by ſome of his Officers.

Sir Patrick Gray, in Anſwer and in juſt Rage againſt an Act of ſo perfidious Villainy, intimated to the Earl of Douglaſs, that, after that Day of their Parting, he never would regard him as a Nobleman or Gentleman; but look upon him as the common Enemy of Mankind, fit for the Society of wild Beaſts and Wolves of Prey, not worthy to be received into the Company and Familiarity of honeſt Men, and to be held as a common Enemy to Peace, to Order, to Law, and to all moral Obligations. Lord Douglaſs's Villainy.

Sir Patrick Gray returned to Court, with the News to the King of the Contempt and Diſobedience of his royal Authority. The Behaviour of Douglaſs appeared to all ſo brutal and ſhocking, that the united Voice of the whole Court cried Vengeance againſt him, from an injured, abuſed and inſulted King. The Court are ſet againſt Douglaſs.

The Miniſtry, now ſurrounding the Throne, repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to the King, the Danger he was in, if Douglaſs were not brought to condign Puniſhment, and his Adherents ſuppreſſed. They drew up Articles of Impeachment againſt him, and laid them before his Majeſty. Douglaſs impeached.

The Articles of Impeachment.

Firſt, They accuſed him of open Contempt and Rebellion againſt the King himſelf.

Secondly, They impeached him of treaſonable Correſpondence with the King of England and his Nobility, againſt his own King and Nation.

Thirdly, His putting to Death, contrary to all Law, many good and brave Men, and making their Eſtates a Deſolation.

Fourthly, His entering into a ſeditious and rebellious Aſſociation, to oppoſe the King's Authority, his Forces, and the Execution of Juſtice.

Fifth and laſtly, His uſurping the Power and Prerogative of the Crown.

The Nobility adviſe the King.

To effectuate theſe Articles of Impeachment, the Miniſters of State and the Privy-Council gave their Opinion freely to his Majeſty, that it was high Time for him to exert himſelf; and to demonſtrate to all rebellious and ſtubborn Subjects, that he was not only able to govern his Kingdom, but to puniſh the Treacherous, to humble the Proud, to reduce the Licentious into good Order, and to make his Enemies afraid. The Nobility of the Court begged his Majeſty not to be fearful; nor to diſcover any Weakneſs of Mind, to deter him from making Douglaſs truly ſenſible of his inſolent Behaviour, and unwarrantable Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion, without any Colour of Law or Humanity. They inſiſted with his Majeſty, that, if he did not act with Spirit on this Occaſion, his Friends would not be able to ſtand their Ground; but be obliged to retire, for their Defence, from open Violence; and that, if my Lord Douglaſs was allowed to go on, Law, Equity, Peace, Truth, Property, and every thing valuable, would be ſacrificed, wherever he thought proper to fix his Reſentment.

The King ſends for Douglaſs.

The King notwithſtanding, chuſing firſt the mild Way, in a friendly Manner, ſent for the Earl of Douglaſs to Court; but my Lord Douglaſs, conſcious of his Guilt and rebellious Practices, refuſing to come, made Anſwer to his Majeſty: That, as the Court at preſent was crouded with his declared Enemies, he did not think it ſafe for him to come; being perſuaded, they would either, by Fraud or open Force, deſtroy and cut him off.

The King and Miniſtry grant a Protection to his Perſon.

The Nobility, having this Evaſion communicated to them by the King, that Douglaſs might be left without Excuſe, determined, with his Majeſty's Approbation in Council, to grant him an ample Security for his Perſon under the Great Seal, ſigned by his Majeſty and all the Officers of State, aſſuring him of Protection and Safety; provided, in Obedience to his Majeſty's Order, he came directly to Court. The Earl of Douglaſs, upon Receipt of this by one of the King's Meſſengers, prepared himſelf, with a numerous and grand Retinue of Nobility and Gentry, to go to Court; and accordingly, in few Days, went thither. Lord Douglaſs with a grand Retinue comes to Court.

The King receives him well.

Upon the Appearance of Lord Douglaſs and his Attendants at Stirling, where the Court then reſided, the King received them very graciouſly. My Lord was entertained at Supper with his Majeſty: After which, the King retired with him to his Cloſet, to talk in private; none of the Officers of State or Privy-Councillors being allowed to be preſent. The King, in an affectionate and fatherly Manner, firſt reminded my Lord Douglaſs of the Bravery and Glory of his Anceſtors, in the Cauſe of his Country at home, and abroad in France; begged of him to keep in View, the Dignity and the Obligations of his high Station; his great Capacity to do Good; and the Honour which would be annexed to his Conduct, if ſuitable to his Degree of Life, and to that public Spirit and Concern for the Proſperity of his Country which ought to reign and rule thro' all his public Conduct. His Majeſty ſubjoined, that he could not but be ſenſible of the many Indignities he had offered to his royal Authority, and the heinous Offences he had committed againſt his King and Country; yet his Majeſty, out of Love and Regard to him, generouſly forgave him all: But the League and Aſſociation with the Lords Crawford, Roſs, Murray, and others, was of ſo dangerous and ſo inſulting a Nature, and ſo highly provoking to his Majeſty, that he could not be fully ſatisfied, without a full Diſſolution and final Abolition of ſuch an encroaching, unlawful and unprecedented Deed, which was an open Defiance to his Sovereignty, and a plain Demonſtration, not only of Contempt, but Oppoſition, to the regal Prerogative and Power. This League and Confederacy, ſo oppoſite to Duty and

The King in private Conference with Lord Douglaſs.

The Subſtance of the King's Exhortations to Douglaſs.

and Subjection, his Majeſty could not look upon, but as deſigned to force him into unreaſonable Conceſſions, and to be as a powerful Check to threaten him for exerciſing his lawful and neceſſary Authority againſt Offenders: The King therefore inſiſted with the Earl, that he ſhould directly renounce and diſſolve this Confederacy; thereby to give his Majeſty, convincing Proof of his faithful Loyalty and Affection for his Perſon and Government.

The King inſiſts upon the Repeal and Diſſolution of the unlawful Confederacy.

The Earl of Douglaſs, gave the King full Satisfaction in every Point, and the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his ſincere Attachment to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; the League and Confederacy only excepted: At which the King appearing greatly offended and reſolute in this Point, he put my Lord Douglaſs into great Confuſion and Uneaſineſs; who notwithſtanding anſwered the King, when cloſely preſſed to diſſolve that unjuſt and rebellious Union, That this Requeſt of his Majeſty he could not comply with; that his Majeſty had no Reaſon to take the leaſt Concern at his Confederacy with the other Nobility, becauſe it was no Way to the Hurt of his Majeſty's Government; nor had it any Tendency to make Alterations or Innovations in the Conſtitution of the Kingdom.

The Earl of Douglaſs by his rebellious Obſtinacy provokes the King to ſtab him.

The King provoked and enraged at the Obſtinacy of Lord Douglaſs, and his undutiful Behaviour, anſwered him, with Emotion, "If you wont break this Confederacy, I will." Upon which, the King drew his Dagger, with great Fury, and run my Lord Douglaſs through the Breaſt. Such of the Lords and others in waiting, as were next the Door, upon the Noiſe of the Struggle, ruſhed in and finiſhed, by many Wounds, the Tragedy the King had begun. Sir Patrick Gray gave him the next Wound after the King.

The King after he had ſtabbed my Lord Douglaſs was ſeconded by all the Nobility in waiting.

This tragical Fate of the Earl of Douglaſs happened the 22d Day of February 1452. He was cut off, as the juſt Reward of his repeated intolerable and moſt hateful Encroachments upon the Rights of the Crown; he, and his Confederates, having no Argument, no Colour, to ſupport or defend their horrid Abuſes, their Contempt of all Law, Order and Government.

Douglaſs's violent Death was his own Procurement.

In ſo deſperate and malignant a political Diſtemper in the State, after the Experiment of all other Remedies and Applications without Succeſs, the King by his Character, Rank and Power, was under Neceſſity, for the Preſervation of himſelf and his People, to apply the moſt effectual Remedy, though deſperate, and the laſt to be made Uſe of. Delays and the Obſervation of Forms, in ſuch Caſes, produce greater Dangers and more pernicious univerſal Evils; and, of two Evils, the leaſt is to be preferred. The Removal of the Earl of Douglaſs was not a Deed of Choice; it was abſolutely neceſſary, and the native Production and Conſequence of his own Uſurpation and Reſiſtance of regal, lawful and true Sovereignty. Few, of the whole Kingdom, loaded his Majeſty with any Fault in this Event. His Majeſty was preſſed upon, he was deſpiſed, and his Government of the Kingdom interrupted. Douglaſs, and his Confederates, not only authoriſed private Rapine and Robberies, but robbed his Majeſty of his juſt Rights, and the Authority placed in his Perſon. Therefore the uſing Douglaſs as a Robber, of the firſt Magnitude, was rewarding him in Quality of his Profeſſion and Undertaking.

The King's Power and Dignity aſſerted.

The Behaviour of Douglaſs was beyond all Bounds, and inſupportable.

This Event of the Slaughter of the Earl of Douglaſs, embroiled the whole Kingdom in a civil War. His Confederates and Friends were many and powerful: Upon the Loſs of their Head they all became outrageous, and behaved as Men void of Reaſon or any Principles of Humanity.

The firſt Hint, by which his Retinue, who waited in Stirling Town for his Return from the Caſtle, underſtood that Douglaſs was cut off, was by a ſecret Meſſage, ſent from a Friend at Court to Sir James Hamilton of Cadihow, with a Pair of gilt Spurs, covered betwixt two Platters. This gave the Signal for Flight. Immediately after, the News from Stirling-Caſtle ſpread over Stirling Town, that the Earl of Douglaſs had been killed by the King the Night before: Upon this Surprize, the Nobility and Gentry, who waited for my Lord Douglaſs's Return, with his three Brothers the Earls of Ormond and Murray, and his younger Brother James, through the Violence of their Rage and Reſentment, go over the Town committing all Manner of Extravagancies, reviling and libelling the King openly in the Streets; threatning Deſtruction to him, and all who ſhould take Part in his Defence.

The News of Douglaſs's Death occaſioned great Confuſion.

The Friends of Douglaſs unite in a Conſpiracy to be avenged of the King.

However, next Morning, being a little more cool, and recovering the Shock of the Surprize, they held a Conſultation together, to determine upon the proper Meaſures, in their preſent Danger, to preſerve themſelves from the juſt Reſentment of his Majeſty's Power, ſo trampled upon and inſulted. The Reſult of their Deliberation was, firſt, to declare James the Biſhop, the deceaſed Earl's younger Brother, now Earl of Douglaſs; and, next, to retire into the Country, to get themſelves and all their Friends and Allies in Readineſs, with the greateſt Diligence, to take the Field, and to attack all the Forts and Palaces belonging to his Majeſty.

The Particulars of their Conſultation.

This being done, the Day for their general Rendezvous and Muſter was fixed to the firſt of April; on which Day, they accordingly aſſembled with a conſiderably Army. They firſt came to Stirling, to inſult the King and to bid him Defiance. They took a Horſe to the Market-Place of Stirling; and, having tied faſt a Rope to his Tail, they fixed a long Label in Capitals to the Rope; and thus drew the Horſe through the Streets of Stirling. Upon this the Crouds and Multitudes began, in a tumultuous Manner, to commit great Outrages. The Label was read, with Shoutings and Blowing of Trumpets, in the following Words: "The "King, and his Counſel, and all his Court, are perjured Perſons, Truce-breakers and Enemies "to all good Men."

After

Stirling plundered and burnt by the Rebels.

After this Parade and Inſult upon the King, in the Town of Stirling, the Rebels, ſuſpecting that Town in the King's Intereſt, ordered it to be plundered; and, after their Departure, they ſent back Sir James Hamilton to ſet Fire to it. Thus they proceeded all over the Country, carrying Fire and Sword into the Eſtates of all whom they ſuſpected attached to his Majeſty. From Edinburgh they proceeded to Dalkeith: Here they ſat down with their whole Force, and ſolemnly engaged themſelves by Oath never to depart from the Place, 'till they had reduced it, and had made it a Heap of Ruins.

Douglaſſes attack Dalkeith-Caſtle.

Are repulſed.

The Caſtle of Dalkeith was the Manſion-Houſe and Seat of one Douglaſs, a near Relation of the Earl of Douglaſs; but, becauſe he diſliked their rebellious Practices and violent Meaſures, and was ſteady and faithful to the King's Intereſt, they perſecuted and reſolved to ruin him. The Caſtle of Dalkeith however, being well provided and prepared for a Defence againſt any Attack, after a long and tedious Siege, forced the Douglaſſes to retire with conſiderable Loſs.

Enraged at this Diſappointment, the Rebels marched their Force into the Lands of the Earl of Angus, whoſe Crime was his Loyalty and Reſolution to the King's Intereſt and Support; therefore they ſpread a Face of Deſolation over his whole Eſtate.

The King levies an Army to oppoſe the Rebels.

The King levied an Army and took the Field, to ſtop their rapid and outrageous Incurſions into all Quarters; but, by the Advice of his Council and the Clergy, he wiſely declined riſking an Engagement with the Douglaſſes, who were far ſuperior in Numbers, 'till joined by the Reinforcements marching up from the North, under the Command of the Earl of Huntley.

In the mean Time, his Majeſty iſſued his circular Letters to all the Nobility and Gentry over the Kingdom, to notify to them the Reaſons of cutting off the Earl of Douglaſs; and what important, powerful, yea irreſiſtible Reaſons for the public Welfare, forced his Majeſty to be the Actor of that Tragedy. The Nation was, according to their Alliances and Connections, differently affected; and therefore divided in their Sentiments on this Head.

Lord Huntley marches to join the King.

The Earl of Huntley marched South, with all Speed, to join the King's Army; but my Lord Crawford, having Intelligence of all his Motions, had got the Advantage of Huntley, and had aſſembled a great Body of Men well armed, to interrupt the Junction of Huntley with the King's Army. He advanced therefore, with great Diſpatch, to Brechen, to diſpute the Paſſage with Huntley. The Earl of Huntley, within few Miles of Brechen, had Advice, from his Scouts, that Crawford was in full March to oppoſe him; and, having a good Army and determined to fight, he reſolved to riſk an Engagement with him. My Lord Huntley had in his Army, the Forbeſes, Irvins, Ogilvies, Grants, Leſlys and Gordons. He gave them large Tracts of Land, as Encouragements to ſpirit up their Bravery, and to make tnem faithful to his Majeſty's Intereſt.

Is attacked by Lord Crawford.

The Earl of Crawford, having formed his Army, bore down, with great Warmth and Fury, upon the Lord Huntley's Center, which began to give Way; but the Right and Left ſupported the Charge with great Bravery, tho' the Lord Crawford's Men had the Advantage by their Arms, which were Battle-axes, Spears, Broad-ſwords and Targets; and the Highlanders only the Broad-ſword and Target.

Colace juſtly ruins Crawford, by deſerting with the Left Wing.

But, in the Heat of the Action, in the moſt critical Moment, John Colace of Bonnymoon, who commanded the Left Wing in my Lord Crawford's Army, wherein the Choice of their Troops were, filed off and carried away his whole Wing, out of ſecret Reſentment to the Earl of Crawford, who had denied him a moſt equitable Demand. According to the Eſtabliſhment of the Scots Law, the Superior of Lands, upon the Death of any of his Vaſſals, had the Right of Inveſtiture in his Perſon; ſo that the next Heir to the Vaſſal's Eſtate could not be legally put in Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, without a Precept or Warrant under the Hand and Seal of the Superior. The Earl of Crawford was Superior of John Colace's Eſtate of Bonnymoon; and, the Night before the Engagement, Colace, in a reſpectful and dutiful Manner, begged the Favour of the Earl to grant him his Precept or Warrant, for his Son to take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, in caſe of his being killed in the Battle, which was expected next Day. This reaſonable Demand the Lord Crawford abſolutely denied him; therefore, Colace determined next Day to be even with him.

Lord Huntley obtains the Victory.

No ſooner had Colace carried off the Left Wing of Crawford's Army, than the Earl of Huntley's Men received, by this Alteration, ſuch an Acceſſion of Strength and Spirit, as enabled them to renew their Attack with redoubled Vigor: So that, tho' in the Beginning the Earl of Crawford had the immediate Proſpects of Victory, by this ſudden and ſurprizing Incident, the Enemy got the Advantage, and forced my Lord Crawford with his Men to a ſhameful Flight; while the Earl of Huntley kept the Field.

Crawford now deals in low Game.

Lord Crawford's Army, broke with the Loſs of this Day, were not in Condition to attempt or execute any Enterprize of Conſequence; but contented themſelves with ſeizing and plundering Noblemen and Gentlemens Country Seats, and ruining their Eſtates by Depredations.

The Earl of Huntley avenged of Murray.

The Earl of Huntley, though victorious, thought it expedient not to proſecute his intended Junction, 'till he had returned and ſtrengthened his Army. The Earl of Murray, having raiſed all his Men and been joined by ſome of the Clans, entered my Lord Huntley's Eſtate, with a Body of ſome Thouſands; ſacrificing all to the boundleſs Rage and Avarice of his indiſciplined and ungovernable Tribe. The Earl of Huntley, by forced Marches, ſoon got up with him, and ſo diſciplined him and his Banditti, that he not only quitted with Loſs and Precipitation his Situation at Strathbogie; but being cloſely purſued by the Earl of Huntley, he

The County of Murray is laid waſte.

was forced to deſert his own County, Murray, and leave it to the Mercy and Property of his Enemy. As the Earl of Murray had burnt down the Earl of Huntley's fine Seat of Strathbogie, and the Town; the Earl of Huntley, in his Turn, deſtroyed all my Lord Murray's fine Houſes, and thoſe of his Friends and Vaſſals, as far as Inverneſs.

My Lord Huntley is moſt graciouſly received by the King.

The Earl of Huntley received great Favours from the King.

When thus my Lord Huntley had finiſhed the Reduction and Conqueſt of Murray, and ſecured himſelf from any Attack in his Abſence, he went to wait on his Majeſty to give him full Intelligence of all he had executed, and the Reaſons of his not advancing with his Army to join his Majeſty. The King received him with the greateſt Affection and Regard, and teſtified in Public his high Approbation of my Lord Huntley's Bravery and faithful Conduct. The Earl had many Marks of the Royal Favour conferred upon him: His Majeſty put him in immediate Poſſeſſion of all Lochaber * and Badenoch †, in Reward of his good Services to the Government.

The Earl of Crawford, a heavy Man in Underſtanding.

The Earl of Crawford, and his Brother Sir John Lindſay, being deſerted in the Field of Battle by their Men, were forced to fly, with great Confuſion and Fright, to the Caſtle of Finhaven, now in Poſſeſſion of the Carneagies, a Family of great Note in the County of Forfar. The Earl of Crawford, who was a Man of an Underſtanding far inferior to his Rank, was heard, in an abſurd Manner, the Day after the Engagement, to expreſs in public Company, that he could bear with ſeven Years Confinement in Hell; provided, he could have accompliſhed ſuch great Matters as my Lord Huntley had done for the King's Intereſt; and had the Honours which he was certain would be beſtowed on him by his royal Maſter.

A Parliament is ſummoned.

After this Action at Brechen, which happened the 18th Day of May 1452, and the Conqueſt of Murray by the Earl of Huntley, the King, by the Advice and Approbation of the Privy-council and Clergy, ſummoned the Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, for the Diſpatch of ſeveral weighty and important Affairs, and to ſecure the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom. The firſt thing taken into Conſideration by Parliament, was the Rebellion excited and promoted in the Nation by the Earl of Douglaſs, and the Nobility his Confederates, over the whole Kingdom. The Parliament, after full Examination of all Circumſtances as to this national Affair, ordered their Heralds and Meſſengers at Arms to ſummon the Earls of Douglaſs, Ormond, Murray, Crawford, Roſs, and many other of the Nobility, to appear before the Parliament to anſwer for their Conduct.

The Douglaſſes ordered to appear.

They renounce Allegiance, and refuſe to obey.

The Faction of the Douglaſſes, profeſs open Rebellion and Diſobedience to the Crown.

Inſtead of obeying the Order of the King and Parliament, the Earl of Douglaſs, in high Contempt of parliamentary Authority, ordered the Meſſengers to be gone; and, the Night after, ſent Numbers of Fellows to all Quarters and Corners, to fix up defamatory and ſeditious Libels upon all public Buildings, Cities, Market-croſſes, and Places of public Reſort, to expoſe and ridicule the King and his Parliament, in expreſs Terms; telling the King, they were determined not to truſt their Lives in his Hands, nor to his packed Parliament; becauſe he and his Predeceſſors had not only perfidiouſly, and contrary to all ſolemn Faith, murdered and butchered their Kinſman formerly, but of late the King had become the traitorous Cut-throat and Murderer of the late Lord Douglaſs; which was below and unworthy of the Honour and ſacred Ties of a King, to his faithful and uſeful Subjects. Therefore he, the now Earl of Douglaſs, and all who adhered to him, abſolutely refuſed Obedience, and denied all Subjection to him; conſidering him as their declared Enemy, and the Deſtroyer of his Subjects.

Their Eſtates forfeited, and given to others.

Upon this audacious and uncommon Attack made by the Douglaſſes againſt the King and Parliament, the Parliament unanimouſly declared them, and all their Confederates, Rebels to the Crown, and Traitors to their Country, ordered their Perſons to be attainted, and their Eſtates forfeited. The Eſtates of the Douglaſſes were given to different Lords and Gentlemen, to encourage and to fortify them in the King's Intereſt. The King, to make the parliamentary Authority effectual, ordered his Army to march, and to take Poſſeſſion of Annandale, and all other Eſtates of the Douglaſſes and their Brothers: But, after they had done this, the Approach of the Winter and cold Weather, obliged the King to put the Army into Winter Quarters, with Intent however to take the Field early in the Spring.

The Earl of Douglaſs marries his Siſter-in-Law; and ſo preſerves his Brother's Eſtate in the Family.

The Earl of Douglaſs, tho' formerly a Biſhop and ſtill in holy Orders, not being too nice and ſcrupulous as to Women, and willing to ſtrain a Point of Conſcience, good Morals, and Chriſtianity, where there was an advantageous Conſideration and a Certainty of Increaſe to his Fortune to follow upon it, ſent over to the Pope for a Ratification and Diſpenſation from his Holineſs of original Impurity, to legitimate his Marriage with his Brother's Wife Beatrix: He firſt married her, then aſked if it would be lawful; judging right in Point of Fact, tho' not in Reaſon, that his Poſſeſſion of her would ſecure her Adherence to him, and effectually annex both her and his Brother's Eſtate to the Family. But the King's Army continued to execute the parliamentary Orders, and to make the Forfeitures effectual; ſo that the Lord Douglaſs, tho' poſſeſſed of a moſt opulent Eſtate, was now much harraſſed and reduced to great Extremities: Therefore his Friends were much concerned, and laboured hard to perſuade him to an abſolute

* Lochaber is the Country ſurrounding Inverlochy, or Fort William; and along the Banks of Lochie River; of which, in it's proper Place.

† Badenoch is the vaſt Extent of Land from Ruthven on the Spey, all the Way to Inverneſs; including the Eſtates of the M'Intoſhes and M'Phersons, as well as the Gordons.

abſolute Submiſſion and Reſignation to the King's Pleaſure, to make Offer to his Majeſty of returning to Duty and Loyalty, and to give the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances to the King of his future untainted and zealous Affection, Fidelity, and chearful Subjection to his Majeſty's Authority, and of his ſincere and hearty Attachment to his Perſon and Government, if his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to pardon all paſt Offences, and to reſtore him to his Eſtate and Honours. But, ſuch was the Hatred of the Earl of Douglaſs to the King and Court, and ſuch his fixed Reſentment againſt them for the Murder of his Brother, that his Anſwer to his Friends was, That he never would ſubmit to their Power; for they were reſtrained by no Bounds of Modeſty, nor by Laws divine or humane; they had inticed his Couſin, and even of late his Brother, to Court, and, in Oppoſition to royal Faith, had murdered them: He therefore would ſuffer all Extremities rather than ſubject himſelf to ſuch vile Men.

The Earl of Douglaſs's Friends perſuade him to ſubmit to the King.

The Earl of Douglaſs abſolutely refuſed.

Theſe Sentiments, and this Reſolution, were the Effects of the Fire and Spirit of his Youth. Some approved of them; others wiſely judged he carried Matters too high; that his Friends and Followers were ſo preſſed and drove to ſuch Hardſhips, that they might poſſibly ſoon be under Neceſſity of begging for Terms, and of ſubmitting to his Majeſty; and, if the Lord Douglaſs were once deſerted by all his Confederates, the King and Parliament would make an eaſy and compleat Sacrifice of his Life and Fortune.

The Opinion of his Friends.

They judged in part right; for the Earl of Crawford, waſted and tired out with a long, deſtructive and unſucceſsful War, watch'd his Opportunity, when the King was in the County of Forfar or Angus; and, putting himſelf in the moſt deplorable and mean Habit, without Wig or Cap, bare-headed, kneeled down in Tears to his Majeſty, as he croſſed the Road. Having obtained his Majeſty's Attention, and of thoſe who attended his Perſon, he, after a ſhort Introduction to make himſelf known to the King, in few Words, recapitulated to his Majeſty the great and public Services of his Anceſtors; and confeſſing his late Crimes, Miſdemeanors, and Rebellion, againſt the King, he ſubmitted his Life, his all, to his Majeſty's Clemency and merciful Pleaſure; ſolemnly aſſuring the King, that, for the future Part of his Life, he ſhould demonſtrate himſelf a moſt loyal and faithful Subject; and do every thing to teſtify his Duty, Gratitude, and Zeal for his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.

The Earl of Crawford ſubmits to the King, is pardoned, and reſtored to Favour.

The King, from his ſolemn Oath, and ſuch ſtrong Aſſurances, gave him unlimited Pardon, reſtored him to his royal Favour, and put him into peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate:—An indubitable Indication of a great and good Spirit in the King. The Earl of Crawford behaved ſo, in conſequence of his Majeſty's Gentleneſs and great Goodneſs, as ſoon convinced the King he was worthy of the Favour and Clemency ſhewn to him: He ever after ſupported the King's Intereſt with all his Power and Influence; and was of very important Service to the King, in bringing the Nation again to a peaceable State.

Is reſtored to Honours and Eſtate.

After this, always behaved well.

The Detachment of the Earl of Crawford, and others, from my Lord Douglaſs, drove him to ſuch Difficulties, that the only remaining Support he had to depend upon, was from England; therefore he meditates an Application to the Engliſh to join him, and to invade Scotland, ſo as to force Terms for himſelf. He ſent, upon this Errand, Sir James Hamilton to the Court of London, to ſolicit their engaging with him to invade his own Country, and to attack the King of Scotland. Hamilton having laid his Inſtructions before the King of England, and his Council, the Anſwer he received from the Engliſh Court, was every way ſuitable to the baſe Deſign. The Court of London ordered Sir James Hamilton to acquaint the Earl of Douglaſs, That they would not agree to declare War againſt Scotland, nor, in any Shape, aid or ſupport my Lord Douglaſs, except he would in Writing bind himſelf to ſubmit, ever after, to the Crown of England; and ſolemnly engage, to acknowlege himſelf, and all his, Subjects of England; for ever renouncing his own Country.

Sir James Hamilton is ſent upon a ſecret Embaſſy to London by the Earl of Douglaſs.

The Anſwer of the Engliſh.

Thus he was mortified and diſappointed, in all his Deſigns, againſt his own King; and beſet at home, with all the Miſeries of Devaſtation, Forfeitures, Seizures, and conſtant Dread, from the King's Army, which ſurrounded him. In theſe, his perplexed and involved Circumſtances, Sir James Hamilton gave him his Opinion; which he accepted and followed; to aſſemble his whole Force, and to make up the beſt Army he could muſter; to put the whole upon the Hazard of a Battle, it being preferable to die gallantly, and with Honour, than be at the Mercy of an ungenerous Enemy: "This, ſaid Hamilton, is worthy of the great and "noble Family of the Douglaſſes, not to ſubmit, but die." Douglaſs, upon this, having uſed all poſſible Diligence, rais'd his whole Force; his Friends and Vaſſals joined him, and they marched firſt to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle of Abercorn*.

Sir James Hamilton perſuades Douglaſs to aſſemble an Army.

Douglaſs marches to attack the King.

When both Armies came in Sight of each other, a Council of War was called in my Lord Douglaſs's Army, in which the General Officers, and Friends of my Lord Douglaſs, inſiſted to hazard an Action, which might determine the Fate of all in his Favour: But the Earl of Douglaſs, contrary to the Mind of the whole Army, diſpirited aud faint-hearted, retreated in the Night with his whole Army to the Camp from whence they marched.

Shamefully retires.

This ſo provoked and diſappointed his Army, that moſt of his Friends deſerted him: Sir James Hamilton got off, and went over to the King; but, tho' he had diſcloſed the bad State of Douglaſs's Affairs to the King and his Generals, yet, being an artful cunning Man, they were unwilling to truſt him: Therefore, after full Examination, the King ordered him Priſoner to Roſline Caſtle, about four Miles from Edinburgh, and there to remain until

Hamilton deſerts Douglaſs, and goes over to the King.

* Abercorn, on a Hill, about nine Miles Weſt of Edinburgh.

until further Orders: However, the King pardoned him at length; and, by the Interceſſion of Friends, in ſome ſhort Time he was ſet at Liberty.

The Caſtle of Abercorn taken, and the Garriſon put to the Sword.

The Douglaſſes Army being thus broke, their Garriſon at Abercorn was left to the Mercy of the Enemy. The King's Army beſieged it ſo warmly, that it was ſoon taken by Storm, and the Garriſon put to the Sword. The Caſtle was intirely demoliſhed, except ſome Remnants of broken Walls left to be a Monument of the Victory.

Upon this, the Earl of Douglaſs, with ſome of his neareſt Relations and Friends, being in no Capacity to ſtand their Ground, fled into England; and there remained until he had collected a Body of Men; with which he returned, plundering and harraſſing the Eſtates of thoſe, upon the Borders of Scotland, who were attached to the King.

In Annandale, however, he was met with by the King's Forces; who defeated him, killed Archibald Earl of Murray, took George his other Brother Priſoner, much wounded, and diſperſed all the Party.

In an Encounter after this, Douglaſs is totally routed. Douglaſs is much reduced.

After this Defeat, my Lord Douglaſs, with his Brother John only, were forced to make their Eſcape into England; and the King ordered George Lord Ormond to be brought up to Court, cured of his Wounds, and then put to Death.

Douglaſs, now in England with his only ſurviving Brother John, was in a deplorable and low Condition. Being afraid of the Engliſh, and ignorant how to ſave himſelf, in Deſpair he applied himſelf to Donald of the Iſles to join him, and to unite their Forces againſt King James.

Lords Roſs and Douglaſs join in a Confederacy.

Donald, a Man of a fierce Spirit and a Lover of War, ſoon agreed to the Propoſal made by the Earl of Douglaſs: They met ſecretly at Dunſtaffnage-Caſtle, and concerted their Meaſures in what Manner they ſhould begin their Operations after taking the Field. They conducted their Matters with great Secreſy, and raiſed their Men with great Expedition and Succeſs.

The Douglaſſes are proſcribed.

While they are thus employed, the King and Parliament, now ſitting at Edinburgh, upon the fifth of June 1455, proſcribed and outlawed James Earl of Douglaſs, John his Brother, and Beatrix who married the Earl: So that now the Remains of the Douglaſs Faction were expoſed to the whole Power and Reſentment of the Law; and had no Way to eſcape Puniſhment, but by deſperate and violent Meaſures.

The Earl thus, as the laſt Effort, was obliged to enter into the moſt deſtructive Meaſures for the Ruin of his Country, by this Confederacy with the Earl of Roſs Lord of the Iſles, who, as aforementioned, was a Man of the moſt active, fierce and turbulent Nature, abſolute and tyrannical in all his Proceedings, and of Principles deſtructive to all Order, Peace, and Harmony.

The civil War revived.

This Lord, with the Earl of Douglaſs, take the Field in great Pomp; and attack the King's Forts and Garriſons in different Quarters. The Earl of Douglaſs, according to their Agreement, was to head an Army of Engliſh, and reduce all the Southern and Weſt Parts of Scotland: The Earl of Roſs, further to embarraſs the King and the Miniſtry, was to attack the North and North-weſt Part of the Kingdom; ſo as to put it out of his Majeſty's Power to reſiſt their Arms from over-running and ſubjecting the whole Kingdom to their own Terms.

The North ravaged by the Lord of the Iſles. The Lord of the Iſles viſits with Fire and Sword all his Enemies.

The firſt Places, attacked by the Lord Roſs, were thoſe adjacent to Dunſtaffnage; which he ſoon forced to Submiſſion. Then, with Fire and Sword, the Lord Roſs's Men came down upon Arran and Argyle; where, having loaded themſelves with Booty, they returned home. Next, they marched into Lochaber and the County of Murray, ſerving them in the ſame Manner. After this, they attacked Inverneſs, took the Caſtle, plundered the Town, and then reduced it to Aſhes. At the ſame Time, the Engliſh were powerful and ſucceſsful in their Invaſions and Incurſions on the South and South-eaſt Borders of Scotland.

Lady Douglaſs flies to the King and betrays her Lord's Secrets.

Beatrix, Wife to the late and now to the preſent Lord Douglaſs, taking the Opportunity of her Lord's Abſence, went over to the King, and diſcloſed all the Lord Douglaſs's ſecret Deſigns and Enterprizes to his Majeſty; loading her Huſband with the Guilt of all that had happened to the Hurt of his Majeſty's Intereſt.

The King graciouſly received the Lady into Favour, ſettled an Annuity upon her, and encouraged her to be loyal and dutiful; for which ſhe ever after continued moſt grateful and faithful to the King's Intereſt.

Lady Roſs does the ſame.

Upon theſe Diſorders and Commotions over the Kingdom, the Lady Roſs likewiſe, Wife to the Earl of Roſs Lord of the Iſles, made her Eſcape, and implored the King's Protection. She was received and ſupported by his Majeſty, and ſoon after a genteel Appointment ſettled upon her, to prevent her Return to her Huſband; who, becauſe of her Fidelity to the King, had uſed her with great Coolneſs, Indifference and Contempt.

The Nation in general in Diſorder.

Amidſt theſe Troubles and Confuſion in the State, Murders and Slaughters daily happened. Patrick Thornton, one of Douglaſs's Faction, baſely murdered Allen Stewart and John Sunderland, both Gentlemen of Fortune and Diſtinction, near Dumbarton: But the Action appeared, even to his own Party, ſo hateful and ſo baſe, that they cut him off for ſuch an unfair Murder.

The Earl of Roſs advanced Southward, and threatened the Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom. This Year wore a fatal Aſpect to the Nation, by great but dark Events. Sir William Creighton, the Lord Chancellor, died, in an advanced Age, much regretted. The King loſt ſeveral more of his beſt Friends; particularly, the Earls of Huntley and Angus.

The

This Year, remarkable for great Events, was a Period of Time which preſented a Variety of Scenes and Changes in the State. The Chancellor being dead, the great Difficulty was to fix upon a Perſon, who could, in all Reſpects, be his Succeſſor; for he had, from the Reign of James the Firſt, and from his firſt Appearance as an Officer of State, ſo conducted himſelf with uniform Reſolution and Integrity, as to be capable to overthrow and defeat all the Deſigns of his Enemies, to diſentangle himſelf of all the Difficulties in which they wanted to involve him; and, in the Event of all, he demonſtrated not only to the King, but to the whole Nation, that his Genius, his Knowlege, and his ſound Judgment, were equal to his high Truſt; and that his Integrity and Fidelity to his King and Country were above Reproach, and a Pattern of Imitation to all future Miniſters of State. The King at length however made Choice of the Primate of St. Andrews to ſucceed Lord Creighton, as Chancellor of Scotland. This Year likewiſe, Hay Earl of Arrole, and Creighton Lord Cathneſs, died, to the King's great Loſs.

Lord Chancellor Creighton's Character.

The Primate of St. Andrews ſucceeds him.

Lords Arrole and Cathneſs die.

William Turnbull, Archbiſhop of Glaſcow, a Gentleman of public Spirit, and of a juſt Notion for poliſhing and reforming the Genius and Manners of the Nation, founded this Year, 1455, the Univerſity of Glaſcow; which, ever ſince, has been the Seat of the Muſes and their favourite Reſort; a Seminary which has increaſed and been greatly ſucceſsful in the Promotion of true Learning; and where Arts and Sciences have been taught and encouraged by ſucceeding Numbers of ingenious and learned Men. This learned Body is now arrived to a large and opulent Eſtabliſhment, is a moſt flouriſhing and elegant Nurſery of Learning for the Education of all Noblemen and Gentlemen, and is well appointed with eminent and ingenious Profeſſors and Teachers in the ſeveral Branches of Literature. But of this Univerſity, I ſhall have Occaſion to treat more fully in the geographical Part of this Hiſtory.

Archbiſhop Turnbull founds the Univerſity of Glaſcow.

When the King, by Advice of his Council, wanted to compoſe the Nation, and bring Matters to a more calm and ſerene State, to his great Embarraſſment, the out-lawed Earl of Douglaſs, with his Aſſociate the Earl of Northumberland Henry Piercy, invaded Scotland and over-run the Mers, allowing full Power to their Army to deſtroy and carry away what they pleaſed. George Douglaſs, now Earl of Angus, who ſucceeded his Father lately deceaſed, though a Relation of the exil'd Earl; yet, being as loyal and true to his King as his Father had been, raiſed an Army to oppoſe the Progreſs and Inſults of the Enemy againſt his Country. The Earl of Angus fell in with ſome of the detached Parties of the Engliſh, whom he attacked and routed.

The Progreſs of the Rebels.

Are oppoſed by the young Earl of Angus.

He routs a Party of the Rebels.

Upon this, the Earl of Northumberland, with his Ally the Earl of Douglaſs, called in all their Parties; and, having united their whole Force, they marched forward towards Edinburgh. But the Scots Army intercepted them upon their March; and, being well prepared for the Engliſh, they ſaluted them ſo warmly, that, after many Hours bloody Work, the Engliſh loſt the Field, and were forced to fly with great Precipitation. Great Numbers of them were killed in the Purſuit, and among them many Perſons of Diſtinction. King James received the News of this Victory with great Pleaſure, and was much relieved from the Apprehenſions of Danger he was under from the Engliſh.

The Engliſh and Scots Rebels united are totally vanquiſhed.

The Earl of Douglaſs's bad Succeſs in this Attempt, together with the Loſſes ſuſtained by his Faction in the North, and all their Affairs turning out badly, engaged the Earl of Roſs, the Lord of the Iſles, to ſubmit himſelf to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. Donald therefore ſends a ſolemn Deputation of ſome of his Friends, of the beſt Rank, to wait on his Majeſty and make their Interceſſion for his royal Pardon, and that he might be allowed to come to Court, and make his moſt humble Acknowlegements and Submiſſion to his Majeſty. But his Rebellion had been carried on with ſuch Outrages and Violence, with ſo much Murder, Barbarity, and Rapine, that the King refuſed to receive or admit him to his royal Preſence; and anſwered the Friends of Donald, that, if he repented of his abominable and rebellious Practices, the beſt Proof he could give his Majeſty of the Sincerity of his Repentance, was by Reſtitution and Reparation to all whom he had cruelly robbed, plundered and ruined; and by giving ſuch indubitable Evidences in his future Conduct of uniform Loyalty and good Services to his Majeſty, as would convince him that he heartily repented of all his former Murders, inhumane Barbarities and Severity: That too much Lenity was unbecoming and indiſcreet in Majeſty; though Clemency, rightly applied, the Duty and Ornament of a King: That his Majeſty would give Donald of the Iſles Time to demonſtrate the Sincerity of his Repentance; and if, by the future Part of his Life, his Majeſty did experience certain Tokens of his Contrition and loyal Behaviour, he might be very eaſy and reſt ſatisfied, that the King would accept of him, and give him the Encouragement which a faithful and a good Subject merited.

Lord Roſs ſubmits to his Majeſty.

This prudent and wiſe Management of the King gave a Turn to the Face of Affairs: The Earl of Roſs accepted of his Majeſty's Anſwer; and, to re-eſtabliſh himſelf in the King's Favour, exerted himſelf in quelling the Outrage of Rebellion, and reſtoring Order in the State. The Kingdom therefore, unmoleſted by civil Commotions, was now in a perfect State of Tranquility, and Affairs ſucceeded well.

Lord Roſs inſtrumental in ſuppreſſing the Rebellion.

But, immediately after this Calm, his Majeſty received a ſolemn Embaſſy from the Nobility of England, who were of the Confederacy againſt the King, viz. The Duke of York and the Earls of Saliſbury and Warwick. The Ambaſſador came to demand Succours of King James to aid them againſt Henry the Sixth, then King of England; giving the moſt ſolemn Promiſes

An Embaſſy from England.

miſes and Aſſurances of perpetual Friendſhip and Fidelity, as true Allies to the Scots Nation, if they were properly and ſeaſonably ſupported by his Majeſty King James on this Occaſion.

The King's Anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

King James wiſely made Anſwer to the Ambaſſador, that he did not think it fair nor equitable to take upon him to encourage Rebellion and Diſobedience againſt his Neighbour King; or to take Advantage of his Diſtreſſes: That he was determined to have Reparation and Reſtitution for the Injuries done his Kingdom; and, if this could not be obtained in a peaceable and neighbourly Manner, he reſolved to aſſert his Rights by the Power of his Arms: But ſubjoined, that, if the Nobility were willing to give him poſitive Aſſurances of their reſtoring all to the Crown of Scotland, which had been diſmantled from it by the Incroachments of the Engliſh, he, upon their Faith and Signature for fulfilling this, would ſupply them, and ſupport their Intereſt with the Succours demanded.

King James marches againſt the Engliſh King.

King James, upon the Ambaſſador's Agreement to his Propoſals, aſſembled his Army, and got all ready for marching into England. But, juſt as his Majeſty had begun his March, he was accoſted, at the Head of his Army, by an Engliſh Impoſtor, accompanied by a large Retinue dreſſed, as well as himſelf, in foreign Habits. This Impoſtor, well inſtructed in his Buſineſs, and a perfect Maſter in the Wiles of Cunning and Deceit, received his Education at Rome, and was of the true Italian Caſt. He had only been ſent by Henry of England, but, to diſconcert the Meaſures of the Duke of York, acquainted his Majeſty King James, that he was come from his Holineſs the Pope, and delivered his Credentials accordingly, with counterfeited Letters from his Holineſs; wherein his Holineſs expreſsly inſiſted, under Pain of Excommunication in the moſt public and ſolemn Manner, that his Majeſty, the King of Scotland, ſhould immediately diſband all his Army, and not advance againſt the King of England; becauſe it was his Holineſs's fixed and determined Reſolution to unite all the Chriſtian Powers, in order to prepare and march their combined Armies againſt the common Enemies of Chriſtianity.

To gain this ſham Envoy the more Credit and Attention from the King, he had an artful Monk, a well-diſciplined and thoroughly inſtructed Tool of Romiſh Erudition, who cooked up and dreſſed all the impoſing Falſities of this Ambaſſador, ſo as to make them ſhine with the Glare of plain and certain Truths.

This mock Ambaſſador, thus colleagued, in the ſanctified Name of his Holineſs, inſiſts upon it, as his Maſter's poſitive Requeſt, that the King of Scotland ſhould proceed no further with his Army, but directly return and diſband them: That there was an Embaſſy now on the Road to back this Intimation, and to require Obedience from his Majeſty, under Pain of the higheſt Cenſures and the moſt ſolemn Denunciations of Wrath from the Holy See.

His March delayed by a Trick of the King of England.

The King of Scotland at this Time, infected with the ſame Ignorance which over-awed his Cotemporaries the other Princes of Europe, and inſpired with the ſame Dread and Apprehenſions from the Thunderbolts and terrible Broadſides of Rome, ſubmitted to this pretended and counterfeit Order. The impoſing Legate therefore, having ſucceeded in his Negociation and prevailed on the King to return to Scotland with his Army, immediately got off and diſappeared: But he was hardly got at any Diſtance from the King before the Impoſture was diſcovered, by a Meſſenger ſent Expreſs from the Duke of York. Upon which, his Majeſty, ſo affronted and deceived, ſent off to all Quarters to intercept this Pſeudo-Envoy and his prieſtly Tribe; but he was too nimble and well prepared for his Retreat to be thus catched: The Parties therefore, miſſing him, returned to the King.

The Cheat diſcovered.

The Impoſtor eſcapes.

King James reſumes his March againſt the King of England. Inveſts Roxborough.

Upon this, to make what Satisfaction he could to the Duke of York and his Party, King James again aſſembled his Forces, and proceeded to Roxborough-Caſtle, which had been taken from the Crown of Scotland by the Engliſh. King James, not having ſufficient Force yet arrived to carry on the Siege with Vigor, turned it into a Blockade. The Reaſon of the King's Attack upon this Place, was, that being a Frontier-Town and Caſtle, it might be a good Barrier, if recovered, to prevent the King of England's Forces from penetrating by this Quarter into Scotland.

The Duke of York ſends a Meſſage to King James.

While the King's Army was before Roxborough, a Meſſenger, Expreſs from the Duke of York, came to acquaint his Majeſty of the Defeat of the King of England, by the Duke of York's Army; and that this Event had put an End to the War: That the Duke of York returned Thanks to the King of Scotland, for his good Will and the Teſtimony given of his Deſire to aſſiſt him; and that he ſhould always be mindful to make proper Returns, as Opportunity offered; but in the mean Time inſiſted, that his Majeſty ſhould withdraw his Army from Roxborough, and deſiſt from all Hoſtilities in every Quarter of the Frontier.

Soon after this Meſſage, Ambaſſadors from the Duke of York arrived, charged with the ſame Inſtructions. King James received them very politely, but anſwered them, That the firſt Thing he expected from the Nobility of England, after their Victory, was a fair and equitable Surrender and Reſtitution of all the Places belonging to the Kingdom of Scotland, which had by Force been wreſted from them. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, they had nothing in Charge delivered to them concerning this, from the Duke of York and the other Nobility. To which his Majeſty replied:

The King's Anſwer.

"Before your Arrival I had firmly reſolved to demoliſh the Caſtle of Roxborough, which is an Encroachment upon my Kingdom; and I do not find your Embaſſy of ſuch a friendly and engaging Nature, as to force or allure me to alter my fixed and determined Purpoſe. Therefore,

fore, not finding my Obligations encreaſed by your preſent Meſſage, and deſpiſing the Threatenings either of the Nobility or People of England to me, I give you this for my Anſwer to them, That I am not to be removed from this Place by Words, but Blows. This, with my Compliments, I expect you will faithfully relate to the Nobility who ſent you."

The Ambaſſadors, thus diſmiſſed, returned with this Anſwer to the Duke of York and the other Nobility. The Ambaſſadors return.

King James carried on the Siege now with great Spirit and Warmth, being reinforced by Donald of the Iſles, Earl of Roſs, who joined the King's Army with a great Body of Men. The Earl of Roſs, upon his Arrival at the King's Camp, made Offer to his Majeſty to advance always upon the March above a Mile in Front of the Army, to ſtand the Fury and Strength of the Enemy's Attack in the firſt Charge, that he, with his Men, might demonſtrate to his Majeſty their hearty Zeal and Attachment to his Perſon and Government. This Offer of Donald of the Iſles to engage himſelf and his Men in the moſt deſperate Danger, for Support of his Majeſty's Cauſe, was to reconcile the King's Mind to him and make eaſy Acceſs, for obtaining a Pardon for his former groſs Crimes and Miſdemeanors. The Siege vigorouſly proſecuted. Lord Roſs joins the King.

Soon after the Arrival of Donald of the Iſles in the King's Camp, Alexander, now Earl of Huntley, joined the King with all his Force. Lord Huntley joins the King.

Upon theſe Reinforcements coming up, the King was determined to puſh the Siege with great Expedition, and to be Maſter of the Place at all Events. To make his Work the eaſier, he prepared a Train of Iron Ordnance for battering the Place; and, as they were battering to make a Breach for an Aſſault, the King, being equally diligent with any private Soldier, kept cloſe by the Canon, ordering and directing their Operations; but unhappily for his Majeſty, unregarding nor obſerving that ſome of the Canons were loaded, and that by the repeated continual firing the Metal was become very hot, one of theſe Canons, tho' not touched with the Match, went off and drove a Plug or Peg ſo as to beat the King down, and kill him on the Spot. The King killed by Accident.

The Nobility and Generals who ſurrounded the King, ſurprized and ſtunned with this diſcouraging Event, covered his Majeſty's Body, and concealed his Death with the greateſt Care and Secreſy; leſt it ſhould affect the Spirits of the whole Army.

The Queen this very fatal Day had but juſt arrived in the Camp. Upon ſo afflicting and intereſting an Event to her, ſhe acted with ſuch Serenity, Compoſure and Greatneſs of Mind, as to ſurprize all. She called the Nobility and Officers of State to a Council-extraordinary; and, when met in Council, thus addreſſed herſelf:

"My Lords,

"Be not diſheartened nor diſcouraged with the great Loſs of this fatal Day: I will bring a new King to you. When the Undertaking you are engaged in is ſo nigh accompliſhed, it would not be manly to retreat and leave it unfiniſhed. The Loſs of one, though very great and particularly piercing to me in the nigheſt Relation, yet is not to be made productive of the Loſs of Hundreds, nor of any Detriment to the Kingdom: But now is your Time to double your Activity and Reſolution, to finiſh what was ſo far advanced; and, by a vigorous Attack, to prevent any bad Conſequences from his Majeſty's Death being known and made public through the whole Army."

The Nobility, Generals, and Officers, amazed and ſtruck with the Bravery and Preſence of the Queen's Mind, ſo encouraged and ſpirited by her timely and well calculated Speech, made ſuch a vigorous Aſſault and warm Attack, as made the Enemy quite inſenſible of any Alteration or Loſs in the King's Army: The young King was prudently and ſecretly carried into the Camp, and acknowleged as King, by the Nobility, Generals, Officers, and the whole Army. Animated by the Queen the Scots make a vigorous Attack upon Roxborough Caſtle. The young King acknowledged.

The Engliſh, finding the Siege carried on with ſuch Spirit and Succeſs, and being much weaken'd in Numbers, Stores, and other Neceſſaries for Defence, they agreed to ſurrender the Caſtle; which they did, being allowed to march out with all their Baggage. Upon Surrender of Roxborough-Caſtle, the Walls and Fortifications were demoliſhed, and the whole razed, ſo as to be no future Reception for the Engliſh. Roxborough Caſtle ſurrenders.

King James, by this fatal firing of the Canon, was killed the Third of Auguſt, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his Age, and the Twenty-third of his Reign, in the Year 1460. The Loſs to the Kingdom of Scotland, by his Majeſty's Death, at this Period of Time, was great; for his natural Clemency and diſintereſted Love to all his Subjects; his cool, impartial, and penetrating Judgment, had been ſo fully experienced by all the Nation; his Steadineſs, Conduct, and Bravery, ſo proved, as now to make him not only be regarded as their King, but heartily and cordially to gain and fix the Affections of all his People, even thoſe who had been Enemies: All Parties and Denominations regretted, with real Sorrow, the Loſs of ſo great and good a Man, who, as King, exerciſed the Virtues of Mercy, Goodneſs, Bravery, Prudence, and Benevolence, to all; ſupporting his royal Dignity with Moderation, yet ſufficient Authority; who choſe to be feared from Love, rather than dreaded from Power and Danger, except when forced to Rigidity by deſperate and ungovernable Spirits. The King's Death lamented through the Nation.

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The Duke of York ſends a Meſſage to King James.

While the King's Army was before Roxborough, a Meſſenger, Expreſs from the Duke of York, came to acquaint his Majeſty of the Defeat of the King of England, by the Duke of York's Army; and that this Event had put an End to the War: That the Duke of York returned Thanks to the King of Scotland, for his good Will and the Teſtimony given of his Deſire to aſſiſt him; and that he ſhould always be mindful to make proper Returns, as Opportunity offered; but in the mean Time inſiſted, that his Majeſty ſhould withdraw his Army from Roxborough, and deſiſt from all Hoſtilities in every Quarter of the Frontier.

Soon after this Meſſage, Ambaſſadors from the Duke of York arrived, charged with the ſame Inſtructions. King James received them very politely, but anſwered them, That the firſt Thing he expected from the Nobility of England, after their Victory, was a fair and equitable Surrender and Reſtitution of all the Places belonging to the Kingdom of Scotland, which had by Force been wreſted from them. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, they had nothing in Charge delivered to them concerning this, from the Duke of York and the other Nobility. To which his Majeſty replied:

The King's Anſwer.

"Before your Arrival I had firmly reſolved to demoliſh the Caſtle of Roxborough, which is an Encroachment upon my Kingdom; and I do not find your Embaſſy of ſuch a friendly and engaging Nature, as to force or allure me to alter my fixed and determined Purpoſe. Therefore,

fore, not finding my Obligations encreaſed by your preſent Meſſage, and deſpiſing the Threatenings either of the Nobility or People of England to me, I give you this for my Anſwer to them, That I am not to be removed from this Place by Words, but Blows. This, with my Compliments, I expect you will faithfully relate to the Nobility who ſent you."

The Ambaſſadors, thus diſmiſſed, returned with this Anſwer to the Duke of York and the other Nobility. The Ambaſſadors return.

King James carried on the Siege now with great Spirit and Warmth, being reinforced by Donald of the Iſles, Earl of Roſs, who joined the King's Army with a great Body of Men. The Earl of Roſs, upon his Arrival at the King's Camp, made Offer to his Majeſty to advance always upon the March above a Mile in Front of the Army, to ſtand the Fury and Strength of the Enemy's Attack in the firſt Charge, that he, with his Men, might demonſtrate to his Majeſty their hearty Zeal and Attachment to his Perſon and Government. This Offer of Donald of the Iſles to engage himſelf and his Men in the moſt deſperate Danger, for Support of his Majeſty's Cauſe, was to reconcile the King's Mind to him and make eaſy Acceſs, for obtaining a Pardon for his former groſs Crimes and Miſdemeanors. The Siege vigorouſly proſecuted. Lord Roſs joins the King.

Soon after the Arrival of Donald of the Iſles in the King's Camp, Alexander, now Earl of Huntley, joined the King with all his Force. Lord Huntley joins the King.

Upon theſe Reinforcements coming up, the King was determined to puſh the Siege with great Expedition, and to be Maſter of the Place at all Events. To make his Work the eaſier, he prepared a Train of Iron Ordnance for battering the Place; and, as they were battering to make a Breach for an Aſſault, the King, being equally diligent with any private Soldier, kept cloſe by the Canon, ordering and directing their Operations; but unhappily for his Majeſty, unregarding nor obſerving that ſome of the Canons were loaded, and that by the repeated continual firing the Metal was become very hot, one of theſe Canons, tho' not touched with the Match, went off and drove a Plug or Peg ſo as to beat the King down, and kill him on the Spot. The King killed by Accident.

The Nobility and Generals who ſurrounded the King, ſurprized and ſtunned with this diſcouraging Event, covered his Majeſty's Body, and concealed his Death with the greateſt Care and Secreſy; leſt it ſhould affect the Spirits of the whole Army.

The Queen this very fatal Day had but juſt arrived in the Camp. Upon ſo afflicting and intereſting an Event to her, ſhe acted with ſuch Serenity, Compoſure and Greatneſs of Mind, as to ſurprize all. She called the Nobility and Officers of State to a Council-extraordinary; and, when met in Council, thus addreſſed herſelf:

"My Lords,

"Be not diſheartened nor diſcouraged with the great Loſs of this fatal Day: I will bring a new King to you. When the Undertaking you are engaged in is ſo nigh accompliſhed, it would not be manly to retreat and leave it unfiniſhed. The Loſs of one, though very great and particularly piercing to me in the nigheſt Relation, yet is not to be made productive of the Loſs of Hundreds, nor of any Detriment to the Kingdom: But now is your Time to double your Activity and Reſolution, to finiſh what was ſo far advanced; and, by a vigorous Attack, to prevent any bad Conſequences from his Majeſty's Death being known and made public through the whole Army."

The Nobility, Generals, and Officers, amazed and ſtruck with the Bravery and Preſence of the Queen's Mind, ſo encouraged and ſpirited by her timely and well calculated Speech, made ſuch a vigorous Aſſault and warm Attack, as made the Enemy quite inſenſible of any Alteration or Loſs in the King's Army: The young King was prudently and ſecretly carried into the Camp, and acknowleged as King, by the Nobility, Generals, Officers, and the whole Army. Animated by the Queen the Scots make a vigorous Attack upon Roxborough Caſtle. The young King acknowledged.

The Engliſh, finding the Siege carried on with ſuch Spirit and Succeſs, and being much weaken'd in Numbers, Stores, and other Neceſſaries for Defence, they agreed to ſurrender the Caſtle; which they did, being allowed to march out with all their Baggage. Upon Surrender of Roxborough-Caſtle, the Walls and Fortifications were demoliſhed, and the whole razed, ſo as to be no future Reception for the Engliſh. Roxborough Caſtle ſurrenders.

King James, by this fatal firing of the Canon, was killed the Third of Auguſt, in the Twenty-ninth Year of his Age, and the Twenty-third of his Reign, in the Year 1460. The Loſs to the Kingdom of Scotland, by his Majeſty's Death, at this Period of Time, was great; for his natural Clemency and diſintereſted Love to all his Subjects; his cool, impartial, and penetrating Judgment, had been ſo fully experienced by all the Nation; his Steadineſs, Conduct, and Bravery, ſo proved, as now to make him not only be regarded as their King, but heartily and cordially to gain and fix the Affections of all his People, even thoſe who had been Enemies: All Parties and Denominations regretted, with real Sorrow, the Loſs of ſo great and good a Man, who, as King, exerciſed the Virtues of Mercy, Goodneſs, Bravery, Prudence, and Benevolence, to all; ſupporting his royal Dignity with Moderation, yet ſufficient Authority; who choſed to be feared from Love, rather than dreaded from Power and Danger, except when forced to Rigidity by deſperate and ungovernable Spirits. The King's Death lamented through the Nation.

King

King James's Person and Character.

King James was of a comely and fine Countenance; of a graceful Preſence; of middle Stature, and of a robuſt, manly, and healthy Conſtitution; affable, mild, and moſt engaging in his Addreſs; of a calm, ſedate, and deliberate Turn of Mind; who wiſely gave Attention to the Council of the antient, and moſt experienced and approved of his Nobility; of a generous and forgiving Mind; upright and ſincere to all; and the beſt of Maſters to all the Domeſtics of his Houſhold: In Affairs of State, very alert; and a long-headed Politician; when moſt perplexed, then moſt diligent and careful, cool, and watchful; taking Care to make one Faction be a Check and Counterpoiſe to the oppoſite: By this Means, he gave Bounds to all their Power, and their ſecret Conſpiracies.

His refined Policy.

King James's prudent Behaviour.

When King James was ſtrongly ſollicited, both by Henry the Sixth, and by the Duke of York with his Faction, to take Part in the Civil War and Troubles in England, he reſiſted the Offers of both Sides; only took the Opportunity to recover, at this Time, the juſt Rights of his Kingdom, and of his Subjects.

The Cauſes of the Commotions in England.

This Civil War, in England, was owing to the Weakneſs and Ignorance of King Henry; to the Over-Inſolence and Pride of the Queen, who dictated every Meaſure to the King; and next, to the Ambition, Diſcontent, and enterprizing Genius of the Duke of York, and the Nobility who joined him. The Confederacy againſt Henry the Sixth, was, at this Juncture, very powerful and dangerous; the Duke of York had engaged with him the Earls of Saliſbury, Devonſhire, and Warwick, beſides the Duke of Norfolk.

The Manner in which this Rebellion was fomented.

The Duke of York, for his chief Agent, employed one Jack Cade, an Iriſhman of great Spirit and uncommon Fortitude, and of an artful and cunning Diſpoſition, to go over the Nation, and in all Companies, with proper Caution and Addreſs, to inſtil Prejudices in the Minds of the People of different Counties, in order to inſpire and inflame them with Diſaffection and a Spirit for Revolt. The Topics and Arguments which in Converſation were to be properly illuminated and repreſented in ſuch Colours as to excite the Diſtaſte and Hatred of the Nation, were, firſt, the King's Meanneſs, Weakneſs and Simplicity of Mind; Unfitneſs to rule; the intolerable Inſolence of the Queen towards the firſt Nobility of the Kingdom, and her conducting Matters by her Negative over the King: And next, the King's Removal, from his Council and Preſence, the Nobility of the firſt Rank and greateſt Penetration, Experience and Capacity in Matters of State; his Choice of low Fellows, Upſtarts, and Men of no Genius nor Qualification to the Offices to which they were promoted. By theſe mean and miſtaken Meaſures, the Honour and Regard of the Kingdom was degraded; and to this falſe and miſtaken Syſtem, the diſcontented Nobility imputed the Loſs of their Conqueſts in France; particularly, Normandy and Glaſcony.

King Henry's bad Choice of low and mean Tools.

Normandy and Gaſcony loſt.

This Jack Cade, with his Emiſſaries, improved theſe Topics to great Advantage and with ſuch Succeſs, that a Rebellion and Revolt begun in Kent; which, from ſo leading an Example, like a Contagion, infected moſt of the Kingdom. But it was not very conſiſtent in his Grace of York, after the Kentiſh Rebellion had been by eaſy and gentle Meaſures ſuppreſſed, and that he had taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity to King Henry at Blackheath, ſoon after to appear in Arms againſt him at the Head of the Men of Eſſex and Hertfordſhire. The Duke, notwithſtanding, was ſucceſsful: He fought and vanquiſhed the King's Army at Northampton, wounded the King, and killed the Duke of Somerſet, King James's Uncle, who was the beſt Friend King Henry had in the Nation at this Time.

The Duke of York flies from his ſworn Allegiance.

The Duke of York defeats the King.

The King's Army being defeated by the Duke of York and his Adherents in this Action at Northampton, the King was taken Priſoner in his Wounds, and committed to the Tower; where, by Order of Parliament, he was detained to be only as nominal King.

The Duke of York declared Protector.

This ratified, and the Duke declared Heir-apparent to the Crown.

The Parliament, which met directly upon the Event of this Succeſs, declared the Duke of York Protector of the Kingdom, and lodged in his Perſon the whole of the public Adminiſtration of the Government. At an enſuing Meeting, the Parliament declared King Henry the Sixth ſhould remain in the Tower, and retain the Title of King with a proper Appointment for his Support; but that the Duke of York ſhould be continued as Lord Protector with the ſame Powers: And further, they declared the Duke Heir-apparent to the Crown, and ſettled the Succeſſion in his Family. This ſo enraged the Queen, that ſhe made warm Remonſtrances, both to the Parliament and at foreign Courts, of the Iniquity of ſuch Procedure.

The Ground of this Diſpute about the Crown.

The State of the Controverſy about the Succeſſion, betwixt the Duke of York and Henry the Sixth, ſtood thus: Richard Plantagenet, now Duke of York, was Son to the Daughter and ſole Heir of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Third Son to Edward the Third; but Henry the Sixth, now King, was only great Grandſon to John of Gaunt, who was an Uſurper, and but Fourth Son of Edward the Third. Therefore, the Duke of York juſtly contended, that the direct Line, being deſcended of the elder Brother, and of the ſame Propinquity, had the firſt and preferable Title to ſucceed to the Crown. This Diſpute, for ſome time, ſupported Heart-Burning and civil Commotions over England: But King James behaved with ſuch Wiſdom and Moderation in theſe Diſorders, that neither Party of the Engliſh could with any Juſtice lodge any Imputation againſt him. The Queen of England, when her Huſband was confined, ſollicited King James, in the ſtrongeſt Terms and moſt perſuaſive Arguments, to march an Army into England to relieve the King and reſtore him to his Liberty: But the King of Scotland, tho' feeling with tender Regard and brotherly Sympathy the Agonies of a confined and neighbouring

The Queen meditates Revenge.

King,

King, and tho' very willing to ſuccour him; yet, out of that ſuperior Love and Regard which a good King indiſpenſibly owes his Subjects, he wiſely determined to ſow no new Seeds of Contention with the Engliſh Nation, to diſturb the Tranquillity and Happineſs of his own People. All theſe Circumſtances united, proved the great Loſs which Scotland ſuſtained by the Death of ſuch a King.

King James, in Regard to his Kingdom, declines meddling with the Engliſh Quarrel.

King James left behind him James, Prince Succeſſor, now King; Alexander, Duke of Albany; John, Earl of Marr; Margaret, Counteſs of Arran, afterwards married to Hamilton.

His Death a national Loſs.

His Funeral, with the moſt magnificent Pomp, was performed in the Chapel-Royal of Holy-rood-Houſe; and his Remains depoſited in the Vault or Burying-Place of the Kings there.

His Burial.

# JAMES the THIRD,

## The HUNDRED and FOURTH KING.

James III. ſucceeds.

JAMES the third, being now in the camp where his father the late king was killed, and but ſeven years of age, was committed to the care of the queen dowager, to be aſſiſted by the council of the governors of the kingdom. The army crowned him now at Kelſo, with all the military honours and ſolemnity their preſent ſituation would admit of: but all further formalities were delayed, and the whole of the deliberations, concerning the ſettlement of the kingdom, transferred to the meeting of the eſtates at Edinburgh.

Is crowned at Kelſo, and carried back to Edinburgh.

The parliament ſettle the government and the guardianſhip of the young king.

When the parliament met at Edinburgh, and the queen, the young king her ſon, with the nobility, had arrived there from Kelſo, the queen, by the parliament, was eſtabliſhed in the tutelage of her ſon in his non-age. The regents were next appointed, viz. Andrew Stewart lord Annandale; the earl of Orkney, lord Caſſils; lord Boyd, chancellor; lord Grahame; the archbiſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſcow, and the biſhop of Dunkeld.

Scotland now recovers it's frontier towns and lands.

The government of the kingdom being thus ſettled by parliamentary ſanction, the regents embraced the opportunity offered them, by the confuſion and diſtraction of the civil war in England, to ſerve the Engliſh in the ſame manner they formerly had the Scots. This was their time to recover what had been taken from them by the Engliſh. They ordered, therefore, an army to march in upon Northumberland and Cumberland; and to deſtroy all the garriſons, caſtles, forts and ſtrong holds, that oppoſed them. They were ſucceſsful in this, and recovered the lands and caſtles on the frontier, formerly the property of Scotland: but, after doing much miſchief to the Engliſh border, and not interrupted in their ſucceſs, the Scots army returned to Scotland, and went into winter-quarters.

The Scots army, victorious, returns to winter-quarters.

The clans commit abuſes.

Mean time the ungovernable chiefs of ſome clans, whoſe rapacious and reſtleſs ſpirits could not be long in peace, taking advantage of the king's minority and a diviſion in the council of Scotland, renewed their former looſe and diſorderly behaviour, and committed great diſorders in the neighbouring counties. Allen lord Lorn, without the leaſt ſhadow of law and contrary to all humanity, put his elder brother in cloſe priſon, with deſign to rob him of his life and eſtate: but the earl of Argyle generouſly relieved and reſtored him to his liberty and eſtate, ſecuring him from all the future attempts of his unnatural brother.

The earl of Argyle relieves lord Lorn.

Donald of the Iſles rebels again, and proclaims himſelf king at Inverneſs.

At this time too, Donald of the Iſles returned to his old behaviour. He raiſed all his men, marched with a formidable body of reſolute Highlanders, attacked and took the caſtle of Inverneſs. Here he got himſelf proclaimed king of the Iſles; and, as if his power was irreſiſtible, he carried all with ſucceſs before him as far South as Blair-caſtle. Upon his approach, the earl of Athol, with his lady and family, fled and took ſanctuary in the church of St. Bride at Dunkeld.

Takes Blair-caſtle.

He marches South.

Burns St. Bride's church.

King Donald attacked Blair-caſtle, becauſe the garriſon were ordered to defend the place to the laſt; but, after a gallant defence, the garriſon were forced to yield the place. Donald, having left a garriſon of his men in Blair-caſtle, proceeded South with his army, and ſurrounded the church where the earl of Athol and his lady were. Not regarding this conſecrated and holy aſylum, this rough Highlander impiouſly ſet fire to every corner of the church at once, and forced the earl, with his family, to a ſurrender at diſcretion. Donald ſent them over to Iſlay, as priſoners of war, to remain there till ranſomed.

Donald's army caſt away in a Storm, near Iſlay.

Upon intelligence of all theſe motions, ſucceſſes, and high inſults, by Donald of the Iſles, the regents of the kingdom aſſembled an army, and ordered them to march with all expedition to repel this Highland uſurper: but before the army could get up with him, the winds and ſeas had fought the battle for them; for a great body of men, he had embarked in ſmall open boats and ſlight wherries, met with a violent ſtorm at ſea, on their way to Iſlay and the adjacent iſlands, which daſhed moſt of their boats to pieces on the rocks: ſo that the whole of this embarkation were loſt, ſave very few; among whom were the earl of Athol and his family, who were priſoners. Upon this diſaſter and mortification to the king of the Iſles, the army ſent againſt him by the government were eaſed of the trouble of fighting him; for the ſea had ſwallowed moſt of them. The earl of Athol, with his lady and family, got back ſafe to his caſtle at Blair; and Donald, already tired of his royalty, was obliged to retire, with his army, into their lurking places.

Queen

Queen of England comes to Scotland.

Queen Margaret of England, upon her husband king Henry's being taken prisoner at Northampton, and afterwards confined and divested of royalty, was obliged to fly to the North for safety; and, in her retreat thither, she employed her time with great activity and success. With incredible diligence and expedition, she got her friends together; particularly supported by the present duke of Somerset, whose father the king's enemies had cut off.

Raises a numerous army.

She assembled a powerful army in the bishopric of Durham, consisting of Scots and English, who came with great alacrity to serve the queen of England, being much encouraged to this by the queen of Scotland, who was of the same nation and allied to the queen of England.

Commands the army in person.

Queen Margaret determined to be in person at the head of her army to animate her troops, and to be an eye-witness of the behaviour of all; to see that matters were faithfully conducted in the army.

This heroic lady shewed a brave spirit and great fidelity to her depressed husband: she was not of home and English brood; else, it is highly probable, when prosperity deserted the king and success had taken leave of him, that his wife would likewise have thought proper to disregard him, and bid him and his interest farewel. But it is the certain and the only true characteristic of honest and generous minds, and of faithful friends, to declare and exert themselves for the person they love and wish well to, when in the lowest state, most afflicted, and in the greatest perplexity.

The duke of York marches to give battle to the queen.

The duke of York, being acquainted with the motions of the queen's army which was numerous and well equipped, resolved to march his army, tho' inferior in numbers, and to prevent if possible the queen's advancing to London with her army. The duke of York, therefore, committed the care and trust of king Henry to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick; and, having got his forces in readiness, marched with great dispatch to stop the queen; resolving it should not be said, that he, who had signaliz'd himself so much abroad in France, should be afraid to stand an engagement against an army commanded by a woman.

Both armies engage.

Both armies came in sight of each other near Wakefield, and the duke of York advanced upon the queen's army, to provoke them, out of contempt: but the queen's forces in good order, the duke of Somerset commanding the right, bore down so upon the duke of York and his army, upon Wakefield-green, that a bloody action ensued. The queen was in the action while it continued. But the duke of York's army was in no condition to stand the shock of her superior force: the duke himself was kill'd in the attack, with his youngest son my lord Rutland, and many other persons of distinction: the whole army, in short, was almost cut to pieces by the queen's troops.

The duke of York's army defeated, and himself killed.

The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and with many others beheaded, after the engagement, at Pomfret-castle. The duke of York's head was cut off, and ornamented with a paper crown, erected on a pole for shew and ridicule, carried round the army, and expos'd to the insults of the multitude.

The queen marches to London.

The queen, having obtained this happy victory, thought it most adviseable to keep up her army of Scots and English (now victorious) in high spirits; and therefore to pursue her victory, by pushing forward to London, to accomplish the work she had begun with success, and to reinstate her husband king Henry in all his rights and power, in the exercise of government, as formerly. But her progress, though vigorous and rapid, was a little interrupted by an action that happened betwixt Edward earl of March the duke of York's son, and the earls of Pembroke and Ormond.

Earl of March defeats lords Pembroke and Ormond.

These latter had been raising new levies to reinforce the queen's army; and, upon their march to join her, were intercepted and beat by the earl of March at Mortimer Cross.

This cross event did not dishearten the queen: she continued her march with fixed resolution to give the enemy battle, if they should stand an engagement and pretend to oppose her. The duke of Norfolk, with the earl of Warwick, were in full march to meet the queen; having king Henry along with them prisoner, thereby to insult the queen.

At St. Alban's both armies met. It was observed, for a certainty, that which ever side king Henry attended were sure of a defeat; and, accordingly, the remark was confirmed in the present instance.

The queen defeats the dukes of Norfolk and Warwick.

The queen's army beat the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, recovered her husband the king to his liberty, and so mauled their forces that but few escaped, most of them being killed or taken prisoners: the scattered remains escaped to the earl of March, and joined his army.

Continues her march to London.

Upon this victory, the queen pursues her march to London; but when she came there, the gates were shut against her; the city having in general an utter hatred to her, because of her former haughty and over-bearing conduct in the time of her husband's government.

The citizens shut their gates against her.

The city of London raised their men; and, as the earl of Warwick had done, joined Edward earl of March, whom they invited to make his public entry into the city; and, having received him with the army, they proclaimed him king with great solemnity and acclamations.

Proclaims the earl of march, King.

The queen, affairs being thus situated, with her nobility, generals and army, thought it most prudent to retire to the North, with her husband and the young prince.

The queen retires to the North.

The Northern counties of England, by the influence of the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Beaumont, Dacres, Grey and Wells, were so warmly engaged in the queen's interest, that in a little time they raised, for the king and queen's service, an army of sixty thousand men; which was superior to that which Edward earl of March could bring to the field.

Is 60,000 strong.

Edward

Edward advances to give her battle.

Edward however advanced, and came within ſight of the king's army near Caxton. The king's army waited for them; but the king himſelf was left at York, becauſe of the fears of an unhappy fate from his royal preſence; ſince it was obſerved, as before hinted, he had never been victorious nor ſucceſsful.

The action bloody.

The queen entirely defeated.

Betwixt Caxton and Teuton, both armies engaged. Here a terrible and bloody diſpute enſued betwixt two numerous armies, both ſides maintaining their ground with equal obſtinacy and extraordinary ſlaughter. After many hours fighting however, the queen's army was broke and totally routed: the ſlaughter and loſs of this day was computed at about thirty-ſix thouſand killed in the field, beſides wounded and taken priſoners. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Beaumont, Dacres, Grey and Wells, were all killed in the action; beſides many more. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter made their eſcape to the king at York, to acquaint him and the royal family of this terrible defeat.

Edward earl of March, now deſigned and owned for Edward the fourth of England, purſued his victory, and kept his diſperſed and flying enemy in ſuch terror, as to make it impoſſible for them to recover or get together. Therefore, the queen, with the king and the young prince in deſpair, for ſafety of their lives, were forced to fly, and to take ſanctuary in Scotland; where the diſtreſſed king of England, with his family, had a kind, genteel and hoſpitable reception.

Kennedy's prudent adminiſtration.

His character.

James Kennedy, primate of St. Andrew's, acted at this time in Scotland, with univerſal approbation, in quality of prime miniſter, and conducted the affairs of ſtate in ſuch manner as gave ſatisfaction to the kingdom: the minds of the people were eaſy under his equitable and advantageous adminiſtration for the public good. He was a man of generous principles, of no ſelfiſh and contracted views, of true public ſpirit, of great humanity; and delighted in hoſpitality, generous benevolence and kind uſage to ſtrangers; particularly, the diſtreſſed part of mankind. There was nothing hoggiſh, falſe, nor mercenary, dwelt in the mind of this biſhop: his attachment to the romiſh faith was over-powered and ballanced by an innate greatneſs and goodneſs of ſpirit. Such an example and pattern in modern hierarchy, and ſpiritual pre-eminence, would certainly be allowed to be of apoſtolic inſtitution and divine original of high honour and regard, as an extraordinary phænomenon in the modern conſtitution and model of chriſtianity.

The parliament promiſes to aſſiſt Henry, who reſtores Berwick to the Scots.

A marriage propos'd between prince Edward of England and Margaret of Scotland.

Prevented by the duke of Burgundy.

Queen Margaret goes to France.

This great prelate did honour to his kingdom, and ſupported national honour and dignity, by his kind, genteel and noble treatment of Henry the ſixth, his queen and the prince. The parliament and miniſtry of Scotland were, by the primate's ſolicitation and interpoſition, prevailed upon to give ſtrong aſſurances of ſupplying him with an army, to enable him to recover his ground. In return, and to engage the Scots nation the more firmly in his intereſt, Henry ordered the Scots to be put in immediate poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Berwick, which had, by force, remained in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ever ſince the reign of Edward the firſt. To unite both kingdoms in the more firm and certain future alliance, the queens of Scotland and England, both from France, propoſed a marriage between the prince of Wales and the young king of Scotland's ſiſter, the princeſs Margaret: but the duke of Burgundy, who was the queen of Scotland's uncle, had ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt Rhene, king of Naples, Sicily and Jeruſalem, the queen of England's father, that, upon notice of the deſigned marriage, the duke ſent an ambaſſador to Scotland to his niece and the court, to counter-act and traverſe all the projected alliance with the queen of England's family.

Margaret, queen of England, went abroad to viſit her couſin Lewis the eleventh of France, and Rhene king of Sicily, her father, to repreſent her circumſtances, and to engage her friends to ſend over ſuccours to join Scotland in recovering England to king Henry and her ſon. While ſhe was thus employed abroad, king Henry remained in his retirement, and employed himſelf in devotion in the cloiſter of the Grey-friars at Edinburgh.

After ſome ſhort ſtay at the court of France, queen Margaret and her ſon, prince Edward, prepared to return for Scotland; but they were kept ſome time longer in expectation of the neceſſary ſupplies and ſuccours. At length, all the ſucceſs of the queen of England's negociations with her couſin, the French king, ended in this: 1ſt, he forbad his ſubjects, under the ſevereſt penalties, from holding any commerce or correſpondence with the enemies of king Henry; and ſuch of theſe as were in his kingdom, he ordered to depart directly. Next, having given ſome ſcanty preſent of money to the queen and prince, they were ſent over with only five hundred men, inſtead of an army: a true emblem of the inſignificancy and ſhameful perfidy of French faith!

Returns for Scotland.

Lands at Berwick.

The queen, with this handful, arriv'd off Tinmouth bar; but their numbers appeared ſo contemptible, that the inhabitants of Newcaſtle even mobbed them, and obliged the queen to reimbark and ſet ſail for Scotland. She was met with at ſea by a violent ſtorm, which forced her to make the firſt ſhoar for fear of being loſt: ſhe therefore put in at Berwick and Holy Iſland; and, upon landing, the queen made her diſpoſitions ſo as to aſſemble an army of the Scots nation with great expedition.

Aſſembles an army, commanded by king Henry, and marches for England.

Having prepared the army to march, ſhe left her ſon with an eſcort at Berwick. Her huſband, king Henry, in ſeemingly high ſpirits, commanded the army. As they came into Northumberland, they were joined by great numbers: Henry Beaufort duke of Somerſet, the lords Hungerford, Roſs, Mouline, Sir Ralph Piercy, and many more of the king's friends, joined

joined the army with all their Men; ſo that king Henry's army now was become very numerous and formidable.

The news of their march alarmed the new king, Edward the fourth: he therefore ſent the lord Montague down, with his beſt troops, to oppoſe king Henry's progreſs, and diſpute the matter by an action, if they ſhould ſtand it. King Henry, his queen and the nobility, relying on their ſuperior numbers, attacked my lord Montague at Hexam; but were warmly received, and, after much loſs on both ſides, king Henry's army was broke and put to flight.

King Edward ſends an army to ſtop Henry's progreſs.

Henry put to the rout.

Here king Henry loſt his beſt friends, the duke of Somerſet, the lords Roſs, Hungerford, Mouline, and Sir Ralph Piercy; who fell in the field. Such of the nobility who were taken priſoners were, by the king's order, directly beheaded, and their heads as trophies ſent to king Edward, who was advancing towards Durham; but, upon news of this victory, he returned to York, thinking his preſence with the army no further neceſſary.

This defeat, which Henry of England received at Hexam, gave a fatal turn and blow to his affairs. King Edward ordered the lord Montague to finiſh the work he had begun with ſuch ſucceſs, and to reduce all the forts, garriſons, towns and caſtles, that ſtill remained in the poſſeſſion of Henry's friends. The lord Montague accordingly executed his orders, 'till he came to Anwick-caſtle; where he met an unexpected repulſe and ſmart return from the French garriſon. The queen had brought theſe troops over with her, and placed them in this ſtation, as a place of ſtrength and eaſy defence: they therefore defended themſelves with great bravery, and reſolved to ſtand the ſiege, 'till relieved by the Scots Army. The Scots were divided and diſheartned by the late loſs and defeat at Hexam; and ſo delayed time in their deliberations. But the brave and noble earl of Angus, thought juſtly it was ungenerous and baſe to leave ſo many brave fellows, who ſtood out ſo gallantly, to be ſacrificed to the reſentment of the Engliſh: therefore he alone raiſed, without delay, ten thouſand horſe, and marched directly to Anwick, with over-horſes ſufficient to mount the French, and carry them off. In view of the whole Engliſh army, he came to Anwick, ſet the French on the empty horſes, and in the ſame full view of the Engliſh carried off the whole garriſon, in triumph, without the ſmalleſt attack or attempt to interrupt him. The bravery of the action put the enemy in amaze; they apprehended he had a greater body nigh him in ambuſcade, and therefore were afraid to move from their Camp.

Henry's affairs ruin'd.

Anwick-caſtle makes a gallant ſtand for Henry.

Lord Angus bravely brings off and preſerves it's garriſon, in ſight of the Enemy.

Upon this Edward, to ſecure the paſſes and different corners of the country, divided and ſent detachments to all quarters to ſecure the roads, and to intercept ſtraggling parties; thereby to ſecure the peace of the country, and to prevent different parties from uniting into one body.

King Henry now was almoſt drove to deſpair, his ſpirits ſunk, and his hopes almoſt vaniſhed: being wearied therefore of troubling the Scots, and fond of living and dying retired and concealed with ſome of his friends in the North of England, he returned with a few ſervants in diſguiſe; but, before he was ſettled well in England, he was betrayed by one of his own ſervants. This domeſtic being tired out with night-journeys, ſhifting from place to place, was, from the temptation of reward, induced to diſcover his maſter. It is affirmed king Henry, in conſequence of this diſcovery, was apprehended by a ſon of Sir Edward Talbot, while he ſat at dinner; who, without regard to the king's rank, carried him on horſeback with his legs tied under the horſe's belly, like a common malefactor, to London. On the road he was met by the earl of Warwick, who conducted him to the Tower.

King Henry betrayed.

Ignominiouſly treated.

Lodged in the Tower.

Upon this melancholly event, the queen did not think herſelf, nor her ſon prince Edward, in any ſafety in England; ſuch was the inveteracy of the nobility, and ſuch the diſlike of the city of London to her. She therefore determined to go abroad to her father, the king of Naples now in France, and to wait for better proſpects.

The queen and her ſon for ſafety go to France.

Upon theſe ſucceſſes, Edward, deſirous of repoſing himſelf and his kingdom, in the enjoyments of peace, ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland for that purpoſe. The Scots miniſtry, with the queen's approbation, appointed ſome noblemen as proper commiſſioners to treat with the deputies from England. Theſe deputies met at York. Thoſe from Scotland were, the Earl of Argyle, the biſhop of Glaſcow, the abbot of Holy-rood houſe, Sir Alexander Boyd, and Sir William Cranſton. They concluded a ceſſation of arms, and preliminary articles for a general pacification were ſettled and ſigned. Upon which the deputies of both nations returned home; and, their articles being agreed to and ratified by their reſpective Courts, peace was ſettled for fifteen years.

Edward treats of peace with the Scots.

Peace concluded for 15 years.

Upon this, a parliament was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh, which was accordingly very full at their firſt meeting. The conditions of the peace were laid before them, and approved by the whole body.

The next thing deliberated, was the ſettlement of the guardianſhip and education of the infant king, and the adminiſtration of government during the king's minority. Upon this occaſion, there appeared two factions at court: the one, though inferior in numbers, was of the queen's intereſt; and the oppoſite party was headed by James Kennedy primate of St. Andrew's, and Douglaſs earl of Angus. The queen, with her party, contended ſtrongly for the ſole management and guardianſhip of the king during his infant ſtate; but the nobility, of the greateſt penetration and judgment and of greateſt influence and regard, ſupported the archbiſhop of St Andrew's and the earl of Angus, in oppoſition to the queen's overtures. They contended for the obſervation of the old law and cuſtom, ſettled and uniformly regarded in the

Diſſentions concerning the education and diſpoſal of the young king.

care both of the prince and kingdom, during the minority of their kings. The queen lived in the caſtle of Edinburgh; the king, with his tutors and guardians, kept the palace of Holy-rood-houſe, with his proper guards.

The queen proclaims herſelf guardian to the young king.

The queen, finding the voice of the parliament chiefly ſpeaking in favour of the ancient and lawful conſtitution of the kingdom, and hurried on by her party againſt the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and the earl of Angus, was reſolved by force to gain her point. She therefore, in perſon, with her faction ſurrounding her, and a numerous retinue, came from the caſtle, and cauſed herſelf to be publicly proclaimed guardian to the infant king, and ſole regent of the kingdom. This ceremony over, they all returned to the caſtle.

Archbiſhop Kennedy publicly oppoſes her.

This happened the third day after the meeting of the parliament, and was an immediate and direct inſult upon it's authority and diminution of it's privileges. When archbiſhop Kennedy was informed of theſe proceedings, he, with the earl of Angus and all their friends, went directly in a body to the market-place; and there the primate addreſſed himſelf thus to the multitude:

His ſpeech in the market-place.

"I, and all connected with me, have no views but the public good, and the ſafety of the kingdom, in the proper and prudent education and inſtruction of the king in his non-age; but our oppoſites, led and ſpirited from motives of ſelf-intereſt, have quite other deſigns. Let me have a full and fair hearing: I am capable of demonſtrating the integrity, the national good and advantage of what we contend and ſtruggle for."

Thus having ſpoke in few, though nervous and touching, words; he, with the other nobility who attended him, retired. They were ſcarce from the market-place, when, upon intelligence given to thoſe in the caſtle, the queen's party ruſhed out from thence armed, and deſigned to attack and cut them off.

Douglaſs earl of Angus, a man of quick diſcerning parts and ſprightly ſpirit, was juſtly provoked at this, as an open defiance to law, an encroachment upon parliamentary authority, and an inſult deſigned to them without any colour of reaſon: he therefore, by the ſurprize and unexpectedneſs of ſuch behaviour being in great emotion, hurried back to one of the city gates of Edinburgh, within which were the queen's armed men; and had it not been for the interpoſition and repeated intreaties of the archbiſhop, the biſhops of Glaſcow, Galway and Dunblane, who kept him back with great difficulty, he was determined, in full career, though not armed, to attack ſome of the queen's party, and make them examples for ſuch barefaced inſolence. But the pacific ſpirit of the biſhops prevailing, after a ſhort interview and warm expoſtulation with ſome of the heads of the queen's faction, they agreed ſo far as to uſe one another with decency, and to ſettle upon a truce for one month.

Earl of Angus diſſuaded from violence.

A truce agreed on for a month.

Matters thus came to a temporary compromiſe betwixt the heads of the contending parties, and a ſtop was put to the queen's violence for ſome time; but the multitudes and mob were ungovernable in their reproaches and inſults upon the queen: her character they inſulted, in regard to chaſtity; her pretenſions to the regency of the kingdom, and her title to the ſole direction of the education of the young prince, they ridiculed and expoſed with high contempt, crying out in crouds: "Is then a woman to govern Scotland? where all the wiſe men, nobility and clergy, of the kingdom? was this the only fruit and advantage to the kingdom of Scotland, from all the blood ſpilt, and treaſure waſted, for the ſupport and glory of the nation, and the procuring ſolid peace and tranquillity to our country? are we now, from a warlike, a bold and hardy people, degenerated ſo to effeminacy, that female government muſt be our fate? let no ſuch low ſentiments enter the minds, and poſſeſs the affections, of our heroic repreſentatives and heads."

The queen treated diſdainfully by the people.

With theſe and ſuch like public declamations of the mob, the ſtreets of the capital city continually echoed.

Another truce concluded. The queen's faction leſs violent.

The truce and convention for the month expiring, another was agreed upon. The queen, with her faction, now became cool and more in the reaſonable ſtrain. She was called upon by parliament to juſtify the former violent proceedings, upon which her majeſty made the following ſpeech:

Her ſpeech in parliament.

"The government of the kingdom, and the care of my ſon the infant king, which I have been truſted with from the king's death 'till now, I did not graſp at by force; but entered upon by the decree and unanimous voice of the people: in particular, the nobility of the kingdom, with the army, ſettled this important truſt in my perſon; and, in doing ſo, they but placed me in my own right, as a royal parent. I have no intereſt, and I can have none, but the life, the welfare and right education, of my ſon: no crime, nor mal-adminiſtration, can be charged upon me: I am in the nigheſt relation to the king my ſon; and therefore, from natural affection, from all poſſible views, none can be expected to be more faithful than a mother. I am a ſtranger; I have no intereſt in the nation, but for the welfare and happineſs of my children, on which depend the eſtabliſhment and repoſe of the government. I have no connection with any party quarrels or friendſhips; and therefore this carries great weight in my favour, and ought to be regarded by all who have the adminiſtration of government committed to them. I have no friends, allies, nor others, here to pleaſe, nor to ſcreen me: my intent can't be but to have my ſon educated to virtue, ſobriety, and with ſuch principles of royalty

royalty as may make his people happy in a wiſe and virtuous exerciſe of regal power. I have no protection, nor can expect any but from the faithful execution of this great truſt: others, if intruſted with the management and whole care of my ſon, may find allies, relations and friends, to excuſe them; they may lead the prince into vice and debauchery of manners; and thus, engaging the nobility to follow ſuch an high pattern, introduce an indemnity for vice, yea, make vice be applauded while virtue ſhall be deſpiſed."

This rational and well couched ſpeech gained the affections of many of the parliament; but the moſt ſteady and penetrating of the nobility perceived the ſnare, and were not to be catched by the fineſſes of it. They were determined to oppoſe her meaſures, and to ſtand faithfully for the eſtabliſhed laws and conſtitution of the kingdom; which had, by long cuſtom, been obſerved and ſacredly adhered to. But the parliament were chiefly determined and fixed againſt the queen, by the power and influence of the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's ſpeech, which followed upon the queen's: the ſubſtance of which was to this effect:

" My noble peers and fellow ſubjects,

Archbiſhop Kennedy's ſpeech.

" My chief deſire is, that thoſe of us here, who aim ſingly and without deceit at nothing but the public good and national happineſs, may now declare themſelves; which, in equity, can give no juſt cauſe of offence to any. In ſuch a critical conjuncture, it is a difficult matter for any to diſtinguiſh betwixt diſagreeable heats, and difference in opinions; to avoid giving offence to one, or incurring the cenſure of another ſide: I ſhall however ſo moderate my ſpeech, that, if any complain of me, he firſt ſhall confeſs his own fault. I ſhall ſpeak with that native liberty derived from my anceſtors; as their birthright, tranſmitted to me, conſtitutes me a free ſubject: ſo as, on the one ſide, I deſire not to excite the prejudice of any; nor, on the other, to be influenced by the fear or dread of ſome, nor the favour and allurement of others. The preſent caſe, upon which I am to talk, is founded upon an oppoſition of ſentiments, in a matter of the greateſt conſequence: therefore, in my diſcourſe, I ſhall take care to omit nothing neceſſary to put matters in a juſt and undiſguiſed light.

" Our agreement is ſtopped by two opinions, hardly to be reconciled: the firſt is of them who believe, in an affair which concerns the whole kingdom, as we are all met here to give our ſuffrages freely and honeſtly, ſo every one ought to have a free voice; and the choice of perſons, veſted with ſuch an important truſt, ought to be by the moſt voluntary election of the whole body. No man therefore, who has honeſt views, ought to be excluded from his right of voting in the preſent national and important concern; and, if the honour of ruling the ſtate and taking care of the infant king in his education, with all other intereſts, be the expectation of any one here, who has no other than honeſt views and deſigns in ſeeking this preferment, why ſhould he be excluded his right, if choſen by the ſuffrages of the repreſentatives.

" The other opinion, oppoſite indeed to mine, is that of ſome who reckon her majeſty, the queen, injured, in not making choice of ſo noble and excellent a princeſs, and ſo worthy a woman, before any other, to be guardian and ſole tutor to her own ſon, in his infant ſtate; and that, in all reaſon and juſtice, her majeſty ought to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government. It is known, that the former opinion is my choice; and I will give you my reaſons for it. But I, in part, approve of my oppoſites, who ſo far ſupport the grandeur of the queen, that they think no ſingle perſon in the nation ought to contend with her; leſt ſhe thereby ſhould be thought to degrade herſelf, by putting herſelf on an equality with her inferiors. I would readily join my oppoſites in this, were the diſpute concerning the honour of a ſingle perſon; but this is not the caſe: it is the honour and ſafety of all is at ſtake, and the ſafety and honour of a kingdom is of much greater importance than that of individuals, ſeparately, of what rank ſoever. Therefore, in the preſent queſtion in diſpute, I earneſtly beg of the gentlemen, who favour the queen's ſide, ſo to regard her intereſt, as not to forget that reſpect and regard they owe to the laws of our land, to ancient cuſtoms, and to the univerſal good of their country. If they can ſhew any ſtatute or law, any cuſtom or precedent, for this kingdom to conſtitute the queen, regent and ſole guardian to her ſon (the king) and to the whole kingdom, then I ſhall paſs to their ſide; but, if otherwiſe, then I hope her majeſty will pardon me, if I conceal not my opinion, and ſpeak out that with freedom which it would be the greateſt impiety to conceal, being according to the law and cuſtom of our country.

" That none may take matters on my word, nor truſt to my ſimple aſſertion, let me remind you of your old laws. The firſt is of no later date than five hundred years agone. It was enacted by Kenneth, that, during the minority of the king, there ſhould be choſen out, from among the nobility, a man approved and excelling for wiſdom, power and piety, to be guardian of the kingdom, to govern all, and to have the full power of the education and direction of the king, while under age. Tho' this law is ſaid to be enacted by Kenneth, yet it ſeems a more ancient law and cuſtom, and, for it's great utility to the public, only continued by Kenneth, who was a man of great wiſdom and prudence, yea, excellent in both. If you look but into the chronicles of Scotland, you won't find ſo much as mention once made of a woman appointed regent of the kingdom. Tho' the kings were married, and their wives ſaluted and nominated queens, yet they were only queen-conſorts; and tho', in right of birth, ſovereignties and principalities devolved to many called queens, and ſome enjoyed ſuch, as the fortunes given with them

them in marriage; yet I defy any here, in this auguſt aſſembly, to make appear, that, in any kingdom or preceding age in our neighbourhood, a woman ever preſided or ſat in council, dictating the meaſures of government. Neither can it be made appear, that a woman, though ever ſo wiſe, preſided in courts of judicature; which cuſtom our anceſtors, not tied down by laws as we are, thought well to obſerve conſtantly from the ſole impulſe of reaſon and nature: much more ought we to reckon our obligations ſacred and inviolable, who are engaged by double motives, laws and ancient cuſtom. If we ſhould endanger the commonwealth by introducing innovations in the ſtate, and draw calamity on the nation by our temerity and mal-adminiſtration in this moſt intereſting article, who could excuſe or deliver us from the indignation and reſentment of an injured people?

" The Saxons, becauſe of the wickedneſs of one woman (Ethelburga) who ruled, enacted a law, that no woman ever after her ſhould be called queen, nor ſet in public and in ſtate next the king in any ſeat of honour. I beſeech you therefore to conſider how ungrateful to your brave anceſtors it would be, to act contrary to your laws and cuſtoms, which are equally advantageous and honourable to the women as the men; but yet never gave women a royal name, nor did they place them in the ſovereignty of government.

" Theſe my arguments I hope will ſatisfy, except in carpet conventicles, and in female clubs. What I affirm, in defence of our laws and cuſtoms, is agreeable to reaſon; and our law, againſt ſettling the ſovereignty in the perſons of women, is founded on the primary law of nature, and the wiſe formation of men by the ſupreme being: for nature, by the conſtitution of the ſupreme creator, has aſſigned to each ſex their proper and peculiar virtues, offices and qualities; the ſame in kind, but far different in degree. How unſeemly and aukward would it appear for a woman to pronounce judgment, to levy forces, to lead on an army, to give ſignal for battle, and many more ſuch manly actions, as unbecoming a woman as for a man to ſpin, to waſh, &c? What is liberality, fortitude and ſeverity in a man, would be, in a woman, profuſion, madneſs and cruelty: that which is elegant, comely and ornamental in a woman, would juſtly be reckoned mean, effeminate and ſordid in a man. They therefore, who aim at confounding theſe things, which nature has divided and ſeparated, to me and to every diſerning perſon, are endeavouring to ſubvert and overturn our antient conſtitution and good order, by obtruding a woman upon us to rule and hold the reins of our monarchy and manly conſtitution.

" In the mean time, be it underſtood, that thoſe who ſtand up in ſupport of our old laws, hitherto regarded, do not in the leaſt mean to abridge or leſſen the dignity and power of the queen; but only to recommend to her majeſty, that ſhe would preſcribe and fix to herſelf thoſe bounds which nature has aſſigned to her, which her ſex require, and the laws of all nations and decency impoſe. Good laws forbid mens appearing in womens apparel, and women from being cloathed in the habit of men; yea, all extravagant, monſtrous and diſguis'd appearances in cloathing of both ſexes*. Theſe good laws we have now in force; and, for preſerving primitive ſimplicity and rectitude of manners, excel all thoſe of neighbouring kingdoms. Thoſe, who are for preferring the queen to the whole government of the kingdom, may be aſked, why they do not bring their wives hither to ſit in parliament, to conſult and deliberate? why ſuch effeminate low minds do not ſtay at home to ſew, to cook, to manage the houſe? why they do not ſend their wives to war, and to preſide in courts of juſtice. This they would not do, though they would impoſe upon us, and the whole kingdom, a woman to rule, when they can hardly truſt their own wives even with houſhold affairs, and much leſs think them equal to public buſineſs. By ſuch an abſurd attempt they imagine to pleaſe the queen; but let them be aware: the queen is a woman of prudence, of great ſagacity, and is not to be blinded by their flattery and allurements, to ſuppoſe herſelf qualified for truſts and dignities, which are not in the ſphere of her natural capacity and the deſtination of her genius.

" I ſhall not expreſs any thing diſreſpectful of her majeſty, becauſe in every thing, which properly came within the compaſs of her duty and her obligations, ſhe has merited well of the whole kingdom. Thoſe articles, which might be offenſive or diſagreeable, I ſhall omit, and only relate her qualities as a woman, which are valuable; in particular, her modeſty (the ornament of her ſex) and her motherly affection are univerſally allowed and approved; her illuſtrious deſcent is well known to all; her agreeable temper, her moderation and piety, we are all witneſſes to, and only deſire that ſhe may go on in the ſame path of glory and honour thro' the future period of her life.

" My chief buſineſs, my lords, in this my ſpeech (which is too long and not wiſhed for, but forced from me) is with you: ſome of you, my lords, are envious in fear, leſt your betters ſhould be preferred to a higher degree of truſt; others of you, are excited by ambition, in order to get into favour with the queen. I will therefore, now in the queen's preſence, in full perſuaſion of her prudence, of her equity, underſtanding and ſtrict honour, ſpeak freely: thoſe, madam, who now flatter and promote the preſent diſpute, only contend for your favour as it may ſerve their own intereſt. While they name the queen, they do not regard that ſhe is a woman. A woman is of fine and elegant endowments; but thoſe are peculiar to her ſex, attended with many inticing allurements, as well as infirmities; which equally poſſeſs the moſt beautiful and precious objects: therefore a woman is more fit to be under the guardianſhip

* From this obſervation of the primitive archbiſhop, it is evident, in thoſe days, there were not any public toleration given to maſquerades and buffoonery, to effeminacy and debauchery; nor were the lewd dreſſes and indecencies of jubilee balls encouraged.

ſhip of another, to be protected herſelf, than to be the protector of others; much leſs of a whole kingdom. It is no reproach to women to be under the tutelage of huſbands, parents, or friends: it is a relief to their frailties; it keeps them from affairs, for which they are unfit: this makes proviſion for their modeſty. I need not call to your obſervation, with what difficulty ſome women are reſtrained by their huſbands and the authority of parents; I ſhall not mention what the licentiouſneſs of ſome women hath been, when the reins have been let looſe on their necks: I ſhall, in my preſent ſpeech, tho' longer than I deſired yet not fuller than is neceſſary, confine myſelf to my preſent purpoſe: the greater the emotions, and the ſtronger the efforts of their paſſions, the greater the imbecility of their nature; and therefore, when once they have broke thro' the bounds of decency, the higher their extravagance; they ſtraggle farther away, and are ſeldom ever reduced: they are equally impatient of diſeaſes and remedies, and, if their ſpirits be high, ſo much the more dangerous, ſince theſe co-operate with the reſt of their violent and unbounded paſſions; for, if once a female puts off the woman, and ſhakes off the ties of the ſex, or exceeds the bounds and limits which nature hath ſet and fixed, all beyond theſe become infinite: the leſs confidence ſhe hath in herſelf, the more ready ſhe is to interpret the words and actions of others to her own reproach and detriment; is more violent and ſcarcely to be ſatisfied. She is immoderate in her reſentment, and outrageous in puniſhing affronts or ſuppoſed injuries.

" If any man calls in queſtion the danger, or the truth, of what I have ſet forth; let them look back to the diſturbances and confuſion, but lately, when Joan of Naples reigned: let them think of Semiramis in Aſſyria, or Laodice of Cappadocia; think of the wife of Odenatus, who was the guardian of the Roman empire, and in what manner the empire, which her huſband had inlarged and increaſed, was, by her frailties, in a moment irrecoverably loſt. I do not at all diſtruſt the care and fidelity of the Queen; but, if any miſconduct in the ſtate ſhould happen, if any groſs enormities and crimes be committed in the adminiſtration, who are to be accountable, who can anſwer? What puniſhment, what forfeitures ſhall be inflicted on the King's mother? Shall all our ſecret and moſt important affairs of ſtate, the ſecret machines of government, be managed and canvaſſed in the meetings of women, in the dreſſing-room and nurſery? When our Queen is armed and guarded with power, then, very likely, womaniſh wilfulneſs and extravagancy will appear. I am far from ſaying, our excellent Queen will act ſo; but when I have made it appear, that the fixing the government of the kingdom intirely in her perſon, is inconſiſtent with our laws divine and humane, and a breach of our continued and never diſputed cuſtom, I am ſurpriſed any of you, my Lords, can be blind to your national intereſts, and inſiſt upon a point againſt our law and reaſon. I beg therefore you will lay aſide your thoughts of female government. It is true, women have governed and ruled; but this they came to by birth and nativity, not by the ſuffrages and election of thoſe whom they did govern. Let us then, my Lords, according to law and cuſtom, elect one or more without delay, the beſt out of the moſt noble and the beſt, to undertake the regency of this kingdom, until the King arrive at that ſtrength of body and mind, which will enable him to take the government fully upon himſelf; and I pray God to bleſs our proceedings therein."

The Archbiſhop, having finiſhed this, tho' long yet artful and wiſely conceived, ſpeech, had ſo effectually touched upon the proper topics, to make the Queen's pretenſions of no force nor influence, as to her claim, that the majority by very far joined directly their approbation of the Biſhop's ſentiments. Both parties, ſeemingly ſatisfied with the wiſe and cool propoſals of the Primate, the better to unite and ſatisfy the minds of all, the parliament elected and appointed two of the chief nobility of each party; William Grahame, and the chancellor Robert Boyd, of the Queen's friends: Robert Earl of Orkney, and John Kennedy, of the other Side. To theſe four, as aſſiſtants, were added the Biſhops of Glaſcow and Dunkeld. The Queen was allowed the intire management and education of the younger Princes and Princeſſes, viz. Alexander Duke of Albany, John Earl of Mar, and the two royal ladies; but was to have no ſhare in the management of the revenue, nor of the government of the kingdom. Theſe matters were thus ſettled in 1462, the preceding year the truce had been agreed to.

The parliament declares againſt the Queen. Appoints guardians to the young King.

The Queen, tho' apparently ſatisfied, was much diſappointed, and took this as an heinous affront upon her; which, with ſeveral incidents concurring, made her uneaſy, and depreſſed her ſpirits ſo as to affect her health. Grief ſeized upon her, and brought her into a languiſhing illneſs. To help her diſorder, her ſon Alexander, on his return from the Low Countries after viſiting his grand-father, was intercepted at ſea by the Engliſh (notwithſtanding the truce agreed upon and ſigned at York) and carried priſoner to London, where he was detained. The next thing, which affected the Queen, was the low ſtate of Henry of England's affairs, which blaſted and defeated the intentions of the projected marriage, betwixt her daughter (the Princeſs Margaret) and the young Prince of Wales. Her reputation now, in point of chaſtity, was likewiſe blotted by various reports. Theſe, united to the diſappointment ſhe received from the parliament, in the ſettlement of the regency and guardianſhip of the young King, gave ſuch a ſhock to her great ſpirit, that nature and reaſon were incapable of withſtanding the torrent of trouble and grief, which ſwelled ſo high as to depreſs her mind even to melancholy.

The Queen, diſappointed, is affected in her health.

In this afflicted and diſconſolate ſtate, the Queen lingered and waſted away for ſome time. Her views and deſigns being all diſconcerted, her reaſon was not of ſufficient force to rectify and

encourage her mind, nor to ſupport her againſt the piercing influence of all the gloomy and afflicting Ideas which crouded in upon her. When, from this bad habit, ſhe ſeemed drawing nigh her laſt moments, and looking for nothing to relieve her but the diſſolution of her mortal ſtate, her Son (the young King) came to viſit and pay his duty to her. Having received him with great affection and melting tenderneſs, ſhe addreſſed him in the following ſentences, as the laſt and faithful advice from a tender, loving and dutiful mother:

The Queen's exhortations to the young king her ſon.

" My dear ſon,

" I am ſoon now to quit the ſtage of the preſent life. The ſame wiſe providence of Almighty God, by which I appeared on earth at firſt, and ſet a crown upon my head, now calls me hence, and appoints my removal to a better kingdom. My happineſs and conſolation is not ſmall in this, that I depart this life in the ſame peaceful calm and mild ſtate, in which the tenor and whole courſe of my life did appear. Death, which I now behold approaching, preſents to my view in a juſt light, bright as in a mirror, the emptineſs, the vanity and ſhort duration, of all worldly pomp and magnificence; which, in time paſt, I viewed in diſguiſed and falſe colours; placing, from miſtaken repreſentations, greatneſs and grandeur in ſhadows and external appearances, which ſoon vaniſh, and, even in the enjoyment of them, give no ſolid content nor happineſs of mind. You, my dear ſon, are in danger of being blinded and amuſed by honours, dignities, and the falſe appearances of grandeur, in your exalted and high degree of life. Sovereignty, and all the pomp, magnificence and honours, which are attendant upon and connected with the ſtation of a King, are fading ſhews, deceiving allurements, and enſnaring means, if not conſidered coolly, and repreſented by the light of clear reaſon to your underſtanding. In this view, as an affectionate and dying mother, I deſire you may look on theſe toys and ſhadows of happineſs.

" Many have been my griefs, my contentments few: the greateſt ſatisfaction I ever received in this world, was from my hopes of you and my other dear children, which I conceived from your promiſing appearances; and now I can't, tho' I would, reſtrain my ſorrow and my grief, that I am to leave you before I can ſee my wiſhes to you all accompliſhed. My chief care and concern was to have you educated in virtue, and in every thing which might make goodneſs your choice and the rule of your life. Heaven has reſerved and aſſigned this now to more prudent governors: I reſt ſatisfied; and only, in few words, ſhall give you my motherly and faithful advice, as the beſt legacy I can leave with you.

Elegant precepts for a young King.

" Be earneſt and very careful in attending to the rules and dictates of true religion; for, if you found your government upon the ſolid baſis of true and uncorrupted religion, you will be eſtabliſhed above oppoſition, and your government ſhall ſtand firm, ſafe and flouriſhing. A religious King will have obedient and faithful ſubjects, and ſo encloſe his government as if fortified with bars of iron and braſs. Believe it, my ſon, that nothing can be more inconſiſtent and unreaſonable, than for a King to expect obedience from his ſubjects here on earth, when he won't acknowlege and honour God for his ſupreme Lord in Heaven. That King, who rebels againſt God, will have ſubordinate creatures and ſubjects to rebel againſt him.

" Love my children, your brothers and ſiſters; laying aſide the ſuperiority, the diſtance and formality, of a King: look upon them with brotherly affection, not as your inferiors. Make your ſubjects love and obey you from love; but let them be ſo ruled, that they ſhall both love and fear you: love alone often begets contempt, fear alone begets hatred. Remember, you govern not the ſoft and effeminate people of the South, but the fierce and warlike nation of the North; which are oftener entreated than commanded by their Kings and Princes. Be ſparing and tender in impoſing and levying taxes upon your ſubjects; for if you are not, you will create malecontents. Live upon your own revenue with good Oeconomy, and be you always guarded againſt flatterers. Do not diſregard the ancient and beſt nobility of your kingdom; neither promote low and undiſcerning men to places of truſt and power. Suffer not your prerogative to be called in queſtion, and do not ſtretch your prerogative ſo far as to ſtop the courſe of law; but yield to all the reaſonable demands of your ſubjects, and moderate your paſſions. He ſhall never govern a kingdom who can't govern himſelf, and bring his affections within the circle of reaſon. I am in fears, that envy and malice may arm themſelves againſt you; but, to trample theſe, be always of a reſolute and martial ſpirit. A King, who is not of a martial and manly ſpirit, will never be free from rebellion and diſobedience from his ſubjects. A ſtrong arm is only fit to hold the ballance of juſtice. If diſſention or rebellion from your ſubjects ariſe, be not a loiterer, nor indifferent; but, with the greateſt activity and diligence, ſuppreſs them in the bud. Rebellion is like fire in a city, which ſhould be directly ſtopped and extinguiſhed, if it were by the pulling down ſome houſes in the neighbourhood.

" Others, of your kingdom, may inſtruct you in more refined and polite maxims of government; but none can give you advice from more love and ſo natural affection. I wiſh the council of your affectionate mother may be engraved in your heart and conſcience, to be a ſtanding evidence of my upright intentions for your virtuous education and happy life. Be not enſnared by the falſe or wicked councils of any, to depart from theſe my faithful and affectionate inſtructions: if you ſhould, you will expoſe your perſon and government to the moſt eminent dangers.

" Now

" Now I muſt take my long leave and farewel of you, and in a ſhort time of this world. This ſorrowful body of mine haſtens to be delivered to the reſt of a deſired grave."

The Queen, having thus finiſhed her excellent admonitions to the young King her ſon, compoſed her mind upon his departure from her, and gave herſelf up to retirement and fervent devotion; but did not ſurvive many days after. She was buried with great ſolemnity and funeral pomp, in 1466, in the church of the Trinity-college*, founded by herſelf. The Queen dies.

After the Queen's death, and the ſettlement of the government, James Kennedy, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, ſo governed and ordered the affairs of the nation, as to give entire ſatisfaction to all ranks, conducting all public affairs with ſo much candour, impartiality and equity, that no party could impeach him. His moderation, his benevolence, generoſity and juſtice, as before hinted, ſhone thro' every act of his public adminiſtration. The guardians, tho' ſix in number, preſerved ſuch harmony and good underſtanding, that they carried on all matters with great ſucceſs. The education of the young king advanced to great ſatisfaction, and gave hopes of his future happy reign. There was ſuch univerſal regard paid to Archbiſhop Kennedy, that, when he came to court, his advice and opinion determined all matters. The Kennedies and the Boyds, united, were the only miniſters of ſtate; and nothing was to be done, but by their approbation.

But this good harmony, among the guardians, was but of ſhort duration. Lord Boyd, one of the regents, had two ſons, Thomas and Robert, who were very promiſing and ſprightly young gentlemen, and were made companions to the young King: Lord Boyd likewiſe prevailed upon the regency to appoint his brother, Sir Alexander Boyd, preceptor and inſtructor to the King for military architecture, to initiate him in the art of war. By this means, the affairs of ſtate became gradually under the ſole direction of the Boyds; for, becauſe of James Kennedy's advanced age and his being ſeldom at court, the weight of the adminiſtration was taken up by the Lord Boyd. Sir Alexander, his brother, in the mean time, had ſo far gained in the King's affections, that he was pleaſed with whatever Sir Alexander directed or approved of. The King therefore now diſcovered a reſtleſs and refractory mind: he began to imagine what he was, and what the powers of a King were. His enterprizing ſpirit, enflamed with notions of his exalted ſtation and an apprehenſion of his capacity to hold the reins of government, naturally fond of the honours, regard and attendance of inferiors, with all the ſplendor and magnificence connected with royalty; the King, I ſay, impelled by theſe miſtaken and often dangerous motives, determined to ſhake off the tuition and guardianſhip of the regency. The young King refractory.

This ſpirit and theſe ſentiments, in the King, did not receive their birth and growth alone from nature. They owed both rather to the arts and addreſs of Lord Boyd and Sir Alexander, his brother, whoſe views were to inſtill into the King a diſlike of the ſtrict and cloſe ſuperintendency of James Kennedy, his governor; for the Archbiſhop kept a very watchful eye over his royal pupil, and was particularly attentive over his morals, religion and learning. The Boyds on the contrary, indulged the King in his youthful humours, in order to make him gradually break off from the Archbiſhop, that then his Majeſty might be wholly encompaſſed by Lord Boyd and his friends, and be entirely under their management, while none but their particular favourites were to be admitted of his council. The ſiniſter views of the Boyds. The Boyds breague againſt the Kennedies.

This ſcheme, of the Lord Boyd's cooking, had it's deſigned effect. The diverſions for the amuſement of youth were made uſe of to entice and engage his young and tender mind; and, as hunting is a diverſion always agreeable to young and lively ſpirits, as well as a fit opportunity for crafty and intriguing men to practiſe their deſigns without ſuſpicion, the Lord Boyd and his brother took care to put the King in a humour for going to hunt. To prepare matters with the greater ſecreſy and addreſs for their purpoſe, the Lords Hayles and Sommerville, Sir Andrew Ker of Ceſford, and Sir Alexander Boyd, accordingly concerted a hunting-match for a conſiderable wager; and, in order to execute their ſcheme, they agreed to wait on the King to invite him to ſee the diverſion, and to be witneſs of the match, in order to honour them with his Majeſty's opinion concerning the ſide which might claim the advantage; that both ſides would take his Majeſty's determination for the deciſive ſettlement of the whole diſpute.

Theſe gentlemen conducted this hunting-match, ſo as to fix it for the time when the King, with his governors, ſhould be at the palace of Linlithgow. The King accordingly, by the influence of Sir Alexander Boyd, agreed to be preſent at their hunting-match.

The Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and his brother Lord Kennedy, were the governors in waiting. They ſuſpected this hunting to be no other than a ſtate-match; and, from the alteration of the King's behaviour to them, they began to underſtand ſome hidden deſigns, and to have a ſtricter eye over the King. The morning therefore the King went out, attended by Sir Alexander Boyd, under pretence to ſee the hunting, the Archbiſhop, with the Lord Kennedy, took horſe and followed the King at a ſmall diſtance.

When they had gone a little way, by ſome ſtrong circumſtances, the Prelate's ſuſpicions were confirmed, and he perceived a ſnare intended to carry off the King: upon which, the good old Primate laid hold of the King's reins, to turn about his horſe and return home, telling his Majeſty: " This I find is not a proper hunting-match, and by no means fitting for your majeſty at this time." The Archbiſhop diſcovers their deſigns.

Sir

* This church is now called the College-church, in Edinburgh.

Aſſaulted by the Boyds, who carry off the young King.

Sir Alexander Boyd obſerving, from a ſmall diſtance, that the King was ſtopt and returning home to Linlithgow, came up, diſengaged the King's horſe from the Lord Kennedy, and, with his hunting whip, gave a ſevere blow to the old Archbiſhop over the head; and ſo carried off the King to Edinburgh, after a good deal of foul and reproachful language given to the Kennedies.

Kennedy ſummons and complains to parliament.

When the Boyds had thus carried off the King, eſcorted by the Lords Somerville and Hayles, with Sir Andrew Ker, and a few more of their friends, the parliament was immediately ſummoned at Edinburgh, to complain of this extraordinary and unlawful encroachment of the Boyds, upon the rights of the other regents, and the parliamentary eſtabliſhment. The meeting of parliament was very full: both ſides had got all their friends together. The behaviour of the Boyds was laid before the parliament; upon which great debates aroſe, and the controverſy was ſupported with great warmth. The Kennedies inſiſted ſtrongly on the violation of their privileges, and that the King ſhould continue, during his minority, under the protection and direction of the regency; in order to prevent diſorders and confuſion in the nation. But the Lord Boyd, with his Brother Sir Alexander, who had formed the King's mind and affections to their own model, had ſo influenced and inflamed the ſpirit of the King with an opinion of his ability and capacity to undertake the government in his own perſon, that the majority, to gain the King's favour and eſtabliſh their own intereſts, took part with the Lord Boyd and his faction.

The Boyds prevail.

By theſe violent and unjuſt meaſures the Boyds prevailed, and over-ruled all the equitable and wiſe meaſures of the Kennedies. The Archbiſhop and his brother, very far advanced in years, and wore out with the fatigues of public life, now retired from court and determined to return no more, nor to take concern in public affairs again. Grief and old age, uniting, depreſſed the declining ſpirit of the worthy Archbiſhop Kennedy, and brought him ſoon to his tomb. He died in 1468, to the univerſal regret of good men, and was buried, with great ſplendor, in the magnificent tomb he had erected and endowed for his family, in the church of the city of St. Andrew's.

The Kennedies retire from court.

The Archbiſhop dies.

Archbiſhop Kennedy endowed a college in St. Andrew's.

In this city, Biſhop Kennedy founded a college, for teaching all the branches of philoſophical learning. This college he eſtabliſhed with extenſive privileges, rich endowments, and genteel appointments, for the ſupport of different profeſſors.

His death a national Loſs.

The death of this valuable Prelate (not of the avaritious, gutling, bullying and ſelfiſh order of Eccleſiaſtics) changed the face and the grandeur of the court; for he, who was of refined taſte and magnificent in all his appearances, ſteady and inflexible for the public good, for the honour and glory of Scotland, kind, beneficent, generous, and forgiving in ſpirit; calm and mild in diſpoſition; wiſe and juſt in all his councils and deliberations; he, I ſay, was no more: he was now removed from earth, and with him the grandeur and glory of the court diſappeared: darkneſs, meanneſs and ſelfiſh proceedings, after this, increaſed the ſorrow of all good men for the loſs of him who deſired the happineſs of all.

His affinity.

James Kennedy, Biſhop of St. Andrew's, was, by his mother, nephew to James the firſt: a man of the ſtricteſt diſcipline, morals and good behaviour; of great learning, devout without affectation, and liberal to all in diſtreſs without oſtentation.

When the Lord Boyd, and his friends, had got the whole management of affairs, and of the King, to themſelves, the court ſoon loſt regard, and became contemptible to all.

His brother Graham ſucceeds him in the primacy.

Is oppoſed by Lord Boyd:

The canons, clergy and chapter, of the cathedral church of St. Andrew's, out of regard to the memory of their deceaſed and deſerving Biſhop, did of themſelves voluntarily elect into the ſee of St. Andrew's, Patrick Graham, who was brother to James Kennedy, by the ſame mother but of a former marriage. The Lord Boyd uſed all his power and influence to ſtop the induction and confirmation of Patrick Graham, into the primate's chair; but the Archbiſhop elect, Patrick Graham, thought proper to go in perſon privately to Rome for the approbation and ratification of his Holineſs. Patrick Graham, being a man of great regard for his learning and virtue, and deſcended of a noble family, met with a very kind and genteel reception at Rome; and, by the reigning Pope Sixtus the fourth, was eſtabliſhed and confirmed in his dignity and ſettlement in the ſee of St. Andrew's.

but prevails and his Election ratified by the Pope.

The Pope declares the independency of the Church of Scotland from that of England.

While Patrick Graham reſided at Rome, the old queſtion was brought upon the carpet concerning the dependency of the Prelates of Scotland, upon the ſupremacy of the archiepiſcopal ſee of York in all matters of juriſdiction and appeals. Patrick Graham, with ſuch power of eloquence, and with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon and argument, ſupported the independency of the church of Scotland and their clergy from all the Engliſh hierarchy, and with ſuch evidence demonſtrated the inconſiſtency and abſurdity of the claim for ſuperiority lodged by the Archbiſhop of York, that the Pope, after a full hearing, not only confirmed Patrick Graham in all his rights, but likewiſe, by a ſolemn deed and charter under his hand and ſeal, eſtabliſhed the independency of the Biſhops of Scotland from thoſe of England; confirming and acknowlegeing, that, for the future, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's ſhould be Primate of all Scotland and Metropolitan, as he was formerly reputed and regarded, all the other Biſhops being bound to acknowlege his ſuperiority. The Pope likewiſe appointed Patrick Graham to be his nuncio, or ambaſſador, at the court of Scotland for three years.

Graham appointed the Pope's nuncio in Scotland.

But ſuch was the power of the Lord Boyd and his party, and ſuch his univerſal influence over the King and the whole nation, that the Primate of St. Andrew's was not in ſafety to return

turn to his native country. There were deſigns formed to deſtroy him, notwithſtanding all marks of regard paid him by his holineſs, and his particular excelling merit. He, for very ſufficient reaſons, thought it proper therefore not to come over to Scotland, 'till the power of the Boyds ſhould begin to be eclipſed.

The Boyds plot againſt his life.

He ſtays at Rome, for ſafety.

Upon the removal of the Kennedies from all power in the adminiſtration, and the incloſure of the throne by the Boyds and their adherents, the King received no directions but ſuch as were dictated to him from my Lord Boyd and Sir Alexander: they conducted matters however ſo with the young King, as plainly declared they aimed at making themſelves popular, univerſally regarded and beloved, for their mild, prudent and juſt adminiſtration of public affairs. So that at preſent they reigned in the eſteem of the people. The only imputation fixed againſt them, which raiſed any diſſatisfaction to them, was the taking of the King in ſuch a clandeſtine manner, and by force ſeparating him from the governors and guardians the parliament and the nation had aſſigned him, and to perſuade the young King, by deceiving arts, to take upon him the government, tho' not of age nor underſtanding fitting for the exerciſe of his royal authority and power. However, my Lord Boyd and his friends, having the ſole acceſs to the King, with great alertneſs, took care to ſecure themſelves againſt any future enquiries. The King was ſo engaged and perſuaded in their favour, that he went to the parliament-houſe purpoſely to declare his royal pleaſure; whereby his Majeſty ſolemnly affirmed and proteſted, before the Lords and Commons, that my Lord Boyd, nor none of his family nor friends, were the authors or projectors of his deſertion from the Kennedies, his guardians and governors; that the Boyds had done nothing in this affair but what his Majeſty had commanded and directed them to execute; and that, for their duty and fidelity, they deſerved his laſting thanks and moſt hearty acknowlegements; and that they had only obeyed in every meaſure for the welfare of the kingdom.

The Boyds affect popularity.

The King's declaration in parliament, in favour of the Boyds.

The King having made ſo ſtrong a declaration in parliament, for the vindication of Lord Boyd and all his friends, that Lord was ſo wiſe as to require an inſtrument upon this, ſigned under the great ſeal, to be regiſtered among the records of parliament, for the future indemnification of himſelf and his friends; which was accordingly granted him. But at the ſame time that he gained this point, the parliament, out of juſt regard to the memory of Kennedy, the late Primate, granted likewiſe a full indemnity and approbation of the adminiſtration of the Kennedies, during their guardianſhip and management of public affairs.

Lord Boyd procures an indemnification.

The parliament alſo indemnify the Kennedies.

This being over, by the King's influence and procurement, the Lord Boyd was declared ſole governor of Scotland and chief miniſter of ſtate, till the King arrived at the age of twenty-one, the parliament extended the powers of the Lord of Boyd, to have the full and ſole care and truſt of the education and ſupport of the King's brothers, and the royal ladies the King's ſiſters; ſo that the royal family, the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the management of all affairs of ſtate, were committed to the Lord Boyd alone during the King's minority.

Lord Boyd appointed ſole regent.

By this ſettlement of the whole power and authority over the kingdom, the Lord Boyd had the abſolute command of all towns, ports, gariſons, fortifications and caſtles; and in ſhort of every fortreſs and place of conſequence all over Scotland. It was thought very extraordinary, and did ſurprize many perſons of diſtinction over the kingdom, that the parliament ſhould give ſuch unlimited and abſolute powers to any one man. It appeared to ſome, as if they had laid thereby a ſnare for him to delude him firſt, afterwards to make his fall the more terrible. From the frailty of human nature, it is certain, that nothing is more alluring than power without controul or partnerſhip, but in all ſtates nothing more dangerous, if the ſpirit of true liberty be not totally eradicated or corrupted; ſo as that men of power may exerciſe what liberty they pleaſe, and give it the ſanction of authority and ſupreme power.

The deceiving morſel of power now was ſo ſweet to my Lord Boyd's palate, that he forgot all conſequences and hazards, regarding the preſent advantages as the greateſt certainty: therefore, taking his advantage of his preſent power and truſt over the royal ladies the King's ſiſters, he takes care to introduce his eldeſt ſon, Thomas, to the acquaintance and familiarity of the Princeſs Margaret, the King's eldeſt ſiſter. This brought on a courtſhip, and, at length, a mutual love. Thus ſhe, who, a ſhort time before, by her mother the Queen, was deſigned for Edward Prince of Wales, now engaged in affection with the Lord Body's ſon, was ſoon married to this young nobleman; who was immediately upon this, created Earl of Arran. This young nobleman was of fine accompliſhments, of a lively wit, and great ſpirit.

The Boyds abuſe their power.

Marries his eldeſt ſon to the Princeſs Margaret.

But though the Lord Boyd had got his family, by this marriage, allied to the royal blood; yet he found, that neither the acceſſion of wealth nor power, by this piece of encroaching behaviour, could ſave him from the envy and ill-will of the other nobility and gentry. They, upon this event, were determined to oppoſe his meaſures in every particular, where they had the ſmalleſt ground and opportunity. An univerſal jealouſy of his meaſures was promoted over the kingdom; even the populace and mob ſhewed their diſſatisfaction and their diſregard of the Boyds.

The nobility jealous of his power.

Oppoſe his adminiſtration.

The Kennedies improved this in ſuch a manner, as to make it appear to the King and court, that the Lord Boyd's exerciſe of power and his adminiſtration were contemptible to the nation, and had not the neceſſary authority to cheque diſorders, and maintain the peace of the country. To make this appear the more fully to the King, tumults, inſurrections, depredations and oppreſſions, from one county and neighbour againſt another, were begun and carried on with great

violence. This encouraged the common people to audacious and licentious outrages, and to ſhew their open contempt of the power of the miniſter.

Commotions encreaſe.

Rapine, violence and confuſion being thus artfully introduced and encouraged, the nation became ſo involved in troubles and civil diſcords, as to cramp and embarraſs my Lord Boyd and all his party. The ſedition and tumultuary ſpirit of the nation encreaſed, and the enemies of the miniſtry, who before, under maſk, had attempted to diſcover the King's real ſentiments and affections towards the Boyds and their adminiſtration, being increaſed to a conſiderable oppoſition, now openly accoſted the King and repreſented the ſtate and the danger of the nation in very ſtrong terms.

The repreſentations of the nobility againſt the Boyds.

They ſet forth to his majeſty the ſelfiſh and mercenary deſigns of the Boyds: that they had degraded his royal ſiſter, the Princeſs Margaret, by her marriage to the Lord Boyds ſon; whereas her marriage to a foreign Prince might have been uſeful to ſtrengthen and ſupport the kingdom upon any attack from an enemy. They further impeached my Lord Boyd, and all his aſſociates, with enriching themſelves out of the public treaſury, and levying extraordinary taxes upon the people which had incited the tumultuous ſpirit now raging over the kingdom; and, in ſhort, all the calamities, diſorders and confuſion, in the ſtate, were charged upon the Boyds.

The impreſſions of theſe repreſentations fixed the King's attention to public affairs, being naturally fearful even to ſuperſtition. Thus perplexed with the troubled ſtate of the kingdom, the King began to look cool upon Lord Boyd; and gradually abridged and leſſened the power of the Boyds which was the ſure preſage of their fall and ruin.

The Boyds decline.

The marriage of the King projected,

In order to ſtrengthen the hands of the King, and to ſupport the welfare and repoſe of the kingdom, it was propoſed to the King, in council, to marry ſome agreeable foreign Princeſs, by which there might be an uſeful and profitable alliance ſettled for the advantage of the nation.

The King agreed to this meaſure, and the party of the nobility and gentry, who aimed at the downfall of the Bodys, were determined to improve the preſent projected marriage and the preſent ſituation of affairs, to effect and accompliſh the total removal of them.

The King was of a ſuſpicious and avaricious diſpoſition, at the ſame time that he was fearful in ſpirit. Having therefore ſuch frightful repreſentations laid before him, concerning the violence, licentiouſneſs and diſorders, in every quarter; he began to be afraid of the event. He found the nation diſſatisfied with the regency and miniſtry of the Boyds; that the body of the people complained loudly of the adminiſtration, and contemned their authority. The Boyd's now therefore became indifferent to his Majeſty.

The breach being thus made upon them, the Kennedies and their adherents took care, with art and diligence, to increaſe his Majeſty's diſlike of the Boyds, and leſſen their influence at court.

and determined.

The affair of the King's marriage was reſolved upon. The Duke of Burgundy had made an offer to King James of his eldeſt daughter, but, as the Duke's mind changed, the treaty concerning her was broke off.

A Princeſs of Denmark propoſed.

The next propoſed to the King, by his council, was the Princeſs Margaret, King Chriſtian of Denmark's eldeſt daughter; which was agreed to. She was a comely and beautiful lady, of a ſtately and handſome perſon, and great ſweetneſs and affability of temper.

Ambaſſadors ſent to demand her.

The King, with advice of his council and parliament, in the end of 1468, nominated ambaſſadors to go over to Denmark, to demand the Princeſs Margaret in marriage, and to adjuſt, in an amicable manner, all former diſputes and differences concerning the iſlands of Orkney and Zetland, which the King of Denmark claimed to himſelf, and inſiſted to have reſtored as his right.

The Princeſs granted.

Theſe ambaſſadors were Andrew Stewart Lord Annandale, the Lord Chancellor, and the Biſhops of Glaſcow and Orkney. Upon their arrival at the court of Denmark, and delivering their credentials, they were moſt graciouſly received; the demand of the Princeſs was chearfully complied with, and the Daniſh miniſtry, by the King's approbation, ſettled all matters finally upon a juſt and equitable footing, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both courts with the ambaſſadors.

The King of Denmark, by the articles of the treaty now ſettled, ſigned and ratified, renounced for ever to the crown of Scotland, all right and pretenſions to the iſlands of Zetland and Orkney, as the fortune and patrimony of the deſigned Queen, his daughter.

Some hiſtorians affirm, the iſlands were only given in mortgage to King James until his Queen's fortune was fully paid; but that King Chriſtian of Denmark, upon the birth of the young Prince James, made a free and full gift of theſe iſlands, and all belonging to them, to his grandſon, his heirs or ſucceſſors, and to the kingdom of Scotland for ever, renouncing all manner of title or claim to a reſtitution or future poſſeſſion of them. Therefore, though this ſtory be related with different circumſtances by different hiſtorians; yet thus much is agreed upon by all, and aſcertained from antient Scotiſh records, that, upon the event of this marriage, the Scots nation acquired an abſolute and irrevocable right to the iſlands of Orkney and Zetland, with all belonging to them; which, by ſearching records, will be confirmed. So that the public may be ſatisfied that the revival of this old claim, lately mentioned by news writers, can have no exiſtence in fact and reality; and therefore no diſpute can ariſe from this to interrupt a national fiſhery. However artful and refined ſuch a political engine may be, and ready to play, it muſt fail of it's purpoſe; though every way prepared by our over buſy and political neighbourrs, who

The Scots right inconteſtible as to Zetland and Orkney iſles.

who would laugh at raiſing diſputes and controverſies betwixt us and our good allies, upon an airy and chimerical foundation. Such thin-ſpun politics, to diſturb our tranquillity, will ſoon break and diſappear, like a ſpider's web.

Paſſing this ſhort digreſſion, the ambaſſadors returned with ſucceſs; and, having acquainted King James and the parliament with their negociations, and their kind reception at the court of Denmark, they ratified, with great ſatisfaction, the whole of their negociations. The Ambaſſadors return.

The next thing deliberated, was the choice of a fit perſon to be ſent to Denmark, to attend the Princeſs over to the Court of Scotland.

Here the Kennedies, and the other oppoſites to my Lord Boyd, played their game with art: They knew well, the ignorantly-proud part of the faction of the Boyds would be highly pleaſed with the promotion of one of their party, to go ambaſſador to bring over the Princeſs of Denmark to Scotland. The honour of ſuch an embaſſy-extraordinary, and on ſuch an occaſion, would gratify their vanity. The Kennedies therefore, with all their friends, who were concerting the fall and ruin of the Boyds, judged well, that if, upon this embaſſy, they did remove from court, and from the King's ear, the moſt active and quick-witted of the Boyds, they ſhould then have a fit opportunity of impreſſing the mind of the King with ſuch prejudices and diſagreeable relations of the haughty, illegal and uſurping proceedings of the miniſtry, that his Majeſty's mind might be prepared to ſhew the whole faction his diſcountenance and indignation of ſuch incroaching and violent meaſures as they practiſed, which had nigh endangered the whole nation, and involved them in the moſt calamitous commotions. The policy of the oppoſition.

For this purpoſe, the faction of the Kennedies perſwaded the King to fix upon Thomas Boyd Earl of Arran (Lord Boyd's ſon) to go over ambaſſador extraordinary, with a moſt ſplendid and magnificent retinue and equipage, to conduct the Princeſs over to Scotland for the ſolemnization of her marriage with the King. The King nominated him as a fit perſon: he was a nobleman of quick wit, of fine preſence, and a graceful, ſtately perſon; a man of great activity, and application to buſineſs: ſo that he was now the only perſon, of all the Boyds, who attended cloſeſt at court, and kept up the ſpirit and regard of his party, by his being ſo much with the King: his father, the Lord Boyd, was now of a very advanced age and infirm; and therefore but ſeldom attended at court. Sir Alexander Boyd, through age and illneſs, was likewiſe incapable to wait of his Majeſty ſo cloſe as he wiſhed. The removal from court of the Earl of Arran, upon this embaſſy, which he could not decline being his Majeſty's choice, did effectually anſwer the ends of his enemies. The Kennedies contrive to ſend Lord Arran from court.

During the abſence of the Earl of Arran, his own enemies, as well as thoſe of his father's adminiſtration, made uſe of their time with great ſucceſs. They were frequently with the King without interruption, and in ſuch clear and ſtrong terms convinced his Majeſty of ſeveral articles of ſuch conſequence and importance to the nation, that the King determined to ſhake off the adminiſtration of the Lord Boyd, and all his party; and to ſubmit the whole of their paſt behaviour, in the miniſtry, to a parliamentary and full enquiry. His enemies induſtrious in his abſence.

The Kennedies, and other enemies of the Lord Boyd and his family, having once changed the King's affections and created in his mind a ſpirit of reſentment, loſt no time, but immediately lodged articles of impeachment, with the King's approbation, againſt the Lord Boyd, the Earl of Arran, Sir Alexander Boyd, the Lords Hales and Sommerville, and Sir Andrew Ker. The King, in the abſence of the Earl of Arran, and by the aforeſaid retirement of the Lord Boyd and Sir Alexander his brother, had time to deliberate upon and enquire into theſe matters. The Boyds impeached.

Firſt, they impeached the Boyds of enriching themſelves out of the King's treaſury, empoveriſhing the revenue, and the whole kingdom. The articles of impeachment.

Secondly, the impoſing heavy and unneceſſary taxes on the people, which procured tumults, and a diſaffection againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government.

Thirdly, they were accuſed of removing honeſt and faithful councillors from his Majeſty, and forbidding them the court.

Fourthly and laſtly, of uſurping and invading the rights of the crown, acting without law, and in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner.

The King having conſidered of theſe articles and received, by way of corroboration, (in the abſence of the Earl of Arran) numberleſs complaints from all quarters of the kingdom, ſummoned, in November 1469, the parliament to meet for diſpatch of divers weighty and important affairs. A parliament ſummoned.

The Earl of Arran was ſailed now, with the fleet to bring the intended Queen over; but they were no ſooner got into the harbour of Copenhagen, then the froſt came on with ſuch violence, and continued thus ſevere ſo long, that, before ſpring, no ſhipping could ſail out of the harbour. Lord Arran detained all the winter by a froſt at Copenhagen.

This lucky incident, favouring the Kennedies, gave them full leiſure and opportunity with the King, thus in the abſence of all the Boyds, to execute the intended downfal of the Boyds, and all who adhered to them. Fortunate for the Kennedies.

The parliament met according to proclamation. The King, after opening the ſeſſions with an agreeable ſpeech, laid before them all the articles of impeachment againſt Lord Boyd, Sir Alexander The articles of impeachment laid before the parliament.

Alexander his brother, the Earl of Arran, the Lords Hayles and Sommerville, Sir Andrew Ker, and others.

The delinquents ordered to appear.

The parliament, upon this, ordered the Lord Boyd, with his brother Sir Alexander, to be ſummoned to appear and anſwer for their adminiſtration. The Lord Boyd obeyed the ſummons, and came to parliament; but in ſuch a manner, as demonſtrated rather an inſult than ſubmiſſion to his ſuperiors. He came to Edinburgh, attended and eſcorted by ſome hundreds of his dependents, ſome banditti, and a good number of idle ruffians fit only for miſchief and rebellion.

Their numbers intimidate the King and parliament.

With theſe gentry, he paraded for ſome days; making an appearance, as if he was not afraid of any laws; but had come to give laws to his King and parliament, who, for the preſent, allowed him, without moleſtation, to return with his band; for they had not guards prepared to give him a proper reception, and therefore were glad to diſmiſs him and his lawleſs tribe.

The King levies forces.

As ſoon as Boyd and his followers diſperſed, the King and parliament levied a ſufficient number of troops, and collected ſome more from different quarters, to attend upon and protect them from any inſults; that the due execution of juſtice, and the courſe of law, might receive no interruption from the violent meaſures of theſe offenders and criminals.

Lord Boyd re-ſummoned.

The parliament, thus ſecure from danger, firſt proceeded againſt Lord Boyd and his brother. The Lord Boyd was again ſummoned to return, and to ſtand his trial: but now he ſaw danger in front, and his enemies at court too many for him, he anſwered the commands of the parliament by a flight to England; where he remained concealed for ſome time. But his brother Sir Alexander, confined by ſickneſs, could not make his eſcape: he was brought up to Edinburgh before the parliament, and arraigned at the bar of the houſe, for forcibly carrying off the King, in his minority, when in his way to the caſtle of Calwader at Linlithgow; compelling him to deſert the other regents, and go along with them to Edinburgh.

Flies to England.

Sir Alexander Boyd arraigned.

Sir Alexander, in his own defence, inſiſted, that he had an indemnification from the King and parliament for this offence, under the great ſeal; and deſired the records of parliament ſhould be ſearched to prove the fact; but this was over-ruled: he was caſt and condemned; and, in a few days after, executed.

Condemned and executed.

Lord Boyd outlawed.

The Lord Boyd was declared a rebel and enemy to the King and nation. The earl of Arran his ſon, now upon his embaſſy at the court of Denmark, was, in his abſence, ordered to anſwer before the parliament. His eſtates, with his fathers, were forfeited and the profits of them ordered into the King's treaſury; for the nation cried aloud for vengeance againſt the Boyds for marrying the King's ſiſter, below her rank, to the Earl of Arran.

Dies.

The convulſions now in the ſtate, by the oppoſition of parties, ſo agitated and affected the mind of the Lord Boyd, who now lay concealed at Anwick, that, in a few days after, he died of grief.

Lord Arran returns.

Apprized of his danger by his lady.

He eſcapes.

The Earl of Arran returned in the ſpring with the Princeſs Margaret, and the fleet anchored in the Forth: but my Lord Arran's lady, who waited for her huſband with great concern, on the firſt appearance of the fleet, went on board, acquainted him fully with his danger, the fall of his intereſt at court, and of the many ſnares laid to cut him off. In compliance therefore with his faithful, affectionate and valuable wife, he ſet ſail directly back for Denmark; and his tender, dutiful lady, though the King's ſiſter, and ſuperior in birth to her huſband, was of ſo noble, ſo true and amiable a ſpirit, that ſhe chuſed to ſhare all the hardſhips and calamities of her huſband, rather than enjoy the higheſt grandeur and regard at court, from her brother the King. This was an honeſt Scots woman, of primitive integrity, and not tainted with the bad practices and gilded vices of any neighbouring nation.

From Denmark my Lord Arran went, by the way of Germany, into France. Lewis the eleventh was prevailed upon to interceed with his ally, James of Scotland, to pardon the Earl of Arran; but without ſucceſs.

At this time Lewis had made himſelf an abſolute and arbitrary monarch, and had much changed the old conſtitution of France: therefore, the Earl of Arran, in fear and dread of ſome private dealings betwixt King James and Lewis the eleventh of France, thought proper for ſafety to go off for the court of Burgundy.

Charles, Duke of Burgundy, received him with great marks of affection and diſtinction; and, being involved in a civil war with his rebellious ſubjects, he preferred the Earl of Arran to a chief command in his army: in which ſtation he ſignalized himſelf ſo, as to be in great regard with the duke of Burgundy. But my lady Arran, being with child, remained at Antwerp; at which place, continuing ſome time, ſhe brought forth two children at one birth, James and Grace.

Princeſs Margaret makes a public entry.

Princeſs Margaret of Denmark, being landed ſafe in Scotland, made her public entry into the city of Edinburgh, the 10th of July 1469; tho' others contend it was 1470. She was received with great joy and the univerſal liking of all the nobility and gentry. She was a lovely, agreeable lady, and but in her 16th year.

Is married.

Proclaimed Queen.

This very night (the 10th of July) the marriage-ceremony of the King with the Princeſs was celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity, in preſence of a moſt numerous and brilliant court, who attended upon this occaſion, at the palace of Holyrood-houſe at Edinburgh. The ceremony was performed by the biſhop of Glaſcow, in the abbey-church; and, in November following,

following, ſhe was crowned Queen of Scotland, the parliament all attending her coronation, which was performed with the utmoſt magnificence.

This public ſolemnity, and all other formalities allied to it, being over, the King, full of keen reſentment and determined upon the ruin of the Earl of Arran and his family, ſent over repeated letters with a mixture of threatnings and encouragements to his ſiſter the lady Arran, commanding her to return to Scotland immediately. The King commands the lady Arran's immediate return.

The faithful and virtuous lady remained inflexible, and was not to be diverted from her love and affection to her huſband, and therefore would not depart from him. But, after ſome time, being perſuaded by her friends, ſhe ventured over to Scotland; thinking, by her preſence and moſt earneſt and humble ſupplications to the King, ſhe could prevail upon him, thro' brotherly love and ſympathy, to pardon her huſband, and receive him again into favour. But, upon her arrival, ſhe was ſo far diſappointed, that ſhe repented heavily ſhe had taken the advice given her. She found her brother, the King, in an implacable ſpirit againſt the Earl of Arran, and would hear no interceſſion in his favour; but, inſtead of receiving his own ſiſter in a tender and affectionate manner, ſhe was denied acceſs to the royal preſence, and kept confined by a guard in Kilmarnock-houſe*. After ſome time complies. Sollicits her huſband's pardon. In vain.

In the mean time, her huſband, Thomas Earl of Arran, was publicly ſummoned all over Scotland, to appear at court, in ſixty days, under pain of forfeiture of life, honours and eſtate, and of having his marriage declared null and void. Lord Arran ſummoned to appear.

But tho' public faith had been given him for the protection and ſafety of his perſon, yet he did not think it prudent to truſt himſelf in the hands of his enemies, nor to expoſe himſelf to danger; well knowing, that gentlemen, armed with power, would eaſily find ſome evaſive means to excuſe any breach of faith or violence to his perſon. Diſobeys.

Upon the Earl of Arran's non-appearance, his marriage was declared void; and the King, in a very abſurd and brutal manner, forced his ſiſter to marry James Lord Hamilton; who, upon this occaſion, was alſo created Earl of Arran. His marriage diſſolved. His lady forced to marry again.

Not long after this, her two children, by the Earl of Arran, were brought over to Scotland to her; but, in proceſs of time, when theſe two poor children became capable of acting on the ſtage of life, they were not more happy than the unfortunate father; for James was killed by Hugh Montgomery of Eglinton: the daughter Grace was firſt married to the Earl of Caſſils, and next to the Lord Forbes; but had no child by either huſband.

The death of Thomas Earl of Arran ſoon followed upon this violent and baſe robbery of his wife, and the transferring of her to the Lord Hamilton in ſo illegal a manner. The cauſe of the death of the Earl of Arran is differently related: ſome will have it, that he died at Antwerp, diſconſolate, upon the loſs of his lady; others affirm, that he was killed by a merchant at Florence, on ſuſpicion of a criminal correſpondence with the merchant's wife. He dies.

Queen Margaret, after being married three years to King James, brought forth a prince, who was baptized James. A Prince born.

The King of Denmark, on this occaſion, ſent compliments of congratulation to the court of Scotland; and, to teſtify his joy on this event, under his hand and ſeal, he granted to the now-apparent heir to the crown, his grandſon, all right and title to the iſlands of Orkney and Zetland for ever, both for himſelf and his ſucceſſors. This is confirmed by all hiſtorians. Orkney and Zetland iſles ratified to Scotland, in 1473.

After this King James iſſued out proclamations for the meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh. The reaſons given out, for this meeting of the parliament, were to reform abuſes in ſtate and in the church, and to direct the marine to be put in a better condition; together for the enacting many uſeful and neceſſary laws for the better regulation of the ſtate, to civilize and poliſh the manners of the people over the Highlands.

But, notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious and plauſible pretexts, when the parliament were met, the chief point, aimed at in their aſſembly, was to procure liberal and large ſupplies and ſubſidies for the King and his hungry, mercenary miniſtry; whoſe pockets and coffers, ſoon emptied, were to be repleniſhed, to carry on afreſh the dirty work of corruption, and to glut the rapacious jaws of avarice and want.

The ſtory of this reign is a picture fit to repreſent later times. As there is a circulation or rotation in faſhions and humours of ages, ſo there is in manners, cuſtoms and politics.

In this parliament, the Earl of Roſs, Lord of the Iſles, for rebellion and mal-practices, was attainted, and the forfeiture of his eſtate ordered to be for the benefit of the King's treaſury.

The King, in perſon, raiſed an army and marched againſt the Lord of the Iſles; putting the Earl of Athol, his uncle, in command of the army under him. The Earl of Crawford was appointed admiral of the King's fleet, and received orders to ſail without delay to the Weſt coaſt, to make a deſcent on the Weſtern Iſles to diſtreſs the Earl of Roſs. An expedition againſt Donald of the Iſles.

The Lord of the Iſles now found himſelf beſet with ſuperior force, both by ſea and land; he therefore made application and intereſt, privately by his friends, to the Earl of Athol, the King's uncle: ſo that in a ſhort time, by means of my Lord Athol, his ſubmiſſion and humble acknowlegements were accepted of by the King, who gave him his life: but he was brought before the parliament, before whom he made a ſolemn renunciation of the earldom of Roſs, of Kintire, and Knapdale, with other lands; which the parliament, after this, annexed to the crown-revenues. As for the reformation of abuſes and mal-adminiſtration in church and ſtate, He ſubmits. Is degraded.



* The ſeat of the Lord Boyd, and now of the Earl of Kilmarnock, ſituated on the banks of the river Irvin in Cunningham.

theſe were overlooked by the King and parliament; the views of the miniſtry being anſwered by the ample ſupplies granted.

The King garbles a deſpicable miniſtry.

The King, being of an obſtinate and proud ſpirit, not bearing with freedom of ſpeech, nor chuſing to have ſuch of the nobility of the nation for his miniſtry as would talk freely and deal plainly, fixed therefore upon ſuch who durſt not venture to controul his poſitive reſolutions, but who wanted preferments, and would be ſo dependent for the eſtabliſhment of their own intereſt and the increaſe of their wealth, as to gratify him in every matter he projected.

With ſuch a miniſtry he ſurrounded his throne. They dictated ſelfiſh, low, and contracted meaſures to the King; and, without regard to the affections of the people, or to the honour and eſtabliſhment of the kingdom, introduced ſuch projects as might fill his Majeſty's coffers, ſo as to be capable of ſupplying plentifully his hungry and craving miniſtry, and to enrich their families; for their views ran no higher.

State-employments diſpoſed by ſale.

The firſt ſcheme they promoted, which met with royal approbation, was to introduce the ſale of all poſts, offices and places; which were to be all, of whatever rank or quality, at the diſpoſal of the crown; and the whole profits of the ſale of theſe offices and employments were to belong to the crown, to be put into the King's treaſury.

The corruption of the ſtate.

This made a patent-gate for all ſcum, ignorant vile fellows, of no knowledge nor capacity, of no qualification, but their money, to be admitted to truſt, to offices of power in the ſtate; and, in ſhort, for introducing into public offices, corruption, venality and mercenary practices; by fellows raiſed by their money, who had neither principles of honour, nor honeſty, and no ſcheme but private intereſt.

This low and falſe ſcheme for gratifying the King with money, at the expence of national honour and happineſs, glory and regard of the kingdom, was in the event fatal to the King himſelf. As it was a temporary ſcheme, it was evident to be as contemptible as it was ſhort ſighted.

Eccleſiaſtic rights invaded.

The nex attack and corruption was upon the rights of the church. At this time, all over the whole Kingdom, the eccleſiaſtics (as all denominations of them love a fat morſel, and plenty with little fatigue) were poſſeſſed of great revenues, rich lands, and the moſt fertile ſoil.

King James's covetous ſpirit was gratified by a new project of his low and ravenous miniſtry, who were always hunting out an addition and acceſſion of money to enrich their private fortunes and families. This motley miniſtry, theſe obſcure upſtarts, propoſed to the King, that all offices, all preferments in the church; in ſhort, all eccleſiaſtic employments, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt friar, ſhould be at the diſpoſal of his Majeſty, and in the gift of the crown, and the choice or ſucceſſion to preferments turned out of the old channel.

This pleaſed the King, becauſe his mercenary tools, the miniſtry, laid before him the immenſe ſum this would annually draw into the treaſury, by thus putting all eccleſiaſtic as well as civil and military employments to ſale, and to be wholly the property of the crown and the miniſtry.

This ſyſtem the King, for the ſake of money, and to enrich his flattering, ſlaviſh and upſtart miniſtry, to make them the more faithful to him for their own intereſt, got paſt and ratified by his parliament; though with great diſcontent, oppoſition, and general murmurings of all orders. This was the gate by which univerſal corruption entered, and took poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom; and, in the event, produced the King's overthrow, and the putrefaction of the whole conſtitution.

A general corruption of the nation.

The clergy alarmed.

The different orders of the church were alarmed at this alteration and innovation, and juſtly dreaded the conſequences of this abuſive encroachment upon their rights and privileges; the whole powers of the different orders of eccleſiaſtics, being now transferred to the crown. The diſcipline for maintaining of order, purity of doctrine and morals, and for the ſuppreſſion of vice, was of no regard nor influence. The court became diſſolute: money, avarice, indolence and debauchery, were now the Primum Mobile, and the only ſtudy of thoſe in power.

The King's ſenſuality.

The King being now married to an agreable lady, rolled himſelf in the pleaſures of conjugal love; he choſe to be undiſturbed and free of trouble, nor would be interrupted from his matrimonial delights. This therefore gave looſe reins to his mean, mercenary miniſtry, to act, from their corrupted views, to the ſubverſion of all order.

By the former conſtitution of the church, the Biſhops were elected by the dean and chapter, the abbots, by the monks and inferior clergy; and, for their own reputation, for ſupporting the regard and authority of their church, they were under neceſſity in their election to make choice of men of learning and regular morals, to the different preferments: and, though luxury and avarice had got too much footing in the church, among all orders; yet there were ſtill ſome traces remained of learning, decency, and at leaſt an appearance of reſpect to virtue: but now the election being extinguiſhed, and the nomination by a deed of power from the crown, religion, learning, and other neceſſary virtues, were not attended to in the fixing of preferments; intereſt and money determined all: therefore, ignorant, debauched, unfit and profligate fellows, if ſons of noblemen or gentlemen, if having ſufficient intereſt with the miniſtry, and a heavy purſe to counterpoiſe any oppoſing candidate, were the perſons placed, by royal authority, into the moſt ſacred offices of the church.

The

The conſequence of this blundering and miſtaken new ſtructure upon the ruins of order, of public ſpirit, virtue, national grandeur and of religion, was: the court became corrupted, venal, and diſſolute! the clergy not ſhepherds, but wolves devouring the flock! Vice was the mode, and virtue hid her bluſh! Self, the ruling maxim of the officers of ſtate! In ſhort, the whole fabric and frame of an antient and well founded conſtitution (whoſe baſis was reaſon, virtue, bravery and public ſpirit) was undermined and ready to totter! This dreadful cataſtrophe, which threatned the kingdom, was all the fruit and effect, the careful work and the diligent ſucceſsful management, of vile and corrupted miniſters of ſtate, by a deliberate ſeries of malpractices. Theſe are the locuſts of ſtate, who darken the air, who infect a nation with their noiſom and nauſeous ſmell, and devour wherever they pitch. It would be a happy ſtate if all kingdoms and empires could be delivered and cleared of ſuch national vermin, who poiſon their country by their eggs and their ſucceſſion, as the locuſts of the field; preſerving always a ſucceſſion, by nouriſhing an identity of brood.

The dangerous ſtate of the kingdom.

The clamours of the clergy over ſpread the nation at this time, and reached even to annoy the ſacred ears of his Holineſs. The univerſal cry was promulgated; The church is in danger! the kingdom of Scotland is ready to fall from it's primitive and ancient glory!—The king was however indolent and inattentive! Money, and ready granted ſupplies, blinded his narrow and unthinking ſoul! He did not foreſee dangers, nor provide againſt threatening and public evils. In a word, he was the prey of his favourites.

The clergy clamorous. The Pope alarmed. The King's infatuation.

In this mixed and cloudy ſituation of both church and ſtate, the reverend prelate Patrick Graham, having, from ſome of the beſt of the clergy, full accounts of the corrupted and dangerous ſtate of the church, by the innovations lately introduced, now alſo that the Boyds, his mortal enemies, were routed, and conſidering his nigh relation to the king; this ſpiritual patriot, I ſay, thought he might embrace this opportunity to return to his native land; and, being a man of public ſpirit, of great learning, integrity and piety, he determined to exert himſelf to introduce a reformation among the degenerated epicures and ignorant clergy, to ſtop the torrent of vice and proſpects of ruin which threatened his country. He therefore ſet out with full powers and high approbation from the court of Rome.

Patrick Graham comes to Scotland.

Patrick Graham, now confirmed Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was a man of univerſal regard among good men, but the terror of all vile mercenaries and ſycophants attending the court. He was ſon of the King's great aunt and ſo nighly related to his Majeſty, that he reaſonably expected an audience and kind reception from the King, after ſo long abſence. But the mercenary part of the court, who wanted to have all bought and ſold, (even moral honeſty and religion put to ſale!) dreaded Patrick Graham more than any other; and therefore, with the utmoſt of their art and wit, ſet all engines at work to miſrepreſent him to the King, and to put an effectual ſtop to his acceſs to the royal preſence, when he returned.

His character.

Vice, venality, and univerſal corruption, were now ſo rooted and had ſo putrified and infected the minds of all ranks, that ſcarce any remedies could be effectual to cure a diſtempered nation, much in the ſame condition the anti-diluvian world was at the appearance of the flood.

Before he came himſelf, the Archbiſhop ſent, by proper meſſengers, the bull, granted by the Pope, for his confirmation as Primate of St. Andrew's, and for his commiſſion to be the Pope's nuncio and legate at the court of Scotland for three years.

Graham's return preceded by a bull from the pope;

The perſons intruſted with the bull, upon it's arrival in Scotland, had it proclaimed in all cities, towns and public places, in the month of September 1472. The publication of this bull raiſed ſuch indignation and ſuch envy among the creatures and menials of the court, and the expectants who were looking for preferments in the church, not from perſonal merit, but from their intereſt with the miniſtry and the crown; that they with all the power of their eloquence, in all public meetings, declaimed againſt Patrick Graham, and the Pope's authority; and were moſt active and diligent in impreſſing the minds of all about court with ſentiments in prejudice of Archbiſhop Graham; as if he came over to alter the new ſyſtem, and to diveſt the crown of all the powers the King had lately taken upon himſelf, by aſſuming the ſole property and merchandize of all church preferments and benefices.

which is proclaimed.

The King's weak and covetous mind was too much attached to, and too deeply engaged with, his corrupted miniſtry, who projected only their own intereſt regardleſs of his honour and happineſs, not (unlike a King) to give attention to their artful inſinuations againſt the Archbiſhop; and was thereby ſo fortified and exaſperated againſt him, under pretence that the Archbiſhop intended to abridge the rights of the crown, and to uſurp them to himſelf, by taking upon him the nomination and ſettling of the clergy in their different ſtations; that, upon theſe falſe alarms, juſt as the Archbiſhop had landed, he received a poſitive command and order from the King and council, not to exerciſe any part of his function or office, as legate or Archbiſhop, until his majeſty ſhould enquire into the complaints lodged againſt him; and, upon this a day was appointed him to be heard in his own defence.

The miniſtry jealous of the Archbiſhop.

Forbid the exerciſe of his function.

The firſt of November, 1472, was the day fixed. The Archbiſhop's friends would have perſuaded him, that the King would deal fairly, equitably and impartially, by him: but the mercenaries and the flatterers of the court, and the vicious tribe of dependents, who were afraid of a free election of clergy from their real merit, ſo influenced the weak King, that, when the Archbiſhop appeared, he could not have a fair and full hearing. Upon the day aſſigned to him, however, he laid before the parliament the Pope's bull and all his powers.

Refuſed a fair hearing.

Lays his powers before the parliament.

The

The inferior clergy, and ſuch as remained unpolluted by the national corruption and venality, rejoiced at the proſpect of the church and clergy's returning to the tutelage and guardianſhip of ſo worthy a prelate; for Archbiſhop Graham was a man of extenſive learning, great mildneſs, ſtrict ſobriety and unſpotted piety; of a merciful, generous, not money-ſeeking ſpirit; a biſhop who adorned the cloth, and placed his ſatisfaction not in acts of power, but in goodneſs and humanity to inferiors.

Intrigues to ruin Graham.

The Archbiſhop's enemies, to delay a fair hearing, lodged a ſham appeal to the Pope; with deſigns only to delay time; for, finding the minds of the people deeply engaged in favour of the Archbiſhop Graham they ſuppoſed, by a little ſuſpence, the minds and affections of the generality might cool and alter, by degrees; that they might be capable of treating the worthy Primate with contempt and diſappointment.

In the mean time, an expectant and tool of the court was employed to oppoſe and leſſen the authority and univerſal eſteem of the Archbiſhop. His name was William Scivez, a young, aſpiring and ambitious clergyman, of a ready and lively wit, and more art than honeſty.

This young prieſt had his education at Louvain, under the care of John Sperine, a profeſſor of Aſtrology, at that time famous for his ſkill in phyſic and divination. Scivez, being a good proficient and apt ſcholar, attained to great ſkill and underſtanding in the pretended ſcience of Aſtrology, which was in great eſteem and regard at court. This was a demonſtration of the low, viciated and ignorant taſte of the court, at this time; unworthy the regard and attendance of men of true wiſdom, and of a virtuous, genteel turn of mind.

The groſs Ignorance of the court.

The Aſtrological, imaginary ſkill of this William Scivez, in predicting future events, and in the calculation of nativities, ſo captivated our now trifling and contemptible court, that they paid great regards to this eccleſiaſtical diviner; and, by grant from the crown, in order to oppoſe the Archbiſhop Graham, he was preferred to the Archdeanry of St. Andrew's. Upon his preferment, he applied of courſe, for his admiſſion and induction to his office, to Archbiſhop Graham.

The Primate, as a man true to his truſt, and abhorring all falſhood, denied to admit or induct him; in regard he profeſſed and practiſed an unlawful ſcience, viz. Aſtrology; which was no real ſcience, but an impoſition on the mind of the weak and ignorant.

However, the humour of this abſurd, ignorant and vicious age was ſuch, that the nonſenſe and obſtinate perverſeneſs of the ſcornful court, prevailed againſt the wiſdom, integrity and underſtanding of the virtuous Archbiſhop. This William Scivez therefore got poſſeſſion of his cleſiaſtical dignity, by confederacy with one John Lock, rector and profeſſor of the college of divinity at St. Andrew's.

This Lock was a fit tool for the times, which was a plain indication he could be no honeſt clergyman. As rector of the cathedral church of St. Andrew's, and by the direction of the court, he inducts and admits the Archdean into his office!

Graham ruined by falſities.

Scivez, being now in full poſſeſſion of his archdeanry, with the aſſiſtance and confederacy of his brother in iniquity, both countenanced and ſupported by the King and miniſtry in their ſecret deſigns to ruin the primitive, plain, honeſt Archbiſhop Graham; ſent over ſecretly ſuch accounts and repreſentations of the Archbiſhop to the Pope, as were falſe and diſadvantageous; and, with all their influence, created an indifferency and coolneſs in his Holineſs towards this upright Prelate. To diſtreſs Patrick Graham the more, they engaged the Pope to ſend over to demand payment for the bull, as the expence ſtipulated for granting this holy mandate: but the oppreſſed Archbiſhop, having been juſt before excommunicated, in a ſham and illegal manner by the above rector and archdean, the King and his blood-ſucking leeches, and mercenary varlets, had taken care to eaſe the Primate of all his money and rents; for, upon this pretended excommunication and trick of prieſtcraft, the crown had ſeized all his eſtate, real and perſonal; yea, they turned him out of his houſe, and converted even his furniture into money for the King's exchequer; ſo that the Primate, not being in capacity to ſatisfy the Pope's demand directly, was very chriſtianly thundered upon in a ſecond excommunication from his Holineſs, as a finiſhing blow.

Is impriſoned.

By theſe means, the injured and unfortunate Archbiſhop was reduced to great poverty, and became a pleaſing object of diſtreſs to be inſulted by his enemies. The court, encouraged by theſe proceedings of the Pope, under a pretended regard to his Holineſs's authority, were determined to finiſh what the Pope had left undone: the King therefore ordered him to be ſhut up in priſon, and ſtript of every thing. His priſon was his own caſtle*. The King then proceeded in his perſecution of him. He forced upon him, for his coadjutor, under his confinement, his greateſt enemy, William Scivez the Archdean; and ſoon after, in the moſt tyrannical manner, diveſted him of the Primacy, and put in Scivez as Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

After this, the King ordered Patrick Graham to be ſent priſoner to the deſolate monaſtery, in the iſland of Inchkeith, in the Forth; where he remained, in great poverty, for ſome time; and then was tranſported to the caſtle of Dunfermling, and after this to the caſtle of Loch-

Dies.

levin; where, in great want, he ended his days, to the laſting ignominy and reproach of the reign and age he lived in.

Succeeded by Scivez.

William Scivez, his mortal and unjuſt enemy, was, upon Paſſion-Sunday, in the year 1474, conſecrated Primate of Scotland, in the abbey-church at Edinburgh; the King being preſent to

* The caſtle of Monymeal in Fife, five miles North of Falkland.

to honour the ceremony. He was likewiſe, by the King and court, acknowleged as legate and nuncio from the Pope. Such is the inconſiſtency and vileneſs of party, under the direction of prieſts, that they commit the very acts they pretended and endeavoured to decry, and make odious in the perſons of others.

The treatment of Archbiſhop Graham was inhumane, and a ſcandal upon the reign of King James. The reaſon of his removal from Inchkeith to Dunfermling was, leſt he ſhould be ſet at liberty by the Engliſh fleet, which came up the Forth; and when the Archbiſhop was confined in the laſt-named place, he wrote the following letter to the King, which is a ſtanding monument to poſterity of the integrity, judgment and intrepidity of this honeſt man's heart, and of his fidelity to his Sovereign; notwithſtanding the cruel uſage he received, contrary to all law and equity, from him and his miniſtry:

Graham's letter to the King.

" May it pleaſe you my King and Lord,

" The miſery of my impriſonment is not ſo afflicting to me, as the ſad reports I have heard of your Majeſty's eſtate and condition. I was hardly brought to believe them, but, from my long detention and impriſonment, I was convinced and made aſſured my mortal enemy was in great credit and regard with your Majeſty. This Diviner and Aſtrologer has brought your Majeſty very low, and made you look very little, by making you jealous and ſuſpicious of your brothers from his pretended, falſe and vain divinations. Theſe arts of Divination and Aſtrology, which have their exiſtence in chimæra, and which are ſo plain an impoſition upon the underſtandings of men, ought not once to be mentioned or received at the court of Kings and Princes, which ſhould ever be the center of knowlege and true diſcernment. Theſe wicked arts, which bring forth diſſentions and jealouſies betwixt a ſovereign and his own brothers and faithful friends, plainly declare, that they come from the father of lies and diſcord. This ſure then, in an Archbiſhop, is an unjuſtifiable art, a reproach to religion, and oppoſite to all true policy. To ſeek to know things by ſtars is the effect of impoſing ignorance; and conſulting of Oracles leaves the mind perplexed in a wilderneſs and labyrinth of folly.

" There is no difference, pleaſe your Majeſty, betwixt Necromancy and Aſtrology, but in this alone: in the former, Men run voluntarily to the devil; and, in the latter, they ruſh ignorantly. Human nature attains not, nor can penetrate into ſecrets above itſelf; and if it did, it is incapable of diverting the awards and wiſdom of Heaven, which are therefore not to be reſiſted but ſubmitted to. Never any had recourſe to ſuch arts, but they had fatal ends; for almighty providence permits often theſe things to befall thoſe perſons, who apply to ſuch oracles, out of juſtice and neceſſity, which in nature were before ſcarcely contingent. Let therefore your Majeſty reſt only upon almighty God and his providence; then all matters will ſucceed well with you, and, by his divine favour, you will be carried ſafely thro' all the dangers of future and uncertain events."

This excellent letter, from the confined Primate to the King, did not meet with the reception it merited; for, inſtead of ſhewing grateful and princely returns to ſo faithful and valuable a ſubject, the vermin of the court made his Majeſty conſtrue it as an indignity from the Archbiſhop, and an inſult on his Majeſty's judgment and underſtanding to be dictated to in ſuch a preſumptuous manner. The wicked Aſtrological Scivez therefore, procured an order from his Majeſty to remove the Archbiſhop from Dunfermling, to a more diſmal, ſolitary and cloſe priſon, the caſtle in Lochleven; which afterwards was remarkable for the priſon in which Mary, Queen of Scots, was impriſoned for ſome time. His confinement and baſe treatment there, together with his afflictions, occaſioned the premature death before mentioned of this great, tho' unhappy Prelate.

A war threatened with England. But averted.

Soon after this good man's death, there began ſome new diſputes with the Engliſh, which threatened a war between the two kingdoms: but the ground of the diſpute being removed by an equitable reſtitution, Peace was re-eſtabliſhed upon a new and better footing.

It's cauſe.

The grounds of the quarrel was; one James Kennedy had built a very large, ſtately ſhip, the largeſt that ever had been launched in Scotland before this time; and, being a conſiderable trader, he fitted out this veſſel for long voyages, having loaded her with a valuable cargo. She ſailed accordingly for her deſigned port; but, being overtaken at ſea by a violent ſtorm, they were forced into a port on the Engliſh ſhore; where the people, contrary to all juſtice and good neighbourhood, ſeized upon the ſhip, and ranſacked her of her cargo.

Complaint being made of this, and juſt reſtitution required, the matter was put off from time to time, and no reaſonable ſatisfaction given. At length, however, King Edward of England, as well apprehenſive of attacks from France as of civil commotions, and not chuſing, at ſuch a critical time, to break with Scotland, ſent the Biſhop of Durham and Lord Scroup ambaſſadors to Scotland, to ſettle all diſputes amicably, which, as above recited, was accordingly done, and full reſtitution made for the ſhip and cargo to the owner.

An embaſſy to the Duke of Burgundy, who is abſent.

This year (1478) the court of Scotland ſent an embaſſy to Flanders, to Charles Duke of Burgundy, to demand ſatisfaction for all the interruptions and damages ſuſtained by the Scots traders on that coaſt.

The Duke of Burgundy was at this time engaged in a war with the Switzers, and headed his own army; but, upon notice of this embaſſy from Scotland, he gave orders, that the am-

baſſadors ſhould be received and entertained with the greateſt marks of eſteem and regard, 'till his return.

The ambaſſadors remained at the court of Antwerp for ſome days, for ſettling of the affairs betwixt both nations; but while they were in waiting, Buchanan affirms, that the ambaſſadors became acquainted with one Andrews, a phyſician reſiding at Antwerp, tho' a native of Scotland, who was remarkable, in this age of ſuperſtition, for his Aſtrological predictions. As a perſon of note, he was invited to dine with the ambaſſadors, and when the converſation turned upon the Duke of Burgundy's expedition, he told the ambaſſadors, they need not be in great hurry; for they would ſoon have news which would ſurprize them, and change the whole ſcene of affairs. Accordingly, in three days after, there arrived news from Nantes in Lorrain, from the Duke's camp, that there had been an engagement betwixt the Duke and the Swiſs army; wherein the Duke was killed, and the beſt part of his army cut off.

The Duke of Burgundy's fate pretended to be foretold.

His death.

The Ambaſſadors return.

This put the court of Antwerp into utter confuſion, ſo that matters could not be ſettled with the Scots ambaſſadors; they returned home therefore without effecting any thing.

Upon this unforeſeen and unhappy event, when they returned, they publickly talked at court how the Duke of Burgundy's fate had been predicted to them by the Scots phyſician, Andrews the Aſtrologer, at Antwerp. King James, now become a low and mean votary to theſe falſe and ignorant divinations, ordered Andrews to be ſent for to court; and when he came over, the King weakly liſtened to ſeveral of his Aſtrological tales, among which the doctor predicted to him, that he ſhould be deſtroyed and cut off by his own ſubjects. This the King had alſo told him by the old women whom he had fooliſhly conſulted. Upon which, the King became jealous and ſuſpicious of all his ſubjects; and this diſeaſe of fear and ignorance poſſeſſed his mind to ſuch a degree, as to drive him to tyrannical and arbitrary meaſures: he ſuſpected danger from his nobility, and was afraid even of his own relations, brothers not excepted. This occaſioned ſuch behaviour in his Majeſty, as raiſed a diſtaſte and diſſaffection in the minds of the moſt ancient and beſt nobility of the kingdom. The King now became ſo low and contemptible, that he conſulted witches and vizards, and compoſed his cabinet council of ſuch low up-ſtart perſons, whom he could uſe at his pleaſure, and make wholly dependent upon him. This ſo highly provoked and inflamed the ancient nobility of the kingdom, that they meditated reſentment againſt the miniſtry.

The King's ignorance.

His tyranny.

The King deſpicable.

The chief of the miniſtry at this time, whom the King payed the greateſt regard to, were, Thomas Preſton, Robert Cochran, and William Rogers. Thomas Preſton was ſon of a good family, though but a private gentleman. Robert Cochran was likewiſe of genteel deſcent, a man of a robuſt and hearty conſtitution, of great ſtrength and fortitude, by which he had made himſelf firſt known at court: he had fought a duel, and killed in the encounter his antagoniſt, who was remarkable for an experienced ſwordman and bully in his profeſſion. This made the King take notice of Robert Cochran; and, being a man brought up to a trade, he ſettled him as ſurveyor and maſter of the board of works in a little time after. Robert Cochran was not only a ſtout, hearty man, but of a nimble, ready wit. He knew which way to touch the King's affections; and his Majeſty, having taken a liking to him from his diligence in what he had committed to his care, and finding him alert and ready in forming expedients, was ſo well pleaſed with him, as not only to promote him to the management of the board of works, but likewiſe, in a ſhort time, nominated him of the cabinet. Being thus a riſing and enterprizing man, Thomas Preſton, now alſo in high reputation at court, gave Mr. Cochran his daughter in marriage. This united and ſtrenghened their intereſt at court, and Cochran gained the aſcendant over the King ſo far, as to have increaſing marks daily of his Majeſty's regard and eſteem. But the King diminiſhed himſelf greatly in the preferments he beſtowed on William Rogers; for he had been only a muſician, who attended the Engliſh ambaſſador in Scotland; and, when the ambaſſador returned, he remained in Scotland, by the encouragement given him, from ſome nobility, upon account of his performances in public. At length being taken notice of by the King, he was ſo happy as to get into favour by his muſical performances; and ſo gradually ſtole in upon the King's good liking that he came firſt to be knighted, then preferred to higher honours, and at laſt brought into council.

Who compoſed the miniſtry.

Such elevation of new and ſtrutting gentry put the nobility in great diſcontent with the King; and ſet them upon forming confederacies, with the young Princes the King's brothers, in order to remove, from his Majeſty's preſence, theſe new-made ſtateſmen.

The removal of the miniſtry meditated.

The King's brothers, Alexander Duke of Albany and John Earl of Mar, were of fiery, enterprizing ſpirits; and therefore eaſily encouraged and excited to ſhew their diſlike to the preſent miniſtry, and to ſupport the factions of the nobility which were now forming to overthrow the King's cabinet council.

The royal brothers ſupport the oppoſition.

John Earl of Mar, openly in the drawing room, reproached his brother the King, in very warm and inſulting expreſſions, concerning his favourites and officers of ſtate; and with threatening inſinuations, acquainted the King, that he both diſgraced and endangered his crown by encompaſſing his throne with ſuch abject wretches. The nobility of my Lord Mar's faction, who had ſpirited and encouraged him to this public attack upon the miniſtry, now attended in the drawing room, which gave him the more encouragement to ſpeak freely, and to reproach the King with making ſo familiar with men ſo far below his Majeſty's regard.

The Earl of Mar reproaches the King.

The

The Earl of Mar, having in his ſpeech exceeded a little the bounds of decency and ſubmiſſion due to a crown'd head and to the King as his ſovereign, did ſo enrage his Majeſty, that he ordered him directly into cuſtody, and to be carried off priſoner to be confined in the caſtle of Craigmillar*.

Is confined.

My Lord Mar was accordingly carried to this place, where he was confined and pretty roughly uſed. His young and lively ſpirit could not bear with confinement: the thoughts of it put him into violent paſſions of rage, and this increaſed even to a fury of delirium. The King, on information of his brother's danger, was a little moved from fraternal affection, and therefore ordered his own phyſicians to attend him, and take all poſſible care of him for his recovery. They made great evacuations by bleeding; but in the night, whether by wilful or undeſigned neglect, the bandages ſlackened, and the orifices diſcharged ſo much blood before morning, as left the lifeleſs corpſe of this unhappy youth weltering in it's gore.

and bleeds to death.

Some are ill-natur'd enough to aſſert it was a deſigned ſcheme, under colour, to cut him off; but William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, who, living at this time, was acquainted with all the tranſactions of ſtate, and a man of integrity, affirms, there was no ſuch thing as any murder, and that the death of the Earl of Mar happened by accident. There was indeed a mean artifice had recourſe to, which the King and court were promoters of, and rather darkened than vindicated their behaviour: twelve poor ignorant women, in the meaneſt ſtation of life, were taken up, and made to confeſs, that the Earl of Mar had conſulted with them, and encouraged them, with large promiſes of rewards and ſupport, to enchant and bewitch the the King, ſo as to ſhorten his life; and that, upon the ample promiſes made them, they had made an image of King James; and, by proper enchantments, (which they owned they practiſed often) they were to make the King pine away of a lingering diſtemper, in the manner of a conſumption.

The contemptible artifice of the court.

This ridiculous piece of ſtuff they brought to trial. Theſe wiſe women were made fools of; for the ignorant wretches were made evidences againſt themſelves, and on their confeſſion, ſentenced to be publickly burnt at a ſtake, in order to appeaſe and ſoften the minds of the nobility, and the whole kingdom; who, upon the event of the Earl of Mar's death, were all ready for a revolt, and reſolved upon violent meaſures, to drive the miniſtry from his majeſty's preſence and councils.

The Duke of Albany oppoſes the miniſtry.

The King and his miniſtry apprehended danger; and, having received intelligence of caballing and frequent meetings of the nobility with Alexander duke of Albany, were reſolved to ſuppreſs their attempts in the beginning. The Duke of Albany inſiſted his brother had been rendered delirious, and deprived of the exerciſe of his reaſon, by the horrid and barbarous uſage he met with while under confinement; and that he imputed the whole to the king's favourites, whom he was determined to have routed from his majeſty's preſence.

Is diſcovered, and taken into cuſtody.

While the Duke and the nobility and gentry of the kingdom were concerting their meaſures, the King, by advice of Sir Thomas Preſton, and Robert Cochran, ſurpriſed and took the Duke of Albany into cuſtody, and ordered him priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh, there to be cloſe confined, and none to have acceſs to him but one ſervant, who was to carry him his proviſions and wait on him. The Duke of Albany however, by means of this truſty ſervant, made his eſcape from Edinburgh caſtle to that of Dunbar, by the following ſtratagem: he had properly inſtructed his ſervant to reveal nothing of his meſſages to or from the palace of Holyrood-houſe, but gave him ſtrict orders to inſtil into the goaler or keeper a notion of his going backward and forward in ſecret meſſages to the King from his brother; and to perſuade him, that there were immediate proſpects of a ſpeedy reconciliation betwixt the King and the Duke.

Eſcapes.

The ſervant, in the mean time, had provided a ſhip for his maſter, and had ordered all matters with the greateſt ſecreſy and fidelity for his preſervation.

When the whole ſcheme was ripe and ready for execution, the ſervant was ſent in great hurry, with a pretended meſſage to the King: the duke at the ſame time appear'd remarkably chearful, and with a pleaſant countenance to the goaler; and, as he had always behaved very genteelly to him, this evening the Duke invited him to drink a glaſs with him, in the apartment where he was confined, giving him to underſtand, that his brother, the King, was to be reconciled to him in a day or two.

The keeper, taking this for granted, was willing to ſhew all marks of eſteem and reſpect to the Duke of Albany upon this occaſion, leſt an opportunity might ſoon offer wherein he might be capable of doing him great hurt, if at this time the Duke ſhould be offended or ill uſed; the goaler therefore in the evening, and all the inferior officers of the caſtle-goal, waited on the Duke, who received them with great chearfulneſs in his own apartment, and entertained them elegantly. They drank ſo plentifully of the Duke's wine, that they were not capable to move. Having fallen all aſleep, the Duke, (after killing the keeper) attended by his faithful ſervant, got over the walls of the caſtle, by the help of a pair of bed-ſheets, one end well faſtened at top, and the other hanging downwards, by which he and his ſervant convey'd themſelves down.

Thus

* Craigmillar is four miles from Edinburgh.

Thus far ſucceſsful, the Duke immediately got on board the veſſel prepared for him in Leith harbour, and ſailed, with a fair wind, for Dunbar caſtle, which was the Duke's country ſeat; but now he fortified it, and laid in a plentiful ſupply of proviſions, to ſtand a ſiege, with a numerous and well-armed garriſon.

Fortifies himſelf in Dunbar caſtle.

Andrew Stewart Earl of Annandale, the preſent Lord chancellor, raiſed the militia of all the neighbouring counties; and, with ſome few forces more who joined him, he marched to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar. Being reinforced by more troops, the ſiege was vigorouſly carried on for ſome months; but the Duke of Albany, leaving his orders with the commandant of the garriſon to defend it to the laſt, went off privately in the night, and got on board a ſhip waiting for him, in which he ſailed directly for France. After his departure, the caſtle made an obſtinate defence; but, proviſions and ſtores falling ſhort, the garriſon wiſely provided boats to be ready in the night, when, about twelve at night, or two o'clock in the morning, having a ſecret back-door from the caſtle to the ſea, they all got, without the leaſt diſcovery, on board the boats with all their effects of value, ſet ſail, and landed ſafe upon the Engliſh coaſt; leaving the chancellor with his army, to their ſurprize and great mortification, to take poſſeſſion of empty and dead walls; which occaſioned much laughter at the chancellor's diſappointment. Some of the chancellor's army, pretending to purſue and overtake the garriſon, loſt their lives, without doing any thing effectual.

Is beſieged by Lord Annandale.

Privately quits the caſtle.

Lord Annandale takes poſſeſſion of the empty caſtle.

The Duke of Albany got ſafe to France, and, after a ſhort ſtay there, he made his addreſſes to the Earl of Bologne's daughter, to whom he was ſoon after married. His firſt lady was daughter to the Earl of Orkney, and had been dead two years before he went abroad. The Duke's preſent lady was allied to the Princes of the blood, and many other noble families of France: They, by her importunity, ſo ſtrongly ſolicited Lewis the eleventh of France to grant ſuccours and ſupplies to the Duke of Albany, and to ſupport him in recovering his juſt rights and eſtates, that Lewis of France was forced, after ſeveral evaſions, tho' witty, cunning, and artful, at length to declare himſelf, and to ſignify to them all, it was his determined and fixed reſolution, not to ſupport or aſſiſt the Duke of Albany, in any other manner, than by a mild and friendly interceſſion and mediation with his brother, King James, to reconcile the differences ſubſiſting betwixt them, and to reſtore the Duke to all his honours and eſtates in Scotland.

The Duke of Albany arrives in France. Marries.

Theſe diſappointments and refuſals, from Lewis of France, gave great uneaſineſs and ſorrow to the Dutcheſs of Albany; and being a woman of great ſpirit, her diſappointed hopes operated ſo fatally on her conſtitution, that ſhe was taken ill, and, after ſome months languiſhing diſorder, died much regretted.

His lady dies of grief.

The Duke of Albany, in his lady's death, received ſuch a ſhock from French friendſhip and Punic faith, that he departed without loſs of time, out of the territories of his perfidious friends, and went over directly to the court of England.

The Duke of Albany arrives in England.

By being ſo alert, he eſcaped the fate of ſome others of a later date; and did not put himſelf under the tyranny, and ſervile ignominy, of any arreſt from the inſtability and incertainty of French alliance! which, to the experience of the Scots nation, was below all contempt, and unworthy of the leaſt regard! it being evident, by repeated experience and demonſtration, that the Scots nation had purchaſed French friendſhip at the expence of great bloodſhed, and loſs of treaſure; and had been groſsly impoſed upon by their attachment to France: for when the ſupport of France and their fidelity was moſt depended upon and wanted, (from their own French promiſes!) then Scotland was certain of the moſt fatal, unforeſeen, and undeſerved diſappointments. For theſe reaſons, (repeated, and of ſo antient a duration!) a true Scotſman ought to ſquint with contempt at the mention of French faith and honour.

The Duke of Albany had uttered ſome ſtrong expreſſions againſt his friend Lewis of France, upon the diſappointment of his friendſhip and ſupport. But as he retired ſo timely, and with ſuch a good grace from the French court, he had the pleaſure to laugh in ſecurity, at his French Majeſty's contemptible indignation.

The Duke of Albany was well received, upon his arrival in England, by King Edward; and, ſoon after the Duke laid before that King the whole ſtate of his affairs, the perfidious uſage of the French King, and the hardſhips he had undergone from the King of Scotland his own brother, by the inſtigation of a mercenary, ſelfiſh and contemptible miniſtry. Kind Edward hearkned attentively to theſe repreſentations; and gave the Duke the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip and ſupport. But, as he was in fears of an attack from Scotland or France, he choſe to play cautious and prudent game, to make all ends ſubſervient to his own national and public ſafety.

King James had declared to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, if their maſter ſent over any auxiliaries againſt the King of France, to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Burgundy, that the ſpirit and importunity of the nobility of Scotland would force his Majeſty to ſend over auxiliaries to the King of France, and otherwiſe cauſe ſuch a diverſion, as they ſhould judge neceſſary from the faith and obligations of treaties ſubſiſting betwixt Scotland and France.

The artful policy of the King of England.

King Edward of England, upon this notification to his ambaſſadors, being a man of quick and ready wit, and aſſiſted by a wiſe council, determined to make offer of a treaty of perpetual peace and friendſhip with Scotland, upon the moſt equitable terms; and to confirm and eſtabliſh both kingdoms in a laſting future alliance. Edward farther propoſed the preſent marriage of

of the Princeſs Cecilia to the Prince of Scotland, now in their non-age; and that they ſhould mutually, by national and public faith, be ſecured to each other 'till they arrived to the age of puberty.

This propoſal was tranſmitted to the court of Scotland by an embaſſy-extraordinary; with an offer to advance a large ſum of money, as the fortune of the Princeſs Cecilia of England to ſecure the young Prince of Scotland for her. But the court of Scotland ſuſpected, that King Edward had no real intentions in this affair, and only wanted to keep Scotland, at ſuch a critical conjuncture, from taking part in the French intereſt againſt England.

But what moſt of all diſconcerted the ſyſtem of Edward of England, was, the arrival, at the court of Scotland, of ambaſſadors-extraordinary from France; purpoſely to break off the projected marriage with the Princeſs of England.

The French King had ſent over doctor Ireland, an artful member of the Sorbone, with two Knights of the order of Lewis, attended by a grand retinue. Their appearance, with the influence of their ſtrong repreſentations, prevailed ſo far upon King James, as to induce his diſlike of the intended marriage of his ſon with Edward of England's daughter. The chief of the Scots nobility were pleaſed with this diſpoſition of the King, which they were certain would ſoon produce confuſion and war; and thereby they expected an opportunity of delivering themſelves from the tyranny of King James's miniſtry.

Lewis of France made uſe of all ſecret maxims of ſtate, to engage the nobility of Scotland in his intereſt, by preſents and promiſes. But the Duke of Albany, and Edward of England, were not idle: they countermined all the efforts of France; and, by holding a ſecret correſpondence with the nobility of Scotland, engaged them firmly in their meaſures.

The Scots nobility had entered into ſuch a confederacy againſt the miniſtry, and were in ſuch reſentment againſt the King's behaviour, that they were determined upon the moſt expeditious and effectual methods of overthrowing the preſent adminiſtration; which they found they could only accompliſh by exciting confuſion in the nation. The whole of the diſcontented nobility therefore, who kept a cloſe correſpondence with Edward of England, and the Duke of Albany, gave them great encouragement to advance with an army towards Scotland. To begin the work, and to give the better colour to both nations to enter into a war, the nobility of Scotland ſecretly ſpirited up, and out-hounded parties on the borders of Scotland, to enter and commit hoſtilities in England. Edward of England and the Duke of Albany, had likewiſe concerted matters on their part, to order out ſecretly parties to diſtreſs the Southern parts of Scotland; that ſo from theſe beginnings of violence, both kingdoms might have a pretext for an open rupture. Intrigues for overthrowing the miniſtry.

The nobility of Scotland by theſe ſecret arts, encouraging the Engliſh to make an attempt upon Scotland, did in part ſecure the intereſt of the French King, by employing Edward of England upon the borders of Scotland, thereby diverting him from any attack upon France.

Upon theſe mutual depredations and hoſtilities, committed betwixt the Engliſh and Scots, the nobility of the Scots nation took occaſion to inflame the minds of the whole body of the kingdom with indignation and reſentment, as well againſt the preſent miniſtry of Scotland, as againſt the Engliſh.

By theſe means King James, and his contemptible miniſtry, 'twas imagined would have been put under an abſolute neceſſity, to make at leaſt a ſhew of aſſembling an army with expedition, to make repriſals upon England; in order to compoſe the minds of his people, and to ſuppreſs their clamour, which threatened no leſs than ſedition and civil commotions: but the miniſtry no farther complied with the voice of the nation, (and that ſore againſt their inclination) than in raiſing an army, in a very lingering, ſlow and inactive manner. However the nobility, who were of the diſcontented party, favoured and promoted the levies in the different counties, as a proper mean to haſten the eſtabliſhment of their ſyſtem; for the public voice generally favouring their ſcheme, the moſt effectual and ſpeedy way for executing it, was by putting the people in arms, and collecting them into a formidable body. When this was once accompliſhed, the party which favoured the Duke of Albany, knew very well they could without difficulty, execute all their deſigns for the overthrow of King James's miniſtry; who were become as well hateful to the army, as to the whole Kingdom.

King James complied with every meaſure for aſſembling his army, and preparing them for an attack upon England. He run headlong into this meaſure, being blinded by a miſtaken zeal for his honour in fulfilling engagements ſubſiſting by former treaties with his ally the French King, and to gratify the preſent demands of the French ambaſſadors at the court of Scotland. The nobility of Scotland who were not the King's friends, continued to ſupport his Majeſty in this meaſure, not out of any real regard, either for the French King or for their own Sovereign; but to pave the way, for the more eaſy accompliſhment of their common intentions, and for the intereſt of the Duke of Albany to whom they ſtood well affected.

This true and plain repreſentation of ſtate affairs, at this time, preſents to the view of every impartial reader, what different, nay oppoſite and contradictary parts, the nobility and leading men of a kingdom are capable of, in order to ſatisfy their ambition and gratify their reſentment. Every Sovereign therefore has a difficult part to act, and is very unhappy in life, when compaſſed with a factious nobility. His own ſpirit he muſt bridle and reſtrain from all tyranny, be juſt and accurate in his choice of a wiſe council; and in all events, and above every Reflection.

thing, be watchful and careful, that his royal authority and regard be of equal degree and extent with his power and dignity.

The Duke of Albany, having ſecret intelligence from his friends of all tranſactions and affairs concerted at King James's Court, laid before Edward of England the full ſtate of the Scots nation at this time; which, as it expoſed the weakneſs of his native country and it's diſtracted condition, gave King Edward ample encouragement to ſupport and aſſiſt the Duke of Albany, with an army, to make an attack upon his brother King James, for the reſtitution of his honours and eſtate. This Edward of England complied with, not out of any perſonal reſpect to the Duke of Albany, but in the event to make the whole kingdom of Scotland his prey, and to render them incapable either of defending themſelves or aſſiſting the French.

After Edward and the Duke of Albany had concerted their matters ſecretly together, and that they had underſtood, that the Scots army was aſſembled, and ready to advance to the borders of England, King Edward, by the advice of his privy council, gave immediate orders to his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, to take the command, in conjunction with the Duke of Albany, of his army, and to take the field without loſs of time.

The Engliſh army marches againſt Scotland.

The Duke of Glouceſter having received his final orders and inſtructions, marched directly to the North, with about twenty-three thouſand of the beſt troops. Several of the exiled and proſcribed of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had been ſheltered in England, joined the army; particularly, the exiled James Earl of Douglaſs, Alexander Jardon, and Patrick Halliburton. Several likewiſe of the Engliſh nobility attended the Duke of Glouceſter in this expedition; particularly, Henry Earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Lord Stanley, who joined the Engliſh army with a body of horſe. They continued their march without interruption, in high ſpirits and full hopes of having every thing ſucceed according to their wiſhes and expectations.

Arrives at Anwick.

In the beginning of the month of June, 1482, they arrived in good order at Anwick. There they halted, the Duke of Albany not chuſing to march the whole Engliſh army directly into his native country, becauſe of it's diſtreſſed and deſolate condition at this time, and that the country was not able to ſubſiſt an army of ſo many thouſand men. It was reſolved in a council of war therefore to encamp for ſome time in this place, till they had full intelligence of the numbers, the motions and operations of the Scots army.

Encamps there.

King James by this time, notwithſtanding the trifling and wilful delays of his ſelfiſh miniſtry, had prepared his army to march. He had got together all the implements and military ſtores ready for an encampment. He likewiſe had prepared the neceſſary horſes and carriages for a train of ſmall ordnance. The King in perſon commanded his army, attended by Andrew Stewart Earl of Annandale, Lord chancellor of Scotland, who was the next in command to the King; beſides great numbers of other nobility, not of the court, who came to attend his Majeſty as volunteers in this expedition, chiefly with deſign to be preſent at the intended ſacrifice of the King's miniſtry.

The Scots army marches into Lauther-dale.

King James marched his army in good order, with all the baggage and artillery, and advanced as far as Lauther Town*. Here King James encamped with his army; and, having ſent out his ſcouts and ſpies, they returned with intelligence to the King, that the whole Engliſh army was arrived at Anwick, under the command of the Dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, attended by ſeveral of the proſcribed Lords and gentlemen of Scotland.

Upon this intelligence being ſpread over the Scots army, there was a rumour induſtriouſly invented, that the Engliſh army was in full march from Anwick to Kelſo, to attack the Scots army; which occaſioned a general agitation and confuſion over the whole Scots army.

The ſoldiers were prepared and animated, to ſupport the diſcontented faction of the Scots nobility with their united force, in executing the enterpriſes concerted by their ſuperiors. The chief nobility in the camp, who were determined upon the removal of the King's miniſtry from his royal preſence for ever, held frequent meetings in their tents, caballing and conſpiring upon the moſt effectual means to execute the intended tragedy upon the King's miniſtry.

A meeting of the diſcontented nobility.

After ſeveral meetings and conſultations, Archibald Douglaſs Earl of Angus addreſſed himſelf to the Lords and others, at their general meeting appointed, for ſecreſy, at midnight in the church at Lauther town, in the following ſpeech:

Lord Angus's ſpeech.

" My noble peers and brethren ſubjects,

" I have no occaſion to make a long ſpeech here to you; you are in perfect knowlege of the cauſe of our meeting and our diſcontent; you are all witneſſes of the preſent deplorable ſtate of your native land, and of the arbitrary and tyrannical meaſures exerciſed by his Majeſty's miniſtry, in contempt of our antient conſtitution, uniform cuſtoms, and our good order in the ſtate. The antient and chief nobility of our kingdom have been baniſhed from his Majeſty's preſence and court, and compelled to ſuffer intolerable hardſhips, to gratify the avarice and power of ſome audacious and upſtart gentry, whom his Majeſty hath diſtinguiſhed by the firſt marks of his royal favour. Suppoſing, that the King himſelf had been a perſon of the ſtricteſt honeſty, and of the moſt generous and public ſpirit, firmly attached to the welfare and happineſs of his people; and ſuppoſing, that all the abuſes and tyrannical meaſures that have been impoſed

* Lauther, the county town of Lautherdale; which is upon the border of the Merſo and Tiviotdale, near the South border of England.

impoſed on the nation of late, had been committed contrary to his Majeſty's natural inclination and deſire; yet that can be no ſufficient reaſon why the antient nobility, and the beſt of the kingdom, ſhould be debarred from their natural rights, and ſubjected to the avarice and tyranny of perſons of inferior rank, and of no conſequence in the commonwealth; who have raiſed themſelves, and eſtabliſhed their intereſt in his Majeſty's favour, by indirect practices and encroachments upon his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects: and theſe who are now of his Majeſty's cabinet, not contented with the real injury they have done to his Majeſty's intereſt in the affections of his people, and to the prejudice of the firſt nobility of Scotland, have ventured ſo far, through impunity, as even to attack the royal blood itſelf. It is notorious, in what cruel and barbarous manner his Majeſty's brother (the Earl of Mar) was cut off; all ties of humanity being over-powered and broke through, by their blood-thirſty and grovelling meaſures.

" We all know, in what manner the Duke of Albany has been baniſhed from his native land, and ſtripped of all his rights. We all are ſenſible of the immediate danger we are in of being made a conqueſt to the moſt unjuſt uſurpation, and unlawful power, of a ſet of men unworthy of publick truſt or command. Have we not born with the exactions and inſolence of this haughty miniſtry? Have not our complaints to the throne been without redreſs or ſatisfaction? His Majeſty has been alienated and ſeparated from his loving ſubjects. His true friends have been debarred acceſs to his preſence. The honour, the intereſt and the grandeur of our nation, have been degraded and betrayed! Are not the authors then of theſe horrid practices and villany, more the enemies of our kingdom and of our families, than the public enemy againſt whom we are to march? Is it not evident to all of us, that life, intereſt and honour, together with the future happineſs of our families, are all at ſtake, in the preſent criſis of affairs? We have more to fear, with reſpect to life and fortune, from the ſecret traitors of our own country, than from the Engliſh nation who now come to fight againſt us; for they come to fight chiefly for glory, ſuperiority and renown, to aid and aſſiſt a ſon of the royal blood of Scotland, in the recovery of his juſt rights. We have taken all the mild, cool and ſubmiſſive meaſures poſſible to procure acceſs to his Majeſty. A full hearing and redreſs of all grievances, all theſe our juſt attempts, have been without ſucceſs. We have no remaining hopes from ſolicitations, dependence and waiting; for his Majeſty's heart and ears have been ſhut up long ſince, and made impenetrable to be impreſſed with, or to hearken to, the faithful and important repreſentations of his true friends and beſt ſubjects. The diſtemper now is become deſperate; therefore all emollients will be of no effect: the remedy muſt be as violent as the diſtemper is. It is now the time, the happy time! to remove from his Majeſty's councils and preſence for ever, all vizards, aſtrologers, ſoothſayers, low, paltry and upſtart fellows, who have corrupted the conſtitution, and abuſed their influence and power with the King. Either we muſt now ſhake off the yoke, or ſuffer ourſelves, our families, and our ancient kingdom, to be ſubjected to ſlavery by a faction of men, who will betray their nation to the common enemy; and make us fall victims to their own pride, avarice and reſentment: we have now an opportunity offered us, ſuch as if omitted we can never recall. Let us all then be united in the common cauſe of liberty, to make a public ſacrifice and example of theſe men, few but inſolent, who have impoſed upon our King, made his ſubjects to hate him, to groan and not to rejoice under his adminiſtration. Let them feel the heavy effects of an exaſperated and provoked nobility. Let their immediate puniſhment and deſtruction be a terror and warning to tyrannical miniſters in all future ages, both in this nation and in it's neighbourhood."

The ſacrifice of the miniſtry determined.

After the Earl of Angus had finiſhed this nervous and manly ſpeech, the full aſſembly of the nobility and gentry, with one voice, applauded him, and entered into an immediate confederacy, ſigned and ratified by all, with their ſolemn oath, without delay to execute the deſtruction of the miniſtry, who compaſſed the King's throne.

The King had for ſome days before been perplexed, and in ſome uneaſineſs, from the intelligence he had received of the meeting and caballing of the nobility in their tents and in Lauther town; and therefore kept a ſecret watch over them to know their times and places of meeting. By this means, he got intelligence of their being aſſembled at midnight in the church, and that they were in great hurry preparing to execute an affair of the utmoſt importance. Upon this the King, in ſurprize and confuſion, got out of bed, and called together his cabinet council to conſult what was proper to be done. The King appeared to be in great agitation and diſorder, and acquainted Robert Cochran, now Earl of Mar, who was his chief favourite, together with Sir Thomas Preſton and Sir William Rogers, who then attended upon his Majeſty, that he was under apprehenſions of ſome extraordinary enterpriſe and attack from the nobility, who were now aſſembled. The King therefore commanded Cochran to go privately towards the church, to learn ſome particulars of their meeting, and if poſſible to diſcover the tendency of their deliberations. But before Cochran ſet out from the King, the nobility had finiſhed their buſineſs, and diſſolved their aſſembly.

The army in the intereſt of the nobility.

When the nobility came out of the church, going towards the camp, the whole army with one ſalute cryed out aloud, " Take to your arms, and deſtroy the public enemy!" This ſignal gave full aſſurance to the nobility, that the army was reſolved to ſupport their attack. The nobility therefore in a body, with full reſolution, proceeded towards the King's tent.

In

Cochran ſeized.

In their way, they met with Robert Cochran Earl of Mar. The firſt who accoſted him was Douglaſs Earl of Angus, who immediately collared Robert Cochran by his golden chain which he wore round his neck. He dragged him away in this manner, and proceeded, with the other nobility of his conſpiracy, directly for the King's tent, which they entered ſword in hand, all in a body.

The nobility enter the King's camp.

The King, in amaze at their appearance, was immediately damp'd in ſpirit, and clouded with diſorder and dejection of mind. The nobility dragged his cabinet council from his royal preſence, into the open camp. When they appeared to the whole army, the ſoldiers formed themſelves in the appearance of a tumult, and made the air echo with their united ſhouts; crying aloud, "Hang the rogues, and let none of them eſcape!" and indeed none of them did eſcape, ſave one John Ramſey, who hung about the King's neck, and was ſaved only by the King's tears and moving interceſſion: the reſt of the miniſtry and cabinet council, with all their adherents, were directly hanged up upon gibbets, which the tumultuary army had erected the night before for that purpoſe.

The King's favourites executed.

Upon this great and tragical event, the King finding he could place no confidence in his army, concealed and counterfeited his high diſpleaſure, and behaved to his nobles with all poſſible marks of ſubmiſſion and affection, to ſoften their enraged ſpirits; tho' at the ſame time he was ſwelled and full of reſentment, and only waiting for a proper opportunity to ſhew it. However, as he entirely diſtruſted his army, he determined to diſband it directly, that it might be made no uſe of to his prejudice, in ſupporting the confederate nobility in any further enterprize.

When the army was diſperſed, the King, by the advice of ſome few of the nobility, in whom he confided, thought it ſafeſt for them to retire; and accordingly, with his few remaining favourites, went directly for Edinburgh, where he ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle, denying acceſs to, or correſpondence with, any of the diſcontented nobility.

The confederates againſt the King and the meaſures of his former miniſtry, were now at a loſs what was moſt expedient to be done for the national good. At length however they reſolved on two expedients: firſt, they propoſed an interview, by the intervention of ſome noblemen, with the King in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and next, they determined to raiſe an army for the defence of the kingdom, to prevent any encroaching attempt of the Engliſh upon their entering into Scotland.

The tragical ſcene exhibited at Lauther may be a warning to all monarchs, not to render themſelves, by an obſtinate, ignorant and ill-timed attachment to a mercenary and obnoxious miniſtry, contemptible and hated by the body of a warlike and reſolute nation. It is the ſtrongeſt demonſtration of the perverſeneſs and weakneſs of any Sovereign, and the moſt effectual way to haſten his own ruin.

This great change in the ſtate was ſcarcely effected and the army diſbanded, before the Engliſh received full intelligence of the ſituation of the Scots affairs. King Edward therefore ſent orders to his brother the Duke of Glouceſter to advance, with the Duke of Albany, and penetrate into Scotland.

Accordingly, the latter end of Auguſt, the whole Engliſh army, with a great number of nobility and gentry of both nations, directed their rout for the town and caſtle of Berwick.

The Engliſh army received into Berwick.

The Duke of Albany had formerly been governor of Berwick town and caſtle, and was held in great eſteem by the inhabitants: therefore, upon the approach of the Engliſh army, the townſmen, being acquainted that the Engliſh army came to ſupport the intereſt of the Duke of Albany, opened their gates, and, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, received the Engliſh forces, and gave them a very kind reception. However, the caſtle of Berwick did not ſurrender; but, by the influence of the governor, the Lord Hayles, the garriſon reſolved upon an obſtinate reſiſtance and defence.

Lord Hayles defends the caſtle.

It being a place of great ſtrength, the Duke of Glouceſter perceived the ſiege might be of long continuance; and therefore he committed the management of it to the Lord Stanley, Sir John Ellrington and Sir William Parr; while he advanced with the main army into Scotland, in conjunction with the Duke of Albany, being invited by the nobility and gentry of the anti-miniſterial confederacy.

The miniſtry appointed.

Theſe aſſociated Lords, in the mean time, had determined, that the Earl of Annandale Lord chancellor, the Earl of Argyle, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Athol the King's uncle, with the Duke of Albany, as ſoon as he arrived and matters were ſettled, ſhould be fixed in the government of the ſtate, for the preſervation of the King's perſon, and the management of all public affairs.

Though the nobility who favoured the Duke of Albany's intereſt, had invited the Engliſh army into Scotland, and deſired their preſence to over-awe the king, and to introduce a change of government; yet now reflecting coolly upon the danger that might enſue to the whole kingdom, by the Engliſh army marching into Scotland at this time, without oppoſition or interruption, or any force to give bounds to their power; conſidering likewiſe that the town of Berwick, which, for twenty-one years paſt, had been in poſſeſſion of the Scots nation, ever ſince it was delivered up by Henry the ſixth and his Queen, in conſideration of King Henry's taking ſanctuary in Scotland, from the Duke of York and his faction: the nobility, I ſay, from theſe motives, began to be in great fears, and apprehended bad conſequences. With the

the greateſt diligence and expedition, they therefore collected a conſiderable army from the different quarters of the nation, not ſo much with deſign to oppoſe the approach of the Engliſh, or to give them battle, as to make a ſhew and parade; that from the grand appearance of their numbers, they might procure more honourable terms of accommodation and peace with the Engliſh nation. The Scots raiſe an army.

When the Duke of Glouceſter, with his army, came in ſight of Haddington, the nobility and the army, who waited for the Engliſh, came out in a formidable body, to pay their compliments to the Dukes of Glouceſter and Albany, and to the other nobility who attended them.

The nobility of Scotland made ample offers of a general peace, upon eaſy, equitable, and honourable terms to both ſides; ſo as to eſtabliſh a future laſting pacification betwixt both kingdoms, upon a more ſolid baſis than formerly had been done. The nobility further propoſed, that the firſt ſtep in order to this pacification, ſhould be the accompliſhment of the marriage deſigned and promiſed betwixt Prince James, the King of Scotland's eldeſt ſon, and the Princeſs Cecilia, King Edward's daughter. In anſwer to theſe propoſals, the Duke of Glouceſter gave the Scots nobility to underſtand, that he could determine nothing finally concerning the projected marriage, without particular advice and inſtructions from King Edward and his privy council; that he was directed to inſiſt peremptorily upon the ſurrender of the town and caſtle of Berwick, without reſerve or reſtrictions; and that now, being come ſo far, he was determined the Duke of Albany, whom he came to ſupport, ſhould make his public entry into the city of Edinburgh at the head of the Engliſh army. Propoſal for peace.

This at firſt frightened and ſurpriſed the whole Scots army; but the Duke of Albany, willing to preſerve that regard and love which the nobility and other ranks of the kingdom bore to him, interceeded with all his influence, with the Duke of Glouceſter, to have the command and management of the army when they marched into Edinburgh, and while they remained there, that he might reſtrain the violence of rapine from preying on the city and it's neighbourhood.

The Duke of Glouceſter and his generals yielded to this; and without impoſing contributions, or uſing any acts of violence againſt the inhabitants, he and his army accepted only of the preſents and contributions which were voluntarily brought to them from all ranks of perſons. The Engliſh army, while here, was plentifully ſupplied with proviſions; ſo that the ſoldiers were reſtrained, without much difficulty, from outrages and exceſſes. The Engliſh army enters Edinburgh.

The latter end of Auguſt (1482) the Duke of Albany, with the nobility of Scotland, agreed to the delivery of the town and caſtle of Berwick to the Engliſh; but the Duke of Glouceſter having acquainted his brother, King Edward, of the demand that was made by the Scots nation, of the Princeſs Cicilia for the young Prince of Scotland, King Edward, by advice of his privy council, returned for anſwer to the Duke of Glouceſter, that it was judged moſt prudent to lay aſide all thoughts of that marriage, becauſe of the uncertainties to which that Prince was hourly expoſed, from the diſcords and contending factions of the kingdom; and that the affairs of King James at preſent wore ſuch a gloomy aſpect, as gave no encouragement to proceed upon ſuch an important treaty; the King therefore gave poſitive orders to the Duke of Glouceſter, to inſiſt upon re-payment of the money, paid to King James, as the fortune and patrimony of the Princeſs of England; and if this was not immediately complied with, he was directed to levy, by military force, that money, to the full amount of the ſum given, from the eſtates of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. Berwick ceded to England. The propoſals of marriage rejected by King Edward.

Upon return of theſe inſtructions, the Duke of Glouceſter, by advice and approbation of the Duke of Albany, ſent a meſſage to King James (now confined in the caſtle of Edinburgh) by the Lord chancellor and the Earls of Athol and Argyle, to demand, firſt, an immediate payment of the money advanced to him for the aforeſaid purpoſe, by the court of England; and next, to reinſtate the Duke of Albany in full poſſeſſion of his honours and eſtates, and to make him reparation for all the loſſes and damages he had ſuſtained, during the long time he had been baniſhed his native land. Edward's demands on King James.

King James made not the leaſt anſwer to this meſſage. The nobility of the kingdom however, thought it not a little expedient, at this juncture, to comply with the terms inſiſted on by the King of England; and accordingly appointed a day for reſtitution of the money, lent by King Edward to King James. They likewiſe put the Duke of Albany in full poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Dunbar, with the Earldoms of March and Mar; and further, to ſhew their hearty agreement to the aforeſaid terms, they promoted the Duke of Albany to be governor and Lord lieutenant of the whole kingdom. Matters being thus ſettled and finally agreed on, the peace betwixt England and Scotland was proclaimed. Complied with. Peace reſtored.

After this, the Duke of Glouceſter, in great pomp and ſolemnity, returned for London. Upon his arrival there, the King, his brother, highly applauded him for his negotiations; and to give the moſt public teſtimony of the ſatisfaction he received from the conditions of peace, he went in public proceſſion, with his Queen and the ladies of the court, attended by a brilliant retinue of Dukes, Earls, Lords, &c. from the parliament houſe to Weſtminſter-hall; where, with the greateſt ſplendor and magnificence, he received the three ambaſſadors-extraordinary from Scotland; Douglaſs Earl of Angus, Lord Grey, and Sir James Lyddal. They The Scots ambaſſadors noble reception in England.

received particular marks of regard from the King, and witneſſed the ratification of the treaty of peace, in preſence of an extraordinary council met for this purpoſe.

The ambaſſadors being diſmiſſed, having had their audience of leave from the King, returned to Scotland with the ratification of the peace. King Edward ſent his heralds not only to attend them on their journey, but to make a demand of the money, which the citizens of Edinburgh had bound themſelves to pay to Edward againſt a fixed day; which they accordingly performed.

Glouceſter's deſigns traverſed.

The Duke of Glouceſter, was a man of great ſpirit, and of an enterpriſing and ambitious genius. Having deſigns upon the crown of England for himſelf and his family, after the death of his brother, he was therefore, privately unwilling to promote the match betwixt the Prince of Scotland and the Princeſs Cecilia his niece, but rather ſecretly diſconcerted all the meaſures, which had been agreed upon to accompliſh it; being apprehenſive, that if the intereſt of his brother's family, after the King's deceaſe, was ſupported by ſuch a ſtrong alliance, and ſo warlike a people as the Scots nation, upon his attempting to claim the crown, the Scots might interrupt his acceſſion to the throne, and diſpute the matter. This in fact, was the chief reaſon which removed the proſpects and diſſolved the promiſes of an alliance, by marriage, betwixt both Kingdoms.

The Duke of Albany's good management.

The Duke of Albany, now in the meridian of his glory and eſteem, for the generous, manly, and humane diſpoſition he had ever diſcovered, in the tenor of his whole conduct; firſt towards the King his brother, under his confinement; and next, in his behaviour towards both friends and enemies all over the kingdom: the Duke, I ſay, ſurrounded thus with applauſe, was now poſſeſſed of the adminiſtration of all national affairs. His power however,

Envied.

together with the general approbation, at length excited the envy not only of the other governors and officers of ſtate, but of many mal-contents of the nobility, who, not capable of doing good themſelves, were nevertheleſs deſirous, from a depraved and malignant diſpoſition, of depreſſing that merit in others. Being of a reſtleſs, and unbroken ſpirit, they ſoon broke through the bonds of peace and unity; and, by theſe means, introduced miſunderſtandings and heart burnings betwixt the Duke of Albany and themſelves.

The Queen ſolicits her huſband's liberty.

The Duke of Albany was now ſtrongly and inceſſantly importuned, by the Queen his ſiſter-in-law, to have the King ſet at liberty. The Duke, full of fraternal affection and tenderneſs, and greatly affected with the tears and mournful addreſſes of the Queen, privately reſolved to reſtore the King to his former condition. Therefore, having been at Stirling caſtle, to conſult about ſome matters of ſtate with the other governors who were there, and finding them in a diſpoſition to oppoſe his meaſures, he returned the ſame evening in diſcontent, with the utmoſt ſpeed, to Edinburgh; where, having ſufficient numbers of his men and vaſſals in readineſs at his arrival, he directly called a meeting of the chief citizens of Edinburgh, and with them concerted meaſures for ſurprizing the caſtle of Edinburgh in the night time, and ſetting the King, with all his retinue, at liberty, before the other governors at Stirling ſhould be in the leaſt aware of any ſuch deſign.

The citizens of Edinburgh were heartily and zealouſly attached to the King's intereſt and ſtood inflexible in their loyalty, during the whole of the King's troubles and confinement. The citizens at midnight therefore, ſupported by the force which the Duke of Albany had

The Duke of Albany reinſtates the King.

prepared, ſurprized the centinels and guards of the caſtle; and, after ſome faint reſiſtance, making them all priſoners, they ſet the King with all his family at full liberty, and attended his Majeſty, with acclamations and great joy, down to his palace of Holy-rood houſe, where they regaled themſelves upon the event of this happy releaſe.

The regents alarmed.

The news of this alteration, was ſent directly to the Lords Governors at Stirling, which ſtruck them with no ſmall amazement, their ſcheme being now diſjointed, and their ſyſtem overthrown. Perplexed with a mixture of fears and frightful apprehenſions, to avoid danger from the King's reſentment, they all reſolved to retire to their reſpective dwellings in the country; there to deliberate coolly about the proper means, for their ſafety from the preſent dark and threatening appearances; knowing, that his Majeſty King James was of a proud, revengeful, and implacable ſpirit.

The King grateful to the city of Edinburgh.

King James, upon the event of his return to the full exerciſe of government, as one of the firſt acts of his royal gratitude and favour to the loyal city of Edinburgh, granted to the provoſt and magiſtrates of the city for ever, by his royal letters patent under the great ſeal, the office and dignity of perpetual ſheriffs and lieutenants under the King, for the whole city, ſuburbs and liberties thereto belonging; which powers they enjoy to this day, with ſeveral other very extenſive privileges and immunities.

The Duke of Albany, by this genteel, diſintereſted, and generous behaviour towards the King his brother, gave demonſtration to the world of his princely mind, and of his exalted ſentiments in high life; forgiving all the former hardſhips, loſſes, and diſadvantages he was ſubjected to; and, over-ballancing any hopes, proſpects or deſires, of power and government, upon the ruins of his brother's intereſt, by faithful and brotherly love, conducted by the dictates of reaſon and equity, reſerved inviolate the ties and obligations of nature, humanity and decency, without any further encroachments upon the rights of his brother who was in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty.

King

King James, in the free exerciſe of government, ſhews the expected indications of his high reſentment, for the inſult and daring contempt of his authority in his tent at Lauther, by hauling, from his royal preſence, his Majeſty's favourites; and, without trial or condemnation, hanging them up, as the moſt abject of malefactors, in the view of his tent. The King diſcovers his reſentment againſt the nobility.

This was, beyond all queſtion, a violent attack upon the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, and the higheſt contempt of regal authority. The fact therefore can't be fully juſtified: but the immediate danger, which threatened ruin to the whole kingdom, being the direct conſequence of the King's unwiſe conduct and the mal-practices of theſe favourites alone, made the whole of this tragedy and their ſufferings to meet with ſmall commiſeration, and the cauſes of their fall and deſtruction be retorted upon their own heads. Kings and miniſters of ſtate are therefore not to forget they are men, as well as their ſubjects, only of different ranks and degrees; that an injured and angry people, when united in reſolution and reſentment, tho' patient and forbearing, are certain and determined in the ſtand they make; their blow, tho' long impending, when ſtruck, cruſhes all in it's way. King James therefore, if governed by the dictates of prudence, and juſtly regarding his own peace and the welfare of his family, would have done well to have buried all former inſults from his nobility in perfect oblivion.

Alexander Duke of Albany, his brother, in this acted the part of a great and good man; for he laboured hard on this occaſion, to reconcile the diſcontented nobility to the King, and to regain the affections of the whole kingdom to his Majeſty's perſon, government and family; which, in a great meaſure, he accompliſhed.

The diſcontented nobility, particularly the Earls of Athol and Argyle, entertained a ſevere grudge againſt the Duke, for breaking off from their ſyſtem, and reſtoring the King. They loaded him with unjuſt reproaches and invectives, impreſſing the minds of the people with a fixed perſuaſion that the King would, in the event, deſtroy him; which indeed accordingly happened; but was entirely owing to, and effected by, their inſatiable reſentment and inſidious arts with the King, after their reſtoration to his Majeſty's favour and preſence.

The Duke of Albany, to perfect his pacific ſyſtem for the King's intereſt, appointed a meeting privately with Douglaſs Earl of Angus, the chief of the diſaffected Lords. In this meeting they talked over the whole affairs of the nation with coolneſs and moderation. The Earl of Angus, tho' of a great ſpirit, was a man of ſound judgment and diſcerning; and, after weighing all circumſtances, and deliberating upon the Duke's propoſitions, readily approved of them, as moſt honourable, equitable and expedient in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

The Duke of Albany gave the Earl of Angus (who repreſented the whole body of the diſcontented nobility) to underſtand, that his Majeſty's diſpoſitions were very favourable and full of friendſhip to the nobility; that the King was ready to paſs in forgetfulneſs all former oppoſition and injuries, and to reſtore the Lords to his favour and fatherly protection. The Duke further added and aſſured the Earl, that he would do all in his power and exert himſelf to promote the reconciliation, betwixt the King and nobility, in the moſt hearty and affectionate manner; which accordingly he faithfully and generouſly fulfilled. The Duke of Albany reconciles the King to them.

They were no ſooner received into the royal preſence and court, than they ſtifled all obligations of gratitude and regard to the Duke of Albany; who, by a generous greatneſs of ſoul, had preſerved them and their families from utter deſtruction. All their ſtudy and aim was bent on ſtealing into the affections of the King's weak mind, which he was not only weak but wicked enough to ſubmit to, to the hurt and prejudice of his generous and faithful brother. Their ingratitude,

Theſe pitiful nobility, ignorant of all noble ſentiments, and averſe to all thoſe generous principles which are the only ornaments of their dignity, purſued no other ſcheme with the King, than, by private detraction, whiſpering and lies, to cool his affections, and to graft upon the ruins and decayed roots of brotherly love, a malignant hatred and brutal reſolution in the King's mind, to revive all paſt and pardoned offences, and to make thoſe falſe and ruſty inſtruments the weapons for cutting off his own brother. and intrigues to ruin him.

The Duke of Albany was a man of uncommon compoſure and ſedateneſs of mind, well experienced and inſtructed in the viciſſitudes of high life, the inſtability of royal friendſhip, and the wicked inſolence of unbridled power. He was a Prince of quick apprehenſion, and of the moſt acute penetration and judgment in affairs of ſtate. He eaſily perceived therefore, from the firſt hints and ſmalleſt appearances, in what manner the preſence of the reconciled Lords ſecretly operated on the King's affections. He ſoon found his brother was not to be depended upon, and unworthy of what he had done for him. The countenance and ſmile of the court was turned from him. The Duke diſcovers their practices.

The Duke, thus perceiving a total alteration in the King's behaviour towards him, and eaſily penetrating into the cauſes and diſcovering the contrivers of this change, wiſely determined, without delay, to withdraw from court. He departed accordingly, in a private manner, and went directly for his caſtle at Dunbar. Having there ſettled his private affairs, he proceeded immediately to the Court of London; where, graciouſly received by King Edward and the Duke of Glouceſter, he diſcloſed to them his whole affairs, and gave full powers to Edward to take poſſeſſion of his caſtle at Dunbar. Retires to Dunbar, and then to England.

The nobility of Scotland, now in full poſſeſſion of the King, and knowing how to prey upon his perverſe and ill-judging mind, ſpurred him on to every contemptible and hateful meaſure, to give colour to their own vile practices. They were now the only officers of ſtate, who aimed

at

at nothing great or glorious, and who purſued the very ſame intereſt with thoſe miniſters they had ſo lately deſtroyed!

The nobility impeach him.

The firſt low and paltry undertaking in which they engaged his Majeſty, was to have his own brother the Duke of Albany, in his abſence, impeached of high treaſon. The Lord chancellor and the Earl of Athol drew up the articles of his impeachment, to be laid before the parliament. They impeached the Duke,

The articles of impeachment.

Firſt, of holding a treaſonable correſpondance with the King of England, and the enemies of Scotland.

Secondly, of ſurrendering and giving up the rights of the crown, in the inſtance of the town and caſtle of Berwick, which he had given up to the Duke of Glouceſter; and in conſequence of this, was, by King Edward and his parliament, annexed for ever to the crown of England.

Thirdly, they impeached him for a conſpiracy to ſubvert the conſtitution and government of the kingdom, and holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the Earl of Douglaſs, and other declared enemies of the kingdom.

Fourthly, he was accuſed for delivering up to the Engliſh his caſtle of Dunbar, which was a barrier town and fortification belonging to the Scots nation.

Laid before the parliament. The Duke of Albany and his adherents proſcribed.

The King, by advice of theſe noblility, his old enemies and his new friends, (who in fact were no friends to any but themſelves) was perſuaded and prevailed on to lay theſe articles of impeachment before his packed parliament. The parliament being of the ſame mold and caſt with the contemptible nobility, paſt the articles of impeachment as notorious, manifeſt, and in no need of proof; upon which they declared the Duke of Albany, and all his adherents, guilty of high treaſon, and condemned them to be executed wherever they could be found.

This was terrible and ſhocking gratitude and honour in theſe Lords, called nobility, whom he had reſtored to the King's favour! a frightful portraiture of the degeneracy, ſtupidity, and malignancy of the court at this time! However, King James, with his preſent miniſtry, were determined to go through with their deſigns. All the confederates and adherents were ſummoned to appear, to anſwer to the articles of their impeachment. They were accus'd of aiding and aſſiſting the Duke of Albany, in all his rebellious and treaſonable attempts.

Lord Creighton impeached.

The chief man pointed at by the court, againſt whom the King had fixed his particular reſentment, was my Lord Creighton, ſon to the late Lord chancellor Creighton. The firſt article alleged againſt my Lord Creighton was, that he had garriſoned his caſtle at Creighton, and defended it againſt the King's forces, and that he had held a treaſonable correſpondence with the Duke of Albany, after he was outlawed and condemned to be executed wherever he could be found; next, he was accuſed of conveying intelligence to the Duke of Albany, giving him council and encouragement ſecretly, to make an attempt upon the kingdom; and that this treaſonable correſpondence had been carried on by one Thomas Dixon a prieſt, who had always conveyed letters in the moſt crafty manner, to the Duke of Albany, from his friends in Scotland.

The King's cruel treatment of him.

But there was one ſecret and more important reaſon for King James's indignation and reſentment againſt Lord Creighton: William Lord Creighton had a beautiful lady for his wife, whom the King took a liking to, and made frequent viſits to in private. Lord Creighton at length diſcovered, by ſome of his faithful ſervants, that the King had a criminal correſpondence with his lady: being fully ſatisfied of it, tho' not in a capacity to reſent it, he reſolved to be in ſome meaſure even with his Majeſty.

The King's immorality.

The King had a moſt beautiful ſiſter, whom he had a particular value for. It was currently reported, and univerſally believed for fact, that the King, who was a man of diſſolute and debauched morals, had not ſtrictly attached himſelf to rules of honour and decency, in regard to his own ſiſter. William Lord Creighton, a man of ſpirit and quick wit, made his cloſe addreſſes to this young Princeſs; and being a man of comely preſence and fine addreſs, he ſoon compaſſed his ends, and prevailed ſo far upon the young royal lady, that ſhe became pregnant of a daughter by him, who was chriſtened Margaret Creighton.

Lord Creighton happened to give ſuch ſatisfaction to the King's ſiſter, that ſhe ever after rejected his Majeſty, and could not bear the ſight of him. The King, though diſpleaſed, out of regard to his royal dignity, durſt not ſhew his indignation. The Princeſs his ſiſter had diſcloſed to my Lord Creighton the whole of the King's intrigue with his lady; and, as ſhe was ſo extravagantly enamoured with my Lord Creighton, all the poſſible arts and ſtratagems the King could make uſe of, were not ſufficient to alienate the Princeſs's affections from her beloved object. This event had ſuch an effect upon my lady Creighton, the King's favourite, and ſo affected her ſpirits, that ſhe fell ſoon into a lingering illneſs, and died with very little pity.

Theſe intrigues were the chief cauſes of the perſecution which my Lord Creighton ſuffered from the King; and for which he was outlawed, obliged to depart his native land, and all his eſtate, real and perſonal, forfeited, and levied into the King's treaſury.

King Edward's death. Fatal to the Duke of Albany.

The Duke of Albany, now at the court of London with his friends King Edward and the Duke of Glouceſter, received a fatal blow to his affairs and intereſt; for in the month of April, (1483) Edward King of England, was taken ſuddenly ill, and in a few days after died.

The

The Duke of Albany, upon this ſudden change, expected from former familiarities and friendſhips with the Duke of Glouceſter, that he would not change his affections towards him; but now, as he was in greater power and capacity, would rather aſſiſt and ſupport him, and effectually enable him to return in triumph to his native land, make his enemies aſhamed, and reſtore him to his former condition.

The Duke of Albany repreſented to the Duke of Glouceſter, now Lord Protector of England, that, if he were furniſhed but with a moderate number of choice troops, men of integrity and real fortitude, to join him, he would make an attempt upon Scotland; and did not in the leaſt doubt but he ſhould have great numbers of the Scots flock in to join him, and to ſupport his intereſt with vigor and ſpirit.

Glouceſter, reflecting on the former friendſhip and intimacy which ſubſiſted betwixt himſelf and the Duke of Albany, hereupon agreed to grant ſome ſuccours and ſupplies to forward his friend's enterpriſe. But, ſuch was the unſettled and diſturbed ſtate of the Lord Protector's affairs, he could not grant the Duke the effectual ſupport neceſſary: for England was threatened by a powerful confederacy forming in France, in favour of the Earl of Richmond's Pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown; ſupported beſides by ſeveral of the nobility in England, who had not ſubmitted to the Duke of Glouceſter.

The Lord Protector in this ſituation could only order five hundred horſe, with all the exiles and outlaws of the Scots nation, to join the Duke of Albany, and march into the borders of Scotland. Among the reſt, James Earl of Douglaſs, now in a very advanced age, attended in this expedition.

When they arrived on the frontier of Scotland, all the diſorderly and plundering borderers immediately joined them. The Duke bent his march immediately for Lochmaben in the county of Annandale, taking the opportunity of an annual fair there at that time. Lochmaben was then a conſiderable corporation, and a market-town of large extent. The Duke of Albany makes an attempt on Scotland.

The neighbouring counties of Scotland, upon notice of the Engliſh marching towards Lochmaben, in great hurry raiſed their militia, and marched fully determined to put a ſtop to their further progreſs.

The fair happened on St. Magdalen's day. The Engliſh party began the fray by plundering, without diſtinction, as well traders as others, all who were at the fair. Upon this, the Scots militia, juſt arrived at Lochmaben, attacked the Enemy with great bravery and even fury. The diſpute continued obſtinate for many hours, from noon till night. The wardens and gentry of the town and county, in the mean time, endeavoured to ſuppreſs the tumult; but words could not influence, and they had no force to compel. The Scots, continually ſtrengthened by freſh ſupplies of militia, renewed the attack, and charged the Engliſh with incredible fury, ſo as to make conſiderable ſlaughter among them, and put the remaining part to flight. The Duke of Albany himſelf, with great difficulty, eſcaped. The ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and the careful attendance of his faithful ſervants, conveyed him ſafe to Engliſh ground, and preſerved his life and liberty. But the old Earl of Douglaſs, encumbered both by the weight of armour and infirmities, was not ſo fortunate. He was overtaken in the purſuit by Robert Kirkpatrick, and taken priſoner by him. For this action, Kirkpatrick afterwards had the eſtate of Kirkmichael given him. He carried his priſoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where the Earl was carried into the King's preſence; but, tho' a priſoner, he ſtill retained his great and manly ſpirit, and would not ſubmit to look on the King, remembering what the King's father had done to his brother and family, as well as the hardſhips he himſelf had ſuffered by a long baniſhment from his native country. The King however took particular notice of his graceful perſon, his ſedate and grave appearance; and, taking pity of him from his great and advanced age, pardoned him, and only confined his perſon in a genteel manner in the abbey of Lyndores. This defeat of the Duke of Albany happened the 22d of July 1483. Is attacked by the Scots militia at Lochmaben, and routed. James Earl of Douglaſs made priſoner. Is pardoned.

King James, always of a variable and fluctuating mind, became wearied of the adminiſtration and proud behaviour of Douglaſs Earl of Angus; and therefore determined to take the firſt opportunity of ſhaking him off, and introducing the Earl of Douglaſs in his ſtead to the adminiſtration of public affairs. The Earl was a man of long experience in the intricacies of ſtate-policy, and the moſt learned and polite of all the nobility: his preſence and council in the cabinet might have been of ſingular ſervice to his Majeſty, by the great weight and regard his advice would certainly have met with in their deliberations towards the promotion of his Majeſty's meaſures. From theſe motives, ſelfiſh indeed as they were, James reſolved to employ the old Earl, and diſmiſs the Lord Angus.

The Duke of Albany, upon his ill ſucceſs and return to the court of London, finding an alteration in the affections of the Duke of Glouceſter and his court, reſolved upon making but a very ſhort ſtay there.

The Duke of Glouceſter, who now aſſumed the Title of Lord Protector and guardian of his brother's children, acted, for ſhort ſome time, in a moderate and eaſy manner: but, when once he and his faction had prepared the minds of the common people, he took upon himſelf (in June 1484) the title of King, aſſumed the power and dignity of a Sovereign, and upon this ſhut up his two nephews (the late King's ſons) in the Tower of London, aſſigning a ſeparate place of confinement for the Queen and her two daughters. Richard uſurps the crown of England.

However, in a ſhort time, his arbitrary proceeding, and the injuſtice done to the children of his late brother, excited an oppoſition againſt him in the kingdom, ſo as to form a powerful party for Henry Earl of Richmond now in France.

Duke of Albany goes to France.

Richard, thus perplex'd with the convulſed ſtate of home affairs, and with apprehenſions from abroad, could therefore give no attention to the demands and importuning ſolicitations of the Duke of Albany; upon which the Duke, with John Lyddal his companion, ſecretly retired from the court of London, and went over to France.

Richard of England, now apprehenſive of danger from all ſides, appointed ambaſſadors therefore to go for Scotland, to negociate a peace; and, if that could not be obtained, a truce for ſome years with King James.

The Engliſh treat of peace.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors, on their arrival in Scotland, intimated to King James, in the moſt engaging and inviting manner, the good diſpoſition of King Richard their maſter, and his earneſt deſire to enter into a laſting treaty of alliance and future friendſhip with his Majeſty of Scotland, for the mutual welfare and happineſs of both kingdoms.

King James was in equal perplexity with Richard of England, from the bad ſituation of his own private affairs, and the factions of his nobility. He readily and chearfully therefore agreed to have the articles of peace drawn up, that thus they might be both ſafe from any apprehenſions of danger from each other: yet, when the ambaſſadors came to particulars, they differed ſo much upon ſome important articles, that the treaty had nigh broke off. The two chief points upon which they differed were, firſt, the reſtoring of Berwick to the Scots nation, which the Engliſh ambaſſadors refuſed to comply with; the next was the returning to Scotland the caſtle of Dunbar, which was an important place on their frontier. Theſe things the Engliſh did not chuſe to comply with, and therefore this embaſſy returned, without effecting their deſign, to the court of London, in order to have new and full inſtructions as to every point in diſpute.

The treaty interrupted.

Both Kings were very deſirous of ſecurity and peace with each other, becauſe of the convulſions, diviſions, and commotions amongſt their people; they agreed therefore to nominate commiſſioners to treat of all matters for a peace, and to ſettle the articles betwixt both kingdoms without loſs of time. The commiſſioners nominated for Scotland, were the Earl of Argyle, William Elphinſton Biſhop of Aberdeen, the Lords Drummond and Oliphant, Duncan Dundaſs lyon King at arms, and Archibald Whitlaw Eſq; ſecretary of ſtate. King Richard nominated the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Stanley and Grey, the Lord Fitſhugh, John Guntrope Lord Privy-ſeal, Thomas Burrow Maſter of the Rolls, and Sir Thomas Bryan Lord Chief Juſtice.

A Truce concluded.

It's conditions.

Theſe deputies met at Nottingham according to appointment, the 17th of September, 1484; and, having ſat cloſe for the diſpatch of buſineſs, by the laſt of September they concluded and agreed upon the articles of pacification, which were ſent to their ſeveral courts for approbation, and were returned ratified. But the duration of this treaty was limited for three years, to commence from the 29th of September 1484, and to expire the 29th of September 1487. This treaty was both offenſive and defenſive: the chief ſtipulations in it were, that Berwick ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh nation; that all the towns, garriſons, and fortreſſes, ſhould be held and continued in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who were at preſent maſters of them; and as for the caſtle of Dunbar, which was the great point contended for betwixt the two kingdoms, it was agreed on by the commiſſioners on both ſides, that the Scots army ſhould be at full liberty to attack and ſtorm the town and caſtle of Dunbar, and to take the place, without any violation of the preſent treaty now ſigned; provided they could carry the place in ſix months.

Dunbar caſtle beſieged by the Scots.

King James therefore, after the ratification of the treaty, prepared his army to march; and, having got all things in readineſs with a train of ordnance, he commanded his army in perſon, and marched directly to attack the town and caſtle of Dunbar. The garriſon was well ſupplied with every thing for a ſtout defence; but King James, determined on carrying the place, cannonaded it with great fury.

Upon this, King Richard of England, to divert the keenneſs of the attack, wrote very ſmooth and complimenting letters to King James, promiſing that matters ſhould be ſo ordered, that the garriſon ſhould not make any effectual defence; and further to ſoften King James's reſolution, the propoſal of a marriage was renewed between his eldeſt ſon the Prince of Rothſey, and the Lady Anne de la Pool daughter to John Duke of Suffolk, who was King Richard's niece. King James entertained and encouraged this propoſal of an alliance by marriage, and ambaſſadors were appointed on both ſides to conclude the treaty. The writings, the marriage-contract and ſettlement, being all drawn up, ſigned, ſealed and delivered, Lady Anne de la Pool in conſequence thereof was declared Princeſs of Rothſey, and had all honours and attendance paid her in that quality for ſome conſiderable time. But the death of her uncle King Richard, ſome time after, diſſolved all the glittering proſpects of grandeur and magnificence, which flattered her arrival at the character and ſtation of a Queen.

The ſiege interrupted by a marriage-alliance.

Much about this time, Alexander Duke of Albany, who was with Lewis Duke of Orleans in France, upon a quarrel and diſpute ariſing betwixt him and ſome of the Princes of the blood, received a mortal wound by a ſpear; of which, languiſhing a few days, he died.

The Duke of Albany killed in a duel.

King

King James and King Richard, by the aforeſaid treaty of Nottingham, (ſign'd the 29th of September 1484) had agreed, not only on the articles of peace already mentioned, (which were publicly proclaimed in all cities, towns, and public places, over both kingdoms) but likewiſe to the following ſeparate and private articles:

Private articles of the treaty.

Firſt, that no traitor, or perſon guilty of high treaſon, ſhould be received, harboured or entertained by either of the contracting powers; and if any ſuch perſon ſhould take ſhelter or ſanctuary in either of the kingdoms, they ſhould be immediately delivered up to their former ſovereign.

Secondly, every ſubject of Scotland, who reſided in England, and had taken the oaths to the King of England, ſhould be free to remain peaceably; provided his name be given in, within forty days, to the King of Scotland.

Thirdly, it was provided, that if any ſubjects of either nation, did invade the properties of their neighbours, or commit any hoſtilities againſt one another, the warden of the diſtrict or riding ſhould, by proclamation, declare the perſons ſo offending traitors to their country in ſix days after committing the offence; and, in twelve days following, full notification of this ſhould be made to his Majeſty whoſe ſubjects they might be.

It was further ſtipulated by a ſeparate article of this treaty, that, if any of the ſubjects of either nation ſhould enter into confederacy with any third power, who was an enemy to any one of the contracting powers, then the Prince, againſt whom the perſon had joined himſelf, ſhould be at full liberty and power, to apprehend and impriſon the party or parties ſo offending.

The principal contracting parties, viz. the Kings of Scotland and England, invited the King of Caſtile and Arragon, the King of Portugal, the Arch-duke of Auſtria, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, together with Charles King of Denmark and Norway, and the Duke of Guelderland, to accede to this treaty; and were likewiſe to be guarranties for the mutual accompliſhment of the articles agreed upon betwixt Scotland and England.

Matters remained thus in a calm and peaceable ſtate for above a year; but King James, ever of a reſtleſs and variable ſpirit, could not remain long in a quiet diſpoſition. He entertained a grudge at the non-delivery of the caſtle of Dunbar, and could not think of allowing the Engliſh to remain in poſſeſſion of it; therefore he renewed the attack on the place, near the cloſe of 1485, and continued the ſiege for ſome time.

England invaded by Lord Richmond.

Henry Earl of Richmond, in the beginning of 1486, came over from France with a conſiderable body of his friends and adherents, under the chief command and direction of that famous warrior, Bernard Stuart Lord Oubany, brother to Lord Darnly of Scotland.

Upon their landing in England, numbers repaired to join Bernard Stuart's ſtandard, and to ſupport the pretenſions of Henry Earl of Richmond. By this means the Earl of Richmond formed a conſiderable army, and marched to attack Richard at Boſworth; where, in an adjacent field, both armies accordingly met. The engagement began with great fury on both ſides, but King Richard being killed in the attack, the fate of the day was determined in favour of Henry Earl of Richmond. Upon his gaining the field, he was declared and proclaimed King; and numbers from all quarters of the Engliſh nation flocked to join his ſtandard.

Is victorious.

Proclaimed King.

King James received the news of this great alteration in his camp before the caſtle of Dunbar, which ſo animated his army, that with redoubled vigour they beſieged the place. The garriſon, deſpairing of any ſupplies and unable to hold out any time, determined to yield the place; which they accordingly did.

King James takes Dunbar caſtle.

King James's triumph on this occaſion was attended with a very mournful event, the death of his Queen, Margaret of Denmark, who died in February 1486.

Offers of peace from Henry now King of England.

Upon the ſurrender of the caſtle of Dunbar to the Scots army, and the coronation of Henry King of England, there came a ſolemn embaſſy from the court of London to King James, with offers of prolonging the peace for ſeven years longer. The ambaſſadors were Richard Fox Biſhop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecumbe.

King Henry, upon this occaſion, came himſelf to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and here waited the reſult of the ambaſſadors negociations. This Henry the VIIth was a perſon of great prudence and ſagacity; and, having experienced the many alterations in life, he judged it moſt expedient for him to lay the foundation of his monarchy in peace with all his neighbours.

The ambaſſadors reception.

King James received the ambaſſadors from England in the moſt gracious manner. They had a private audience directly of his Majeſty; where the King, taking a ſolemn oath of the ambaſſadors not to diſcloſe to any of the nobility of his court what he was to communicate to them, expreſſed himſelf in the following terms:

The King's addreſs to them.

"My Lords,

"I am earneſtly deſirous of peace with all my neighbours, but above all to live in peace with your King, out of regard as well to his perſonal merit, as to the welfare and ſafety of both our kingdoms; but I am ſo ſenſible of the ſtubborn and croſs diſpoſitions of my people, that, if they underſtood thoroughly my pacific inclinations, they would exert themſelves to

to traverſe all my intentions. They are of ſuch a warlike and reſtleſs ſpirit, that ſuppoſing they did yield to terms of accommodation for a conſiderable number of years, they would not ſtand to their articles, but break forth into a war, if I ſhould enter into any negociations for a further time than ſeven years; and therefore King Henry may depend upon it, that tho' the time is limited, I ſhall remain fixed and invariable in my reſolutions, upon the expiration of the time of the preſent intended truce, to renew the treaty with his Majeſty King Henry, and to live in good faith and friendſhip with my neighbour King."

The Treaty confirmed.

The ambaſſadors, well ſatisfied with this declaration, agreed to the conditions propoſed; and, after ſignature of the truce on both ſides, they returned to the court of London.

King James reforms in his conduct.

King James, having now ſettled peace with all his neighbours, after many ſtrange viciſſitudes and mixtures of fortune, reflecting upon the failures and miſtaken conduct of his paſt life, began to make ſome appearances of reformation in his behaviour, and to attone for his paſt extravagances. While he reſided at his palace of Holyrood-houſe, in order to procure and regain the affections of his people, he went in proceſſion on Wedneſdays and Fridays to public prayers and devotion in the churches of the city of Edinburgh.

By this uniform practice for ſome conſiderable time, the King became much more regarded and beloved in the nation, no mean being ſo effectual, nor no band of union ſo ſtrong, to connect the reciprocal affections of a King and his people, as true religion and unaffected devotion. A truly pious and religious King will always ſecure the fidelity and affections of the moſt uſeful part of his people; and had his Majeſty King James continued uniform in this behaviour, he had ſecured his own private happineſs and the repoſe of his people. It appeared in part, that his Majeſty was ſincere, while this fervor of devotion (much too ſhort in it's duration!) conrinued upon him; for, during the fleeting period of his religious deportment, he exerciſed ſeveral acts of mercy and clemency towards the poorer ſort of people. He relieved the farmers and labouring people from the oppreſſion of their ſuperiors, and ſo defended the rights and liberties of the poor, as to preſerve them from the tyrannical and abuſive treatment which they had been ſubjected to by the rich and powerful.

The King, in this calm and wiſe diſpoſition of mind, preſided perſonally every day in his cabinet, for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and for the diſpatch of all weighty and important matters.

The King calls a parliament.

Theſe alterations and the peace with England, happened in the year 1487. In the month of October, the ſame year, the King ſummoned the parliament to meet, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, and to ſettle divers important affairs.

Divers good laws enacted.

In the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, many good laws were enacted for aſcertaining the rights of the people, for ſuppreſſing vice and reſtraining oppreſſion. At this time likewiſe, the King and parliament appointed Judges to make their circuits over the kingdom, for the puniſhment of all criminals, and the preſervation of good order in the ſtate.

It was alſo enacted in this ſeſſion, that the extravagant number of friends and proctors, or council, who uſually attended perſons at the bar, in any civil or criminal law-ſuits, ſhould for the future be reſtrained to ſix only in number, including council, attorney and friends; and that, under ſevere penalties, no more ſhould be admitted into court to witneſs the trial of any ſort. This was a neceſſary and uſeful regulation; for in paſt times ſuch crouds and multitudes attended even criminals on their trial, that they often reſcued them when condemned, and bid defiance to the authority of the court.

The nobility cabal againſt the King.

The nobility of Scotland, who were of the diſaffected party, began to be in great uneaſineſs, leſt the wiſe meaſures which the King now purſued ſhould ſo re-eſtabliſh his intereſt and regard with his people, as to render their loyalty inviolable, and their attachment to his perſon infrangible. They began therefore to cabal and concert new meaſures to interrupt his Majeſty's repoſe, and to ſeek out a pretext for new civil commotions.

The handle therefore they laid hold of for this purpoſe, was a promotion his Majeſty had made of ſome private gentlemen to offices of truſt and power in the ſtate. Though theſe were favours and gifts of the crown, yet the nobility pretended it was their birthright to be preferred to the firſt offices in the kingdom, and inſiſted that his Majeſty, by paſſing over them, had invaded their privileges. But the King, eaſily penetrating into the true motives of their diſcontent, ſo conducted this affair, that the nobility could not, with any ſhew of equity and reaſon, from ſo ſlender and ſmall a pretence, attempt to diſturb the public tranquility, or make any open and avowed oppoſition to the King's meaſures. Finding matters therefore not ripe enough, they waited, though impatient, to have further grounds before they ſhould declare their rebellious deſigns. At length, agreeable to their wiſhes, an incident happened which, though ſmall and inconſiderable in it's firſt appearances, they took care ſoon to improve ſo as to anſwer their diſaffected and factious purpoſes.

His Majeſty had laid out a conſiderable expence in public buildings at his different palaces, having a great taſte in this way. Stirling caſtle was the favourite place of his reſidence. This he enlarged and beautified with ſeveral fine and new apartments. Among the reſt, he built here a new college of divinity, with a chapel-royal belonging to it for divine ſervice, to which his Majeſty, when at Stirling, repaired to his devotion; and endowed it with a liberal and handſome revenue.

There

There happened at this time a priory to fall vacant, to which belonged a very conſiderable revenue. The King, by the former alterations which he had made in the church, having now the ſole power for nominating church-preferments in his own hands, determined to annex this vacant priory of Coldingham, which was a rich living, to the revenue of his own chapel-royal at Stirling.

The revenue of this priory of Coldingham was collected out of the tythes of the eſtates of ſome noblemen and gentlemen of great influence in the kingdom. They were ſpirited up by the diſcontented faction of the nobility to believe, that, if this priory and the ſettlement of the vacancy were put out of the old channel, the incumbent, being of the nomination of the crown and belonging to the chapel-royal, might be very troubleſome and create great uneaſineſs, beſides expence, to the gentlemen on whoſe eſtates the tythes were levied. The factious Lords therefore ſecretly entered into an immediate combination with the gentlemen concerned in the priory, to oppoſe the meaſures of the King with all their might.

The priory had, for a ſucceſſion of years, been beſtowed upon one of the name of Hume. The whole of that name therefore made the preſent affair a common cauſe; and, being a very powerful name in Scotland at this time, they were determined to oppoſe the King in the nomination of any perſon of a different appellation.

King James, perſiſting in his reſolution to alienate the priory from it's old channel, and annexing it to the chapel-royal, would hearken to no ſolicitations contradictory of his purpoſe. This ſo provoked all the Humes and their aſſociates the Hepburns, the chief of whom was the Lord Hales, that, at the inſtigation and under the direction of the diſaffected Lords, the Humes and Hepburns, with all their aſſociates, entered into a confederacy to ſupport their claim with their united force and influence. In full meeting of their friends, they ſigned articles of agreement, and bound themſelves over by oath ſacredly to adhere to their aſſociation with the moſt inviolable ſecreſy.

*The nobility enter into a confederacy againſt the King.*

The diſcontented Lords having gained ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to their party, the next ſtep they took was to raiſe and propagate falſe reports over the kingdom concerning his Majeſty. They gave out that his arbitrary ſpirit was now become ſo formidable, that in a little time he would effectually execute, without controll, his lurking and concealed reſentment againſt the Lords and all concerned in the action at Lauther. They impreſſed the minds of the multitude with a belief, that matters were daily ripening for this end; that the King had no other deſigns in view than to make ſure of the properties and rights of his ſubjects, to ſupport his own extravagancies, and feed the rapacious avarice of his favourites. They filled the people with notions, that the King was a moſt accompliſhed diſſembler; and that his miniſtry was a ſet of the moſt abject wretches, whoſe only aim was to enrich themſelves and dependents, and impoveriſhing their country.

In order to render their meetings and cabals unſuſpected, they had frequent matches of horſe-racing in different corners of the kingdom; at which places theſe malcontents aſſembling, they concerted, without ſuſpicion, thoſe meaſures, which, in a ſhort time, produced a new ſcene of troubles and diſorder in the ſtate.

King James however, notwithſtanding their ſecreſy, became ſoon informed of a powerful confederacy forming in the nation againſt him; and that new troubles were like to ariſe. His Majeſty, upon this intelligence, immediately iſſued out a proclamation for the whole kingdom to diſarm; that no nobleman or gentleman ſhould even wear a ſword, except he was an officer of, or belonged to, the court.

*Diſcovered by the King,*

*who orders a general diſarm.*

This expedient was believed to be a propoſal recommended to the King by his greateſt confident and favourite, John Ramſey of Balmaine; who was now maſter of the houſhold to the King, and poſſeſſed of ſeveral other great offices in the ſtate.

This diſarming act of the King's inflamed the nobility and gentry to a degree of violence. His Majeſty therefore thought it prudent to diſſemble his real ſentiments, and aſſume a diſpoſition of great benevolence and friendſhip towards them. In order to attach the principal nobility firmly to his intereſt, he gratified ſeveral of them with honours, others with offices of truſt, and ſome even with plentiful eſtates; but all without effect. The two chief men in whom the King confided, David Lindſey Earl of Crawford and George Douglaſs Earl of Angus, betrayed all his Majeſty's ſecret councils to the diſaffected. Notwithſtanding that his Majeſty had created the Earl of Crawford Duke of Montroſs, and beſtowed ſeveral profitable offices on the Earl of Angus; yet, ſo deeply rooted was their averſion to the King, their affections could never be united to him nor his intereſt.

*It's evil tendency.*

*The King betrayed in his meaſures.*

The King, thus embarraſſed, ſent for the old Earl of Douglaſs, who was confined in the abbey of Lyndores. When Douglaſs was brought into the royal preſence, his Majeſty in private repreſented to him, that now an opportunity was offered him whereby he could be ſufficiently avenged of all his old enemies. The King likewiſe aſſured him, that, if he found him ſteady, faithful and zealous in his intereſt upon this occaſion, he would reſtore him not only to his honours, but to all his former eſtates; and that, for the future, he ſhould have the chief place in his Majeſty's eſteem and favour.

*Sends for the old Earl of Douglaſs.*

The Earl gave ſolemn aſſurances of his firm attachment to his Majeſty's intereſt; whereupon, in confidence of Douglaſs's ſecreſy and fidelity, his Majeſty communicated to him his whole deſign againſt the nobility, and the manner in which he was to execute his reſentment againſt them.

them. The King acquainted the Earl, that the reaſon of his ſummoning the nobility to appear at Edinburgh was, to have a general aſſembly of them; and, when they were altogether, he had prepared a body of deſperadoes to cut them off in the night time.

Diſcloſes his deſign of murdering the nobility.

Upon communicating this to the Earl of Douglaſs he anſwered, that he hoped his Majeſty would put no ſuch cruel and bloody deſign into execution; for that, if he ſhould venture upon ſuch a cruel and butcherly expedient, he would render himſelf and family for ever hateful to the beſt families of the nation. Cruelty and bloodſhed were of ſuch a vile and abominable nature, that inſtead of promoting ſucceſs to the authors of them, they haſtened the deſtruction and overthrow of every one chiefly concerned in ſuch black attempts. The Earl of Douglaſs further by mild and friendly perſuaſion, intreated the King not to think of any ſuch undertaking; and having addreſſed his Majeſty in ſuch a kind and affectionate manner, as convinced him he was his hearty friend, the King apprehended no danger of any diſcovery from the Earl.

Earl Douglaſs diſſuades him from it.

But to his Majeſty's great ſurprize, the Lord Douglaſs conveyed intelligence to all the nobility now at Edinburgh, of the King's deſigns to aſſaſſinate them. Upon which the Earl, with all the nobility, departed directly from Edinburgh; and retired to hold a private meeting, to conſult what was moſt proper to be done to oppoſe the King's meaſures. They all unanimouſly reſolved to raiſe their men and join into a formidable body, with full reſolution to dethrone the King.

Betrays the deſign.

The King, finding all his ſecret meaſures were diſcovered by the Earl of Douglaſs, and that he was in immediate danger, locked himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, ordering in a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions and neceſſary ſtores in caſe of an attack. In the mean time, the nobility of the oppoſition, after different conſultations, came to a reſolution to make choice of the King's ſon for their Captain-general, the young Prince of Rothſey, who was in his minority, and by the advice of his tutors, was perſuaded to accept of the command; being afraid that, if he did not comply with the requeſt of his nobility, they might, out of reſentment, make choice of ſome perſon from England to head their army, which might at length end in the total overthrow of their family.

TheKing ſhuts himſelf up in Edinburgh caſtle.

The King being now tired of his voluntary confinement in his caſtle of Edinburgh, determined to paſs the Forth into the Northern counties, which till now had ſtood faithful to him. Accordingly his Majeſty croſſed the Forth; and having aſſembled the militia of the different counties who adhered to him, he formed a conſiderable body. In the mean time he ſent expreſſes to the Northern counties, for the Grants, Forbeſes, Ogilvies, and other Clans who ſtood firm in his Majeſty's cauſe, to collect all their force, and march directly up to join the royal ſtandard. The King, with what force he had collected, repaſſed the Forth, and landed at Blackneſs.

Paſſes the Forth.

The army of the nobility, under the command of the King's ſon, was within a ſhort way of the King's army, now at Blackneſs; but the Earl of Athol, the King's uncle, ſo mediated an agreement betwixt the King and his nobility, by his ſtrong ſolicitations and remonſtrances with the Earl of Angus, and ſome other of the chiefs, that the breach betwixt them appeared for the preſent cloſed up.

Aſſembles an army, and meets the rebels.

Diſputes ſeemingly adjuſted.

The agreement however was but of a very ſhort duration. Notwithſtanding the Earl of Athol had generouſly delivered himſelf up to the nobility to remain as an hoſtage, in the cuſtody of Adam Hepburn Lord Hales, for the accompliſhment of the articles of agreement on the King's part; yet, after all was ſeemingly made up, ſuſpicions and jealouſies remained between the King and nobility, which ſoon increaſed to that degree, that the former agreement diſſolved into an open rupture and irreconcileable breach.

Feuds rekindle.

This flame again breaking forth in the nation, the King apprehended immediate danger to his perſon, and therefore thought himſelf ſafeſt to return to the North ſide of the Forth, but occaſionally retired into the caſtle of Edinburgh; deliberating and hoping to ſoften the Minds of the exaſperated nobility.

It was a conſiderable and very important miſtake, in the King's management, and in the advice of thoſe whom his Majeſty truſted in, when he landed his army at Blackneſs, to come into any terms with his nobility at that time; for his force was then far ſuperior to the army of the rebellious Lords. The King had it in his power to reduce them to reaſon, if he had embraced this favourable opportunity; for, upon the King's landing with his forces at Blackneſs near Abercorn, nine miles from Edinburgh, he was joined directly by the Earls of Montroſs and Glencarn; the Lords Moxwell and Ruthven, with all their forces; and by his ſhipping, he was compleat maſter of the river Forth, and of all the iſlands, harbours, and fortifications upon it; ſo that his enemies were under all diſadvantages: and had the King advanced againſt them with his army, he had the greateſt probability of giving them a total rout, and breaking the power of any oppoſition againſt him.

However, all theſe advantages being loſt, and the new flame of diſcord breaking forth, the King waited for ſome time in the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was a place of ſtrength and ſafety, ſending off diſpatches and expreſſes to all his friends who had retired to their country ſeats, and to the clans who ſtood well affected to his Majeſty's intereſt; but the nobility and clans, who had diſbanded their men in conſequence of his Majeſty's agreement, could not re-aſſemble their forces with ſuch expedition as the ſituation of his Majeſty's affairs requir'd. Therefore,

the

the Lords in confederacy againſt the King, taking advantage of this, united their forces, and took poſſeſſion of all Lothian, making the city and ſuburbs of Edinburgh their head quarters. The rebels poſſeſs all Lothian

The King, being ſo compaſſed with his enemies, and not in ſafety to come out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, privately, by the advice of ſome of his friends about him, (who in the end proved not to be real ones) got himſelf with his retinue conveyed on board Sir Andrew Wood's ſhip in Leath-road. This Sir Andrew Wood, was commander of the King's fleet in the Forth.

When the King had got on board his flag-ſhip, the King's enemies gave out that his Majeſty had fled on board a ſhip for Flanders. The King however, with the ſmall force he had got on board, ſailed directly for Stirling caſtle. Here the King landed his men; but, to his great ſurprize, the governor of Stirling caſtle, James Shaw, having been corrupted and bribed, denied the King acceſs to the caſtle; upon which, his Majeſty was obliged to retire from Stirling, and to march to the Northward, and to call in his friends from every quarter to join him. The King ſails for Stirling. Denied admittance there.

The King ſent ſeveral meſſages to the diſaffected Lords, who were marching with their army towards him, propoſing an agreement; but the Lords in return acquainted the King, that they were fully and finally reſolved never to lay down their arms, untill his Majeſty had wholly diveſted himſelf of the government of the kingdom; and that they were determined rather to die like men, than be ſubjected to his tyranny.

The King upon this diſagreeable return made to him, directed his march to the North, and went as far as Aberdeen and Inverneſs; where he accepted the ſubmiſſion of my Lord Creighton, and received him again into his royal favour and protection.

Upon this, the King returned South, and marched with all expedition to join his friends, the Earls of Montroſs and Glencarn, with the Lords Moxwell and Ruthven, who waited, with all their men, for his Majeſty's arrival on the North ſide of the Forth. Re-aſſembles an army, and marches to give battle to the rebel army.

Upon the King's arrival there, and his junction with the Lords abovementioned, he determined to riſque an engagement with his rebellious ſubjects.

The malcontents had advanced towards Falkirk, but his Majeſty's reinforcements from the Highland clans, not coming up according to expectation, gave the rebel army a conſiderable ſuperiority: they had likewiſe (to the King's great loſs) taken all his baggage and equipage, with the military cheſt: upon this the rebel Lords were greatly encouraged, by the ſupply of money, and other valuable effects they had taken in his Majeſty's baggage, whch enabled them to increaſe their army with a rapidity of ſucceſs. The rebels ſuperior in numbers.

The King, impatient for action, and having by his ſcouts received intelligence that the enemy had paſſed the river Carron by Falkirk, which is within ſix miles of Stirling caſtle, and had encamped above the bridge near Torwood, continued his march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the other ſide of the Torwood. Having croſſed a ſmall brook called Sawchyburn, he encamped upon a plain adjacent to Bonnockburn; the place where King Robert Bruce had cut off the great and formidable army of the Engliſh under Edward of Caernarvon.

Now both armies were in ſight of each other, they formed themſelves in order of battle; the right wing of the rebel army was compoſed of the men of Lothian and the Marſe, commanded by the Lords Hume and Hales; the center contained the men of Lidſdale, Annandale, Ewſdale, Tiviotdale, Tweedale, and Galloway; and in the left wing were moſt of the Lords and nobility, for guarding the young Prince's perſon. In this order they marched towards the King's camp.

The King, who upon their appearance had likewiſe formed his army, was prepared for their reception. The Earls of Montroſs and Monteith, the Lords Areſkin, Graham, Ruthven, and Moxwell, led on the right wing of his Majeſty's army; the Earl of Glencarn commanded the left wing, in which were all the Weſt countrymen and Highlanders; and the Earls of Crawford, Boyd, and Lindſey, with the King in perſon on horſeback in compleat armour, commanded the center of the royal army.

His Majeſty's army ſuſtained the attack with great fury and incredible bravery, and ſoon broke the right wing of the rebel army with great violence and ſlaughter: but the men of Annandale, in great numbers, coming up to reinforce them, they returned to the charge; and, uniting their whole ſtrength to that of their center and left wing, the whole army of the rebel Lords directed their attack upon the center of the King's army, where the royal ſtandard was. The engagement.

This occaſioned a moſt terrible and bloody diſpute ſome hours; at length the royal ſtandard being beat down, and thoſe who ſurrounded it ſlaughtered without mercy, the King's army was put into diſorder, and ſoon after entirely broke. The King defeated,

His Majeſty's infantry began the flight, and were immediately ſeconded by the cavalry with great precipitation: the King being well mounted, got out of the field, but being known was cloſely purſued by Lord Grey, Robert Sterling of Keir, and Sir Andrew Borthwick a prieſt. The King had eſcaped them all, had not his horſe, jumping over a ditch, fallen under him; by which means he was not only very much bruiſed, but overtaken.

His Majeſty was carried into a mill at Bannockburn; where, in cold blood, the gentlemen abovementioned entered the houſe, and the prieſt in particular, who by his private character was well qualified for any accompliſhed villainy, ſtabbed his Majeſty with a dagger through the heart, of which wound he inſtantly expired. and aſſaſſinated.

The

The King being now dead, his army routed, and moſt of his friends killed in the action, the diſaffected Lords were in high ſpirits, and kept the field with their army till next morning, when they marched for Linlithgow. The ſcattered remains of the royal army went off for Stirling, in the utmoſt confuſion and dejection of ſpirit for the loſs of their King.

Such was the extraordinary rage and prejudice of the Lords againſt their King, that, tho' they knew his Majeſty in the action, they purſued and were determined to cut him off; in open contempt of an expreſs order from the Prince of Rothſey the King's ſon, publiſhed immediately before the action, intimating and commanding, that no one, upon pain of death, of whatever rank or ſtation, ſhould purſue or attack his Majeſty's perſon, if his army ſhould be defeated.

In this fatal action, vaſt numbers of the principal loyaliſts were ſlain; particularly, Alexander Earl of Glencarn, a gentleman of fine liberal parts and great perſonal courage; the Lords Areſkin, Semple and Ruthven; and John Ramſey of Balmaine, the King's chief favourite, newly created Earl of Bothwell. Henry Innes of Innes, Alexander Scot, and all their friends and vaſſals, were alſo killed in the field.

This deciſive action happened on the feſtival of St. Barnabas, the 11th of June, 1488.

His Majeſty King James was killed in the 35th year of his age, and 29th of his reign. He left behind him three ſons: James Prince ſucceſſor, Alexander Primate of Scotland, and John Earl of Mar.

The King's pompous funeral.

The Lords of the confederacy, in ſhow of ſome attonement and relenting of ſpirit, for the many wrongs they had done his Majeſty, and at length murdering him, performed his funeral obſequies with uncommon ſplendor and the moſt magnificent pomp. His body was carried to the abbey-church of Cambuſkenneth*, and there depoſited in the ſame vault with his Queen.

His perſon deſcribed.

His character.

King James was of more than common ſtature, well-proportioned and ſtately in his perſon, and of a ſwarthy complexion. He was of a very proud and haughty mind: he could bear no perſon to ſhare with him in power and government: ſuperiority, without controll, was his favourite maxim. He knew very well the extent of monarchical power, but did not make the ſtudy of men any part of his concern. He was a man of ſome courage, but great temerity. He did not attend to the events and conſequences of matters; neither did he ſtudy to mold, model or gain the affections of his nobility, ſo as to be capable to alter, traverſe and direct their ſchemes and deſigns into the channel of his own intereſt. He was of too indolent and retired a diſpoſition for the active and public part of high life: this was imputed to an error in his education, and the habits he contracted in his youth, from the miſconduct and neglect of his tutors and guardians. His taſte ran principally upon building of magnificent chapels and churches: he was likewiſe a great admirer of curious toys and rarities; but did not attend to what ought to be the chief buſineſs and ſtudy of any Sovereign, which is to make it his chief care to enact and eſtabliſh ſuch laws as will effectually promote the welfare and proſperity of his people; to conduct matters in peace with ſuch equality and wiſdom of mind, as may eſtabliſh both the love and regard of his people towards him. In war a Sovereign is to act with glory, with greatneſs of ſoul, with reſolution, with cooleſt thought and ſoundeſt judgment; and, thro' the whole courſe and ſcene of life, whether civil or military, to diſplay the moſt generous humility and mercy to his ſubjects, with a ſagacity and rectitude of manners, which may compel the proud, the haughty, and refractory part of his kingdom, to ſubmit to decency and conform to the equitable dictates of regal authority.

A Sovereign, thus acting, declares his genius and capacity equal and adapted to his degree of life, and muſt of courſe, if ſome extraordinary incidents fall not in the way, be ſucceſsful in his government.

King James is impeached by moſt hiſtorians of being a raſh, imprudent and haughty prince; but, it is very certain, he had very high provocations to ſeveral acts of his behaviour. He had the misfortune to be compaſſed with a very factious and turbulent nobility, who oppoſed his royal authority in many inſtances, and who claimed that to which they had no title, to wit; to determine and dictate to the King, in what manner and to whom the favours of the crown were to be beſtowed. This was arrogating a ſuperiority over the King himſelf, and therefore juſtly provoking to any crowned head. Royal favours are to be the free gifts of a Sovereign's pleaſure, and therefore his Majeſty ought to have been left entirely to own choice in theſe matters.

King James was not naturally of a fierce, cruel and ſavage inclination; but was drove to violent and bloody meaſures, by the encroachments and inſolence of his haughty nobility, who did not pay the due regard to his authority. The chief errors of his unhappy government proceeded, as before hinted, from the miſtakes and failures of his education. This was the fault of his tutors, and not of his natural genius. Kings and Princes, whoſe affections and principles are not well modelled and framed in their tender years, by a moſt accurate and ſtrict education, if naturally of lively and ſtrong paſſions, when arrived to riper years, and in the exerciſe of government enflamed with power, become very often the moſt noxious and deſtructive animals in the ſtate.

* Cambuſkenneth, an ancient abbey and monaſtery near Stirling.

# JAMES the FOURTH,

## The HUNDRED and FIFTH KING.

JAMES the fourth, after his father's death and burial, was immediately declared and proclaimed King by the rebellious Lords, after that in their meeting they had acknowledged him as their Sovereign, and taken the oaths of allegiance to him. James IV. proclaimed. The young King, now fifteen years of age, by their advice, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh the 28th of June this preſent year, for the ſettlement of peace and reſtoring good order in the troubled and agitated kingdom. The parliament met according to appointment. Calls a parliament.

The meeting was not full, conſiſting chiefly of the Lords conſpirators. The firſt thing they agreed upon, was to appoint his Majeſty's coronation; which was accordingly performed with great magnificence. The next, was to determine the regency and guardians to the King in his minority: the firſt nomination, by their own faction and party, was of Douglaſs Earl of Angus, the Earl of Hume, and Adam Hepburn Lord Hales; who now had the entire management of the young King. His coronation.

The King, after his coronation and the nomination of the regency, ſent for Sir Andrew Wood, admiral of the navy, who had been his father's true and faithful friend. Sir Andrew at firſt refuſed to obey the King's order; and, ſuſpecting their veracity and good faith, he inſiſted on proper hoſtages to be given and ſent on board his fleet, previous to his compliance with the royal command, as a ſecurity for his ſafety and diſmiſſion without the leaſt trouble or confinement. This being granted him, he went to Edinburgh, and waited on his Majeſty and the court. Sends for admiral Wood, who demands hoſtages for his ſafety before he obeys.

The King received Sir Andrew Wood with great marks of regard and diſtinction, and addreſſed him in very ſtrong terms, to diſengage and detach his affections from the late King's friends and adherents.

Sir Andrew Wood anſwered the King with ſpirit and reſolution, that he was determined to ſhow his utmoſt regard to the deceaſed King's memory, and to abide by the fidelity and loyalty which he had always ſhewn him in his life-time. The King nor his guardians could not prevail upon Sir Andrew to join them with his fleet, but perſiſted ſtrongly in his oppoſition to their meaſures: notwithſtanding this, he was allowed to return in ſafety to his ſhip.

After he had gone on board, the King with his council reſolved to ſend for the moſt experienced ſhip-maſters and ſailors in Leith; and, having got many of them, they were aſked, if they would undertake to arm their veſſels in ſuch a manner as to form a ſmall ſquadron to go and attack Sir Andrew Wood.

The captains of the ſhips and the ſailors made anſwer to the young King and his council, that they were by no means equal to ſuch an undertaking; for Sir Andrew Wood, with his own two ſhips, without regard to the reſt of the fleet, was able to blow them into the air, and was more than match for all the ſhipping they could fit to ſea.

This candid anſwer from the ſailors made the King and council reſolve to ſend again for Sir Andrew Wood. He came to court upon the ſame ſecurity he had done before, and was received by the King with all inviting marks of eſteem. The King and council gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their hearty friendſhip, and that they would promote his intereſt with all their power. He received likewiſe large preſents from the King, with all poſſible encouragements to engage him to be zealous and hearty in his intereſt. The King then aſked of Sir Andrew Wood, if he would undertake to clear the coaſt from ſome Engliſh ſhips which had appeared in the Forth.

The Engliſh had ſent at this time five large ſhips, well armed, to cruize upon the coaſt of Scotland. They had landed their men in different ſea-port towns upon the Forth, had plundered, burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral ſmall villages, and carried on board their ſhips effects to a conſiderable value.

Sir Andrew Wood, in compliance with the royal requeſt and command, undertook to ſuppreſs the Engliſh; and acquainted his Majeſty, that he was determined to fight the Engliſh ſquadron, conſiſting of five ſhips of force, with only his two ſhips well manned and armed.

Sir Andrew, well prepared, accordingly ſet ſail to engage the Engliſh fleet, which lay off Dunbar, and ſoon came in ſight of it. The Engliſh were prepared for his reception; but the gallant admiral bore down upon them with ſuch irreſiſtible intrepidity, that he ſoon diſabled The admiral fails in queſt of the Engliſh.

Fights five Engliſh ſhips with two, and takes them all.

their two beſt ſhips; having made terrible ſlaughter among the ſailors on board them. He next turned the ſame fury on the remaining three ſhips, and fought ſo deſperately, yard-arm and yard-arm, with his ſmall arms, that the Engliſh at length, by loſs of men and diſabled ſhips, were oblig'd to ſtrike to Sir Andrew Wood, who made them all priſoners of war, and ordered the wounded men to hoſpitals for cure.

Sir Andrew, having carried the Engliſh officers on board his own ſhip, ſailed directly for Leith-road with the Engliſh ſhips in tow. Here Sir Andrew Wood landed with the Engliſh officers, and carried them directly to the King and council.

Is rewarded.

The King received Sir Andrew Wood in the moſt affectionate manner, highly applauded his manly and gallant behaviour, and aſſured him of his conſtant friendſhip for the future part of his life. Upon this event, Sir Andrew Wood received from his Majeſty an hereditary and free gift of the Barony of Largow, in the county of Fife. The Engliſh priſoners were entertained, by the King's order, with great humanity and civility.

The national convulſions.

But, notwithſtanding this victory over the Engliſh, the nation was diſtracted and much convulſed by the contending factions. The late King's friends, who were very numerous over the kingdom, tho' juſtly affected and depreſſed in ſpirit by his Majeſty's death, and the loſs of the action near Stirling; yet determined not to ſit down contented with their preſent ſituation: they begun to recover and recruit their ſpirits from their late confuſion.

The deceaſed King's friends in arms.

Alexander Lord Forbes in the North exerted himſelf with great activity, to ſpirit up all the neighbouring counties, to unite and take the field, to avenge the unfair murder of the King their Sovereign: for this purpoſe, the King's bloody ſhirt was carried upon a long ſpear in proceſſion, all over the city of Aberdeen, and the public market-towns, places of reſort and villages over many counties, the more effectually to raiſe the indignation of the populace in every quarter, againſt the rebel Lords and all their faction.

This had the deſired effect, and produced tumults in every quarter againſt the preſent governors of the kingdom. The Earl of Lenox, with other nobility, in the Weſt part of Scotland, raiſed their forces, with deſign to march and croſs the Forth; in order to join the clans from the North, and all others from the Low Country who were in confederacy, to unite all their forces, and then to march with full reſolution to give the enemy battle if they ſhould riſque an engagement. But this meaſure of the King's friends, was broke and diſconcerted by the defeat of the Earl of Lenox.

Are defeated.

My Lord Lenox, with two thouſand men, had marched towards the Forth, to paſs the river at the moſt fordable place; and, becauſe the rebel Lords had intercepted his paſſage by Stirling bridge, he marched his army up towards the River-head; and, in the moſt private place he could pitch upon, amongſt woods, fens, and marſhes, he led his army to a ford, where the water was not high and the channel good. However the rebel Lords had ſent out their ſpies to obſerve his motions, and bring in intelligence. My Lord Drummond, who commanded the army of the rebel Lords, was advancing to overtake the Earl of Lenox; and, having received intelligence by one Alexander Mac Alp, (who was ſent out as a ſpy) that the Earl of Lenox was encamped at Tillymoſs, upon the banks of the Forth; and, being acquainted that my Lord Lenox with his army lay quite ſecure and unguarded againſt any attack, formed therefore a deſign to ſurprize his camp. Accordingly, my Lord Drummond, with about a thouſand of his beſt men, marched with the greateſt ſecreſy in the night-time; taking a bye rout, which the enemy could neither ſuſpect nor guard.

The ſecond night after he ſet out, he came upon my Lord Lenox, attacked his camp, and, the ſoldiers being moſtly aſleep, and no way prepared againſt any ſurprize, when the alarm was given, upon my Lord Drummond's approach, they were in ſuch fright and amaze, that they run off at every quarter where they could beſt make their eſcape; while my Lord Drummond's men made a great ſlaughter among them in the purſuit.

This defeat of the Earl of Lenox, disjointed the ſyſtem of the late King's friends. The Gordons, the Forbeſes, and the other clans, who were marching Southward to join the Earl of Lenox with their other friends in the Weſt and South, upon this event halted, to deliberate upon the proper meaſures to repair the loſs they had received by the defeat of the Earl of Lenox. They held a council of war; and, after reaſoning upon the preſent ſituation of affairs, they came to an unanimous reſolution to return to their ſeveral homes, after diſbanding their men.

The civil war ended.

The Engliſh meditate revenge for the diſhonour done their flag.

At this time there happened an engagement at ſea, betwixt Sir Andrew Wood and Sir Stephen Bull the Engliſh admiral. The King of England being ſo enraged at Sir Andrew Wood for the indignity he had put upon the Engliſh flag in the late action, wherein the five ſhips of the Engliſh navy had been defeated and ſtruck to two ſhips of Scotland; King Henry highly reſenting this, proffered great rewards and honours to any who would undertake to lay hold of Sir Andrew Wood, dead or alive: upon which Sir Stephen Bull, a man of experience, bravery, and ſkill in naval affairs, proffered his ſervices to his Majeſty King Henry, on this occaſion.

Sir Stephen Bull ſent in ſearch of admiral Wood.

King Henry ordered Sir Stephen Bull to take the command of three of the largeſt and fineſt ſhips of the royal navy. Bull, having ſufficiently manned and victualled his ſhips, and got a full quantity of ſmall arms on board, ſet ſail without delay for the coaſt of Scotland, to cruize upon the Scots, and intercept their ſhipping.

King

King James and his council received intelligence, that the Engliſh fleet had appeared upon his coaſt; upon which, orders were ſent to Sir Andrew Wood to fit out his ſhips directly, and put to ſea to attack the enemy.

Sir Stephen Bull came up the Forth as far as the iſland of May. Here he ſtationed his ſhips for the conveniency and accommodation of good harbours, and to have full view of all the ſhipping which paſſed and repaſſed in the Forth; no ſhip eſcaping his view in this ſituation.

In a few days after his arrival here, he had picked up ſeveral good prizes; he alſo ſent his men on ſhore in boats, to ſeveral ſea-port towns in Fife, and levied plentiful contributions: but Sir Andrew Wood, having with great diligence got himſelf in readineſs and double-manned his ſhips, ſet ſail directly down to the Forth with only three ſhips of force.

Sir Stephen Bull directly knew, that it was Sir Andrew Wood that was making up to him; upon which, he gave the proper orders to his ſhips to prepare for action. Sir Andrew Wood, with his men in high ſpirits, bore down directly upon the Engliſh admiral; and, without any diſtant firing, came cloſe along-ſide of him. The three ſhips on each ſide, were at once engaged. Sir Andrew Wood, on cloſing with the Engliſh ſhips, poured in ſuch terrible broad-ſides and vollies of ſmall arms upon them, that, with great difficulty, Sir Stephen Bull prevailed with his men to ſtand the charge of ſo warm an attack. They fought thus cloſe untill night ſeparated them.

The two admirals meet. The engagement.

Separated by night.

Next morning Sir Andrew Wood, perceiving that the Engliſh fleet had got at ſome diſtance from him, crowded ſail and made up to them. The engagement was renewed with ſuch ſpirit and rage, that nothing but mutilations, blood, gore and wounds, were to be ſeen upon each deck. By this time Sir Stephen Bull had got almoſt round to the mouth of the Tay, and had run upon ſands, which at low water are quick and dry: finding himſelf run aground, and fixed upon banks of ſand, Sir Stephen was in great perplexity; becauſe in this ſituation he could not work his ſhips, which were conſiderably larger than the Scots; and, being now much diſabled by two days fighting, having loſt a great number of his men, and what remained almoſt all wounded, he was forced to ſtrike to Sir Andrew Wood: upon which, Sir Andrew, with his officers, boarded Sir Stephen Bull's ſhip.

The fight renewed.

The Engliſh ſtrike.

When Sir Andrew beheld the frightful and ſhocking ſight of the blood of the ſlain, and the terrible agonies of the wounded men upon deck, the ſcene ſo melted his warlike heart, that it drew tears from him. Having taken all the officers of the Engliſh ſhips on board his own ſhips, this great Scotſman behaved to them with the genteeleſt humanity and civility; and the Engliſh ſhips, being got off the ſands, were towed directly for Dundee.

Sir Andrew Wood's humanity.

Sir Andrew Wood landed here with the Engliſh officers his priſoners, and immediately ordered the wounded men to be brought on ſhore, and put into good quarters untill they were perfectly cured of their wounds. He ſent for the beſt ſurgeons to attend them, and gave orders they ſhould be well provided in all neceſſaries. Then he ordered the dead to be brought on ſhore, and decently interred. Having given all other neceſſary orders with regard to the ſhips, Sir Andrew ſet out for Edinburgh with Sir Stephen Bull, and the other officers of the Engliſh navy his priſoners, in order to wait on his Majeſty, and to preſent the Engliſh admiral to the King, with the other living trophies of his victory.

Upon his arrival at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, King James and the nobility received Sir Andrew with the uſual marks of regard and high eſteem. The King was agreeably ſurprized with Sir Andrew Wood's behaviour and victory on this occaſion. It was the more pleaſing and ſatisfying to his Majeſty, becauſe Sir Stephen Bull had undertaken ſuch great matters to King Henry of England, and was allowed to be the beſt admiral of the Engliſh fleet at that time. But his preſent loſs was the more mortifying to Sir Stephen, becauſe he was a man of great oſtentation and vanity.

The Engliſh officers preſented to King James.

King James, and all the court, behaved towards Sir Stephen, and all the officers, priſoners, in a very polite manner. They were entertained at court, and treated according to their rank and ſtation.

This ſea-fight happened upon the 10th of Auguſt, in the year 1490. Sir Andrew Wood received from the King his maſter upon this occaſion ſeveral rich preſents, as rewards for his fidelity and bravery.

King James, upon this event, diſcovered a generous greatneſs and exaltedneſs of mind. He diſmiſſed Sir Stephen Bull and the officers of the Engliſh navy, in the genteeleſt manner; giving them particular marks of his royal regard: for, though they were enemies, they had acted with great honour and bravery in their maſter's cauſe.

The King's generoſity.

Henry of England was ſo highly pleaſed with King James's princely behaviour towards his officers, and the accounts which they brought of the humane and polite reception they met with at the court of Scotland, that he ſent an ambaſſador immediately to compliment King James, and to return him thanks for the favour and civility he had ſhewn his ſubjects.

King James ordered the Engliſh ſhips to be reſtored without any recompence, and all the private ſailors, when cured of their wounds, to be ſet at liberty and allowed to return to their native country, with a proviſion of money for the expence of their journey. This was a teſtimony of the underſtanding and good judgment of the young King, tho' but in the 16th year of his age.

The

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Diſſentions in parliament.

In this ſeſſion a diſpute aroſe in parliament, betwixt the Lords who had been of the confederacy againſt, and thoſe who adhered to, James III. in his troubles.

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Theſe laſt inſiſted, that a bill ſhould be brought into parliament this ſeſſion, to be paſſed into an act, declaring all confederacies againſt the late King to be treaſonable; and that the authors and promoters of thoſe aſſociations, ſhould be liable to condign and immediate puniſhment.

Upon this motion great debates aroſe. The Lords, who had oppoſed the meaſures of the late King, contended, they were intitled by their birthright to act in the manner they did: that the King had invaded the rights and liberties of all his ſubjects, and had ſapped the very foundations of their conſtitution. They likewiſe produced the articles, drawn up at different times, for an accommodation and pacification betwixt the King and his nobility; which the King abſolutely refuſed to comply with, and would agree to no terms of an equitable accommodation with his ſubjects: therefore the nobility inſiſted, that they had done nothing but in ſupport of the national intereſt, and welfare of their country; that the whole of their proceedings were juſtifiable, and ought not for the future to be called in queſtion.

The Lords of the oppoſite ſide being warm and obſtinate in their demands, the flames of civil diſcord were almoſt rekindled, and the whole nation thrown again into confuſion; when, by

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This healing propoſal was unanimouſly agreed to by the whole parliament, and directly paſſed into an act. For the better eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the peace of the kingdom, the Lords and commons of the parliament agreed, that an inſtrument ſhould be drawn up, ſigned and ſealed by all the members of the houſe; whereby they bound themſelves to a ſtrict and faithful obedience to this law.

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It's deſcription.

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In this parliament there were ſeveral more good laws enacted. The rich and powerful were ſo encloſed and reſtrained by good laws, that, if they had inclination, it was not in their power to diſtreſs and harraſs the poor as in former times had been done. The King, though young, ſhewed an uncommon greatneſs of ſoul and moderation of ſpirit, in pardoning his father's enemies, and an averſion to ſhed blood. He ſoon became the darling of his people; for he diſcovered ſuch a generous inclination for the welfare of the nation, and ſo much diſintereſted benevolence to all ranks, that the whole kingdom thought themſelves happy in the proſpects of ſo good a Monarch. He was a Prince of a bountiful and faithful ſpirit, juſt in all his promiſes, of a very lively and quick apprehenſion, penetrating in his diſcerning, and judicious in his ſentiments. He hated avarice and cruelty, and was of a merciful and forgiving ſpirit even to his greateſt enemies. But he happened to be too condeſcending to his favourite nobility and council, in agreeing to have it enacted by parliament, that all who aided and ſupported his father, and who were poſſeſſed of offices and employments for life, ſhould be deprived of their patents, and turned out of their places: that likewiſe all his father's faithful adherents, if poſſeſſed of hereditary offices; ſuch as wardens, juſtices, ſheriffs, ſtewards, bailiffs, lieutenants, or any ſuch public officers, ſhould not for three years following be allowed to act. However, this was paſſed into an act, tho' a very great encroachment upon the perſons poſſeſſed of theſe offices. It appeared plainly, that this was intended only to ſupply with offices and places the dependents and favourites of the King's miniſtry. But the King was of himſelf ſo generouſly diſpoſed, that, when ſeveral were ſubjected to fines and forfeitures, he would allow none of the money levied on them to come into his treaſury, nor to be applied to his own uſe; but expreſsly ordered it ſhould be applied to charitable uſes, and to aſſiſt in defraying the charges of the war, which ſatisfied the minds of his people. The King applied himſelf cloſe to national affairs, and in this parliament ſeveral acts were paſſed for the promoting and encouraging of trade.

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The next thing the King and parliament determined, was to nominate ambaſſadors to the imperial court, to Rome, to the Kings of France and Denmark, and all other foreign courts allied to the crown of Scotland.

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The King, to forward and encourage the maritime power of his kingdom, concerted the moſt laudable expedients for promoting this great and uſeful undertaking in the moſt effectual manner. He firſt, in order to ſupport the trading part of the nation in the building of ſhipping, appointed that the nobility and gentry of every county ſhould ſupport and concur with the traders and merchants, in every town, upon their coaſts to ſupply them with hands and money to expedite the ſhipping. Next, the King himſelf, out of the revenue allowed for the ſupport of his royal dignity, engaged to the parliament, that, without the leaſt expence to his people, he would build a certain number of large ſhips for the navy of Scotland in different ports of the kingdom.

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King thought moſt prudent and ſafe in his preſent ſituation, in order to gain and compoſe the affections of the malcontents, who, at this time, were very numerous in the kingdom; and had the deſired effect, for this judicious treatment of the King towards his ſubjects brought the nation to a peaceable ſtate. The King, being of a lively and great ſpirit, ſupported the dignity and magnificence of his court with great ſplendor; which increaſed his eſteem with all the nobility, and made him the darling of the common people. He allowed nothing mean nor mercenary to take place at his court. The poor were plentifully ſupplied from his table; and his Majeſty gave ſtrict orders, that none of his ſervants, or others belonging to his houſhold, ſhould, under pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure, pretend to make a perquiſite of ſelling any thing which came from the royal tables. The King looked upon this as low and ſcandalous, diminiſhing, with reproach, the decent grandeur, and the proper dignity of a Sovereign's palace, to convert it into a ſutlery or cook's ſhop. His Majeſty's recreations and diverſions were manly; and he introduced the faſhion and practice, amongſt his young nobility and gentry, of exerciſing warlike diverſions, and ſuch recreations as taught them agility, nimbleneſs, and dexterity in the art of war. The King was not amuſed nor depreſſed in mind by effeminacy: and, for the firſt ſeven years of his reign, the nation enjoyed a flow of plenty, as well of corn and cattle as of a flouriſhing trade.

The King's munificence.

But notwithſtanding all the ſhining and pleaſing appearances of his reign, and the univerſal eſteem and love of his people, King James retained a prevailing mournful and thoughtful concern of mind, at the loſs of his father; reflecting upon the manner in which he had been uſed by the nobility, and how his life had been taken away, after a ſeries of moſt inſulting and rebellious affronts. Theſe ſerious and affecting events, though paſt, and the means of introducing his Majeſty ſo ſoon to the throne, mixed the pleaſure and ſatisfaction of his government with moſt uneaſy and diſagreeable reflections; and the more ſo, as the King was of a thoughtful and very diſcerning mind.

Reflections on his father's death diſturb his quiet.

At this time, Charles the VIIIth, King of France, had formed a deſign to reſtore the duchy of Bretagne to it's former ſtate; and ſo to ſubject it to the crown of France. The French King attempted this firſt by an offer of marriage to the Lady Anne, the apparent heir to this duchy; and next, if that ſhould fail, by open force and conqueſt. In caſe this laſt only ſhould be effectual, and to obviate any diſappointment of his ſyſtem, Charles ſent over ambaſſadors extraordinary, (the flower of his nobility) with a very magnificent retinue, to King James of Scotland, to notify his intentions, and to ſtipulate with the King and parliament of Scotland for the neceſſary ſuccours, in caſe Henry of England oppoſed the ſucceſs of this enterprize.

An embaſſy from France.

The ambaſſadors were well received by his Majeſty. The King having granted them audience, communicated the demands of his French Majeſty to his privy council and parliament; and, after they had deliberated upon the propoſals of the French court, the King was empowered, by his parliament, to grant the neceſſary ſuccours to the King of France when required; and to renew the antient treaties of alliance with the French nation.

Another from Rome.

This year (1498) there came a ſolemn embaſſy likewiſe from Alexander the VIth, now Pope or Biſhop of Rome; with letters wrote, by the Pope's own hand, to the King, the nobility, and clergy of Scotland.

Theſe letters contained warm and affectionate expreſſions of regard to the kingdom of Scotland. The Pope, with all the power of his eloquence, exhorted the nobility and clergy of Scotland to fidelity and firm attachment to his Majeſty King James; and, with all the appearance of Chriſtian ſincerity, recommended to the nobility and clergy of Scotland to promote and eſtabliſh peace and good order all over the kingdom, to make his Majeſty's government as happy and eaſy as poſſible, and to promote the commerce and manufactures in the different ports of the nation. This honeſt recommendation of his then holineſs, favoured nothing of prieſtcraft, and was particularly ſeaſonable at this juncture.

It's uſeful tendency.

The Pope's letter to King James was conſolatory, inſiſting chiefly upon the expediency of the King's laying aſide his grief for his father's murder, and the injuſtice done him when alive; and the neceſſity of his being chearful, compoſed, and ſatisfied in mind: that he was not in fault of any thing committed againſt the late King: that his Majeſty ought to conſider he was under age, and, at that time, acted nothing of himſelf; but was wholly bound up by, and ſubjected to, the direction and authority of his governors and guardians: that they, with his counſellors, were only to be charged with the wrongs done to the late King his father, and the different ways they had taken to diſtract the whole kingdom. His holineſs further ſubjoined; that, as his Majeſty had begun his reign in ſo elegant and pleaſing a manner as to give univerſal ſatisfaction, he hoped therefore his Majeſty would perſiſt in making his reign ſo glorious as to ſhine in the annals of future hiſtory.

By his letters to the nobility, this holy father diſcovered himſelf a very underſtanding and acute one. He told them, that a good people always made a good King; and it was their duty to obey, becauſe Kings and Princes were the lieutenants of Almighty God, by whoſe power and ſupport Princes ruled: that the ambition of nobility, and of other ſubjects, was the cauſe of ſedition, to which there was no bounds; and this had produced the overthrow of many kingdoms and empires. The reputation and regard of a King was to be ſupported, in order to eſtabliſh the welfare of the nation, for confuſion followed where obedience ceaſed; and,

and, wherever the Prince was weakened, or his authority contemned, there the commonwealth fell into diſgrace, and the whole kingdom became expoſed to the ſhock of foreign invaſions: and as Kings were no longer Kings, than they were obeyed by their ſubjects; ſo when ſubjects, to gratify their factious diſpoſitions, refuſed duty and allegiance, the danger not only affected the King's perſon and power, but made the whole kingdom deſpiſed and a prey to it's enemies. Theſe juſt and true maxims of ſtate were ſeaſonably hinted to the Scots nobility. The embaſſy was well received by them, and the kingdom was in great tranquillity; ſmiling under the proſpect of a laſting peace, an eaſy and juſt government, and the appearance of a flouriſhing commerce.

The Ducheſs of Burgundy's machinations againſt England.

In this pleaſing and calm ſtate of the nation, Margaret Ducheſs of Burgundy, who was ſiſter to Edward the IVth of England, always meditating reſentment for the loſs of her brother, determined to give Henry the VIIth, now of England, all the trouble and uneaſineſs in her power. Therefore ſhe contrived to perſonate one of King Edward's ſons, by a young man of beautiful and comely preſence, of elegant and tall ſtature, and of the quickeſt and moſt ſteady wit, to execute her intended and projected ſyſtem. The perſon ſhe fixed upon was one Perkin or Peter Warbeck; a youth, though but of mean and low extract, was notwithſtanding of a majeſtic and manly countenance, as well as of great beauty, ingenuity, and fine ſtature; by which he might the more eaſily be impoſed on the public for blood-royal, and one of King Edward's ſons.

This youth was born at Tournay * in Flanders, and by his poverty was forced to ſeek his living in different countries, and not to be much in the place of his nativity; by which he had quite eſtranged himſelf to his own relations, and, by his ſtrolling about, became acquainted with the different languages of the places he had travelled through.

Margaret Ducheſs of Burgundy, reſtleſs in her endeavours to diſturb England, kept this youth ſometime concealed at her court at Antwerp, untill he was of ſuch age and underſtanding, as to receive all her inſtructions, and to conduct himſelf accordingly, the better to carry on the impoſture upon the public.

This Ducheſs of Burgundy was a woman of uncommon art and cunning, fired with a proud and revengeful mind: ſhe took great pains therefore ſecretly to inſtruct the young pretended Prince in the moſt accurate and full knowlege of the revolutions, and of the preſent ſtate of England; of the connections and oppoſition of the different noble families of the kingdom; and of their ſituation and diſpoſition as to the neighbouring kingdoms. When once ſhe had prepared the youth ſo as to be capable to anſwer all queſtions, and to give thorough ſatisfaction as to his pretended deſcent from the family of York; having compleatly learned their genealogy and connections; and being a youth of great vivacity, too well fortified with aſſurance and impudence to be eaſily put to a loſs to anſwer any thing, the Ducheſs ordered a magnificent equipage and retinue to be got ready for him, that he might proceed to make the tour through the different kingdoms of Europe; and to go to the ſeveral courts upon the continent, in quality of the ſon of Edward the IVth. Accordingly, he ſet out with his retinue in great ſplendor.

Perkin Warbeck travels as KingEdward's ſon.

He firſt went to the court of Portugal, where he appeared in quality of the ſon of Edward the IVth late of England, and was moſt graciouſly received by the King of Portugal and his court.

Arrives in Ireland.

After reſiding here for ſome time, with great regard, he paſſed over into Ireland; where he was received and entertained with the joy and acclamations of the Iriſh nation, as King Edward's ſon; and engaged the affections of the people ſo, that they were ready to join him, to enable him to aſſert the rights he pretended to. Here this young impoſtor practiſed his diſſimulation and craft with great addreſs and dexterity; and the people of Ireland became ſo attached to and fond of him, that mobbing and tumults followed betwixt his friends and thoſe who ſtood in the intereſt of Henry the VIIth.

Returns to Antwerp.

At this time, a war happened to break out betwixt England and France; upon which, this pretended Prince was invited over to France, to head the French army againſt the Engliſh: but this quarrel betwixt England and France was ſoon over; and ſo the hopes of this impoſtor, from this event, vaniſhed. He therefore not thinking it ſafe to abide in France, after both kingdoms were reconciled, determined to retire (whence he came) to the court of Antwerp.

Upon his arrival, Margaret Ducheſs of Burgundy, who had contrived and managed the whole farce from it's firſt conception, ſo conducted the counterfeit, that he was welcomed and received as her nephew, King Edward's ſon, who was come to make a viſit to his aunt, pretending never to have been at her court before. His reception therefore, by the Ducheſs, and all the nobility of her court, was attended with the higheſt marks of eſteem, affection, and tenderneſs. The Ducheſs in public affected to talk to him about the affairs and ſituation of his father's family, and of the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh nation. He made ſuch proper and ſatisfactory anſwers, as convinced the nobility he was the perſon in fact he was given out to repreſent.

After ſome few days, the Ducheſs of Burgundy, his pretended aunt, deſired he might appear in public, and go abroad to viſit and to hunt, with a proper guard ordered to attend his perſon;

* A town in Flanders, formerly well fortified, ſituated on the banks of the Scheld.

perſon; and that he, with his retinue, ſhould all wear white roſes, the badge of the family of York, and their aſſociates.

The rumour of there being a young Prince, of the late King Edward's family, now at the court of Antwerp, ſoon ſpread itſelf over all Flanders, and paſſed over to England; which occaſioned the revival of the caballing of ſome reſtleſs and diſaffected ſpirits among the Engliſh nobility and gentry. Upon which, ſeveral of the Engliſh nation, now in France and Flanders, repaired to the court of Antwerp, to wait on the ſuppoſed young Prince, with offers of their ſervices to ſupport his claim. Several came over from England; and when the young adventuring impoſtor had collected and drawn to him a conſiderable body of perſons of rank, with the aſſiſtance of the Ducheſs of Burgundy's ſuccours, fearing delays might produce a diſcovery, he ventured over on board the fleet prepared for him and his friends, and appeared upon the Kentiſh ſhore.

Perkin ſails for England.

Some of his friends landed here to ſpirit up the Kentiſh men to join them, and to ſupport the rights of this young Prince; but without ſucceſs. All who were landed were taken priſoners, and the Engliſh fleet purſued the fleet in which the impoſtor was: upon which, they made with all haſte for the Iriſh coaſt, where the pretended Prince landed; but ſoon perceived an alteration of times, and that the people now looked upon him with a cool indifference: therefore he did not think it ſafe to remain there, but ſailed privately, with ſome few of his confidants, for Scotland.

Ill received.

Here he landed, and immediately repaired to court, to the palace of Holyrood-houſe; where his Majeſty received him with the regard and affection ſuitable to the character in which he appeared. The young impoſtor, a perfect maſter of eloquence, and very ready-witted, repreſented to King James, when admitted to an audience, in the moſt moving and affecting colours, the calamities and ſufferings of the family of York, and the unparalleled miſeries he had been ſubjected to ſince the death of King Edward his father. He narrated to the King a fine tale, concerning the manner of his wonderful eſcape from death, when his brother was cut off; and how he had been ſecretly preſerved, and nurſed up by his aunt Margaret, Ducheſs Dowager of Burgundy; who, being now in a very advanced age, and having, at great expence, ſupported his equipage and character at the different courts of Europe, for a long time, was not in a capacity to yield him any effectual ſupport; and that it ſo affected his mind, that his ſpirits were ſcarce able to bear up againſt the mournful thoughts of his blood-royal, and all his father's family, being quite extinguiſhed and rooted out of remembrance. His elder brother, he added, had been cruelly murdered, and he, in a wonderful manner, had been conveyed off by his friends, and preſerved by his aunt; but that, being now deeply affected with his many ſufferings and diſappointments, he envied the happineſs of his brother, who, by death in his infancy, had eſcaped all the miſeries of a future uncertain life. He further magnified his diſtreſſes, affirming, that he was in a maze of perplexity, his enemies being ſo very artful, that they had omitted no poſſible means to make even his own friends betray him; and uſed all poſſible efforts to make his ſervants, and thoſe he was forced to truſt to, diſcloſe and diſconcert his deſigns. Thus, in a lively and ſtrong picture, he ſet forth all his grievances to King James: ſignifying further, that, if in this his moſt deſtitute condition, his Majeſty of Scotland would be pleaſed to take part in reſtoring him, and recovering his regal claim, and yield him effectual ſupport, to enable him to trample upon tyrannical uſurpation, to put him in poſſeſſion of his inheritance and rights (the crown of England) which, by violence, murder, and iniquity, had been taken from him; if King James with his council, he ſaid, would agree to ſupport him effectually, they might depend upon having the moſt grateful, firm, and faithful ally of him that they could deſire or wiſh for; and that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be ſafe from all apprehenſions during his government, if he were ſettled on the throne to which he had a juſt right, as the immediate ſucceſſor of his father Edward the IVth.

Lands in Scotland.

Addreſſes the King for ſuccours,

King James was, from a generous compaſſion and greatneſs of ſoul, much affected with the ſtrong and nervous repreſentation of this refined impoſtor; and, having given due attention to his long and well-made ſtory, encouraged this pretended Prince to keep up his ſpirits, and not to be dejected nor inclined to deſpair, but to reſt ſatisfied that he would do all in his power to ſerve him; only the King, to make the matter ſucceed the better, acquainted him he reſolved to lay the whole affair before the council; which his Majeſty accordingly fulfilled, and prevailed upon the privy council to admit him to ſet forth the whole of his demands. When the young, tho' alert, impoſtor, was brought into council, he, in a very rhetorical, affecting, and engaging manner, addreſſed his Majeſty and council, and gave them ſuch full and ſtrong repreſentations of his caſe, that the ſuſpicions of fraud diſappeared; and procured him great eſteem from the manner in which he delivered himſelf. However, many of the council were unwilling to break with Henry of England, and dreaded the danger which might be the conſequence of a war with England at this time. The King notwithſtanding favoured the cauſe of this young adventurer: after ſome debates, the privy council ſupported his Majeſty's opinion, and carried it to grant him effectual and ſpeedy ſupport, to reſtore him to the crown of England.

which are granted.

Upon this reſolution of the privy council, the young impoſtor was ſaluted and regarded at the court of Scotland as Duke of York; and as ſuch he had honours paid him by the people

people of Scotland. Next, King James, the better to ſecure him for the future to the intereſt of Scotland, had him married to Catherine Gordon, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Huntley; who, by her mother, was of royal deſcent, and at this time the moſt celebrated beauty of the whole nation. Warbeck marries Lady Huntley.

Immediately after the ceremony and conſummation of the marriage was over, the King, with the approbation of his privy council, aſſembled a powerful army; and in perſon commanding it, with the young pretender along with him, he arrived on the borders of England without any oppoſition. Marches againſt Henry of England.

The King upon this ſent out his ſpies for intelligence of the motions of the enemy. On their return, they ſatisfied his Majeſty that Henry had not yet taken the field againſt him: upon notice of which, James proceeded no farther, and waited for ſuch of the Engliſh who ſhould come in to join the ſtandard of their young pretended lawful Prince; but, to the mortification of this young adventurer, few or none joined him of the Engliſh nation. Unſucceſsful,

James, ſurprized and diſcontented at this diſappointment, ſent out parties to all different quarters to plunder and deſtroy the country. They laid Northumberland quite waſte, and returned loaded with immenſe booty.

The young impoſtor, the better to cover his falſity, made ſeveral warm and ſtrong remonſtrances to King James to be merciful and ſparing to that country which he had a right to govern; and appeared as if greatly affected, from a native ſympathy, with any hardſhips put upon the Engliſh. The King and he therefore, uniting ſentiments, agreed to return, with the army heavily loaded with plunder; and, having retired from England, the army was diſmiſſed without any action of conſequence executed. and returns to Scotland.

Henry of England, on notice of the behaviour of the Scots army on the frontier, and that it had retired, determined to make reprizals on the Scots nation. The winter ſeaſon approaching, Henry called a parliament to meet for the approbation of his meaſures. A view of the Engliſh affairs.

This parlament agreed to the raiſing an army early in the ſpring; and, for the ſupport of the expedition, granted ſupplies by a new tax upon the people; which, on account of the low ſtate of the nation, and the extreme poverty of the treaſury, created diſcontents and murmurings in all quarters, which encreaſed in a little time even to ſedition and tumults. The expence of long civil wars, and the divided ſtate of England, had exhauſted it's treaſure ſo, that the valuable part of the nation, to wit; the laborious and induſtrious farmer, the careful labourer, and the hard-working tradeſman, were taxed to ſupply the pilfering, avaricious and inſatiable appetite of a ſelfiſh, inglorious miniſtry; who were of ſuch a brutal diſpoſition, that they knew no happineſs, and reliſhed no pleaſure, ſuperior to that of making their coffers and pockets brimfull at the expence of fellow-creatures and ſubjects of greater utility and benefit to the commonwealth. When this at any time is the deplorable condition of any nation, the ſtate thus diſeaſed becomes ſoon mortified from the malignance and poiſonous nature of theſe infected animals; who feed upon the very vitals of the conſtitution, and, by their noxious communication, corrupt the whole body.

Henry the VIIth, now neceſſitous in pocket and his miniſtry craving in appetite, (a certain indication of their grovelling meanneſs and diſhoneſt views) valued not the clamours nor the diſtreſſes of the multitude. The reſentment of a people, ſubjected to laws and willing to obey, is ſlow and conſtrained; yet, when once awakened, with juſt indignation at barefaced and accumulated injuries, the fury of it's torrent carries all before it, like the rapid courſe of an irreſiſtible flood.

This was very near the condition of England at this time; for, in different counties, multitudes were aſſembled, and reſiſted, yea mauled heartily, ſuch as levied the new tax laid on them, and deſpiſed the authority of their ſuperiors.

The rich counties of England, who had a good deal to loſe, were not the firſt and readieſt in this audacious attempt: but the men of Cornwall, whoſe country was barren, and who had better proſpects of gain from war than their country could afford them by hard labour in peaceable times, played deſperate game on this occaſion, and roſe into avowed rebellion. Increaſing their numbers, they formed at length a body of ſome thouſands of reſolute fellows well armed; for they were ſupplied with arms from their neighbours, their ſecret friends and ſupporters. Having got themſelves in readineſs, they directed their march towards London.

This forced King Henry to employ his army, raiſed againſt the Scots, for the ſuppreſſing the Corniſh rebels marching towards him; and, inſtead of going in perſon to the North, he ſent the Earl of Surry, with a conſiderable force, to repel the Scots, and to make reprizals on them every where.

King James, upon notice of this, ordered all his forces to aſſemble at the place of general rendezvous; and, having recruited the ſeveral battalions to make his army complete, he began his march for England. King James marches into England.

When the King, with his formidable army, was arrived on the frontier of England, he divided his forces into two ſeparate bodies: the one was ordered to march for Durham, and lay waſte the country all round; which they accordingly executed with punctuality! The other body of the Scots army, commanded by the King in perſon, attacked Norham-caſtle; which, at this time, was a ſtronghold on the Engliſh ſide of the Tweed: but this being a place of great ſtrength, well provided with a numerous garriſon, and all neceſſaries for defence, they made

ſuch a gallant reſiſtance, that King James found it proper to raiſe the ſiege, and return into Scotland; for his army was in danger of ſtarving if they had carried on the ſiege. The Biſhop of Durham, doctor Fox, had taken care to raiſe all the men of the country, and to make them drive off all the cattle, ſheep, &c. to places inacceſſible; and obliged the country people to remove to places of ſafety all effects of value, and all corn or proviſions which might ſuccour their enemy.

The better to ſecure the country, and to frighten his enemy, this Biſhop prevailed upon the Earl of Surry to advance to join him with his forces; which effectually prevented any further progreſs of the Scots army, and forced King James to return with his army into Scotland, without executing any important action. The Engliſh army, upon the junction of the Earl of Surry with the Biſhop of Durham, purſued the Scots army in their retreat ſome little way; and, in the purſuit, they took by ſtorm the caſtle of Ayton, which is a mile above Aymouth in the Mers, on the river Aye; and after this returned for England.

Upon King James's return to Edinburgh with his army, he received notice, that King Ferdinand of Spain, and Iſabella his Queen, had ſent over Peter Hyalas as their ambaſſador, to treat of a marriage betwixt Catharine Infanta of Spain, and Arthur Prince of Wales; in order to eſtabliſh the friendſhip and alliance betwixt both kingdoms.

An embaſſy from Spain, to the court of London.

This embaſſy was moſt acceptable to the Engliſh nation at this juncture; and, in order to forward the propoſed match, King Henry with his council were deſirous to have the kingdom in peace with all her neighbours, in particular the Scots. But ſuch was King Henry's ſpirit, that he was averſe from making any offers to the Scots nation, or giving the leaſt ground to ſuſpect that he ſought for peace; yet ſecretly he prevailed upon Hyalas, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to write to his Spaniſh Majeſty, and acquaint him with the whole affair; and to procure full powers from his maſter to act as mediator in bringing about a peace betwixt Scotland and England. His Spaniſh Majeſty complied with this requeſt, and gave inſtructions to Hyalas, with all his influence to mediate a peace with Scotland.

Upon delivering theſe inſtructions King Henry was highly pleaſed, and prepared every thing with expedition for Hyalas, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, to fit him for his appearance in Scotland in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary from the court of Spain, and mediator for ſettling a peace with England. Hyalas ſet out in great magnificence; and, upon his arrival at the court of Scotland, was received with great politeneſs and marks of diſtinction by King James.

Hyalas was a perſon of eloquence and addreſs; and, after his firſt private audience with King James, had ſuch frequent and full conferences with the King alone, that, by the force of elocution, he diſpoſed the King's mind to accept of equitable conditions for a laſting and general pacification.

A congreſs appointed for reſtoring peace.

When King James's mind was rightly prepared, the Spaniſh ambaſſador wrote to Henry of England, to nominate a fit perſon, one of his firſt privy counſellors, to join with him, in order to treat with the Scots deputies. The place of meeting, to fix and ſettle the preliminaries of peace, was appointed to be Jedburgh.

Henry of England joined Fox Biſhop of Durham to Hyalas the Spaniſh ambaſſador; and, on the Scots ſide, the commiſſioners nominated were, the Earl of Angus lately appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Hume now Lord High Chamberlain of Scotland, with the Biſhop of Glaſcow.

The commiſſioners of both kingdoms being met at Jedburgh, they immediately applied themſelves to the diſpatch of buſineſs; and, having deliberated ſome days upon the preliminaries propoſed by the Engliſh, they could not come to an agreement; for the Biſhop of Durham inſiſted ſtrongly, that the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, with the biſhopric of Durham, ſhould receive full and ample reparation for all the plunder and depredations they had ſuffered from the Scots by the late incurſions. But this, being an impoſſible demand, which neither could be made appear, eſtimated, nor yielded to, was dropped.

The next thing propoſed was, that both Kings ſhould have an interview at Newcaſtle upon Tyne. King James declined this; and returned for anſwer, that he was willing to treat about peace, by his ambaſſadors, but not to come begging for it.

The Engliſh demand Warbeck to be delivered up.

The next article and obſtacle, which the Engliſh ambaſſadors inſiſted upon, was the delivering up Perkin Warbeck, the young adventuring impoſtor.

Refuſed.

This article being of the niceſt nature, was tranſmitted to King James for his approbation. King James, from a greatneſs of ſoul worthy of a Monarch, rejected this point with indignation; and gave poſitive inſtructions to his ambaſſadors to make the following anſwer, which, if not ſatisfactory, to break up and diſſolve the conferences. King James's rational, generous, and manly anſwer, was in ſubſtance: that Warbeck had taken ſanctuary under his royal protection, in diſtreſs and great trouble: that he had appeared at the court of Scotland in quality of a prince, and had been received as ſuch: and that his Majeſty King James had entertained him from a principle of hoſpitality and generous humanity, peculiar to the Scots nation towards the diſtreſſed: that this young man, who aſſumed the title of prince, had received his Majeſty's royal protection and aid: and, as his Majeſty had aſſured him, upon the honour of a King, that no hurt ſhould be done him in his kingdom, but that he ſhould be entertained and treated with the decency and civility which Scotland always delighted to ſhew to ſtrangers, his Majeſty, upon no conſideration of gain or peace, would be made a tool of to ſerve the intereſt of

England

England in a ſervile manner, by violating his faith: that this youth had come to him as a ſupplicant: that now he was by marriage allied to him; and therefore he was determined not to ſacrifice faith, honour, and humanity, to compaſs any political or temporary advantages: nor would he ever ſhew ſuch an abject baſeneſs of mind, as to deliver any one for a ſacrifice, who ſheltered themſelves under the cover of his fidelity, compaſſion and honour, in their diſtreſs and calamity.

The congreſs broke up.

This ſteadineſs of the King in his refuſal to deliver up Warbeck, broke off the conferences for ſome time; but they were ſoon renewed by the wiſe interpoſition of the Biſhop of Durham; and a ceſſation of all hoſtilities was agreed to for ſome months, untill Warbeck ſhould be diſmiſſed from Scotland by King James.

Dr. Fox undeceives King James as to Warbeck,

The Biſhop of Durham was a perſon of great ſagacity and judgment, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of his own country. He prudently took a private opportunity to wait on King James, then at the abbey of Melroſs*, to have a p ivate interview with his Majeſty. The King received him very kindly; and, having taken him to his cloſet, the Biſhop of Durham gave ſuch convincing proof to his Majeſty, that he was thoroughly convinced, from the evidence the Biſhop had given, that the pretended Prince was an accompliſhed impoſtor, and had groſsly deceived his Majeſty.

The King, at this private interview, had conceived a high opinion of the Biſhop of Durham's good ſenſe, and of his integrity and fidelity to his Majeſty King Henry of England. Therefore King James ſignified to the Biſhop, without any reſerve, his ſincere diſpoſition to friendſhip with the King of England; and to make it the more firm and certain, King James intimated to the Biſhop his inclination to have Princeſs Margaret of England, King Henry's daughter, in marriage. The Biſhop, highly ſatisfied with the King of Scotland's cordial diſpoſition to unite both kingdoms in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip, undertook to King James, to make King Henry underſtand his intentions by the moſt prudent and well-timed hints; which accordingly, upon his return to the court of London, he fulfilled without loſs of time.

King Henry heartily embraced the offer; but did not, in the preſent unſettled ſtate of his affairs, chuſe to diſcloſe his mind, untill he had conſulted and diſcovered the inclinations of his privy council.

who is ordered to depart the kingdom.

While the court of London were deliberating upon the propoſed marriage, and the articles for a laſting pacification, King James, according to the conditions ſtipulated by the truce, prepared all things for diſmiſſing the pretended Prince, who had been ſo expenſive to his kingdom. King James executed this in the moſt decent manner poſſible. He ſent for Warbeck to come to him, and took him aſide in private; acquainting him, that, by the advice of his privy council, and by the preliminaries ſettled, he was determined to be in peace and friendſhip with Henry of England: that he had put his kingdom to great expence and trouble in ſupporting him, both with an army and money, to no good end: that now he was in full knowlege he was not the perſon he pretended to be; and that the whole ſcene had been an impoſition upon his Majeſty. The King further gave him to underſtand, that, upon his account, he had offended both friends and enemies; by refuſing an honourable peace in defence of his fictitious claim: therefore, King James acquainted him, he was not able to protect him, far leſs to ſupport him, any longer in his dominions; and therefore expected he would withdraw himſelf, with his friends, directly; and his Majeſty would order him ſhipping, with all neceſſary proviſions and implements for his voyage to Flanders. King James, at his departure from him, told him, he could not be ſurprized that the Scots had forſaken him, for the Engliſh had done ſo firſt; nay, had ſcarcely ſo much as appeared in his cauſe.

This ſuprizing alteration immediately ſhocked Warbeck; and, diſſembling his rancor as well as dejection of mind with all the art he could, he prepared himſelf to ſet off. In a few days, he and his friends embarked; and, inſtead of directing their courſe for Flanders, ſet ſail for Ireland. He carried his wife and family with him; but, apprehending danger, he did not remain long there. From thence he paſſed over to Cornwall, and headed the Corniſh rebels: but, being unſucceſsful in all his attempts, at length his army of Corniſh rebels received a total rout from the King's army; and Warbeck himſelf, being taken, made his final exit at the gallows.

Perkin goes to Cornwall.

Is taken and hanged.

This is a ſhort narrative of the progreſs and duration of this uncommon pretender to Sovereignty. In the interval of his migration from Scotland to Ireland, and thence to England, the peace betwixt England and Scotland was in great forwardneſs; but an unhappy event fell out, which very nigh overturned all the projected peace.

The young men, upon the borders of Scotland, at this time, had a cuſtom of coming over to the Engliſh frontier, to exerciſe their youthful diverſions with the neighbouring youth of England; and to play at thoſe manly games which were the faſhion of this age. The young Scotſmen had only the river to paſs; and, being in the humour of taking their pleaſure, they went over to the Engliſh ſide to Norham town, the ſeat of the Biſhop of Durham; where the Scots lads intended only to make merry with the Engliſh youth, their neighbours and friends. The garriſon in the caſtle of Norham, bearing a grudge and ill-will againſt the Scots, and full of reſentment for the triumphs of the Scots in the late war, came out, inſulted and attacked the Scots youngſters; who, though inferior in number, exchanged ſome very effectual blows

* Melroſs; an old abbey in Tiviotdale on the Tweed's ſide, three miles below it's receiving the Gala.

blows with the garriſon. However, the young men of the Scots border, being overpowered in the quarrel by ſuperior numbers, were forced to retire home, with the loſs of ſeveral companions killed in the ſcuffle.

This affair being immediately complained of to the Lords and wardens of the frontier, who at this time were the proper judges in the firſt inſtance, they trifled in giving the neceſſary cheque to the aggreſſors, and proper ſatisfaction to the parties injured, and for the murders committed. An account of all therefore was tranſmitted to King James, which ſo enraged his Majeſty, that, tho' of a merciful and generous mind, he could not put up with ſuch a breach of humanity; eſpecially, when ſeemingly connived at by ſuperiors and magiſtrates, and upon the eve of a ſettled pacification. The King therefore, in a manner proportioned to his great ſpirit, ſent his herald Marchmont King at arms to Henry of England, to demand with what reaſon, honour or equity, ſuch a manifeſt breach of the truce, and without the leaſt foundation, ſhould be tolerated, nay paſſed over, without the leaſt reparation to the injured, or puniſhment of the actors of ſuch uncommon and unwarrantable outrages.

Henry, on receipt of this meſſage, fully diſpoſed to preſerve peace and good underſtanding betwixt the two kingdoms, anſwered King James, that whatever had been done contrary to faith and friendſhip was without his knowlege or his will; and as to the behaviour of the garriſon of Norham, he would order an enquiry to be made into the whole affair, to preſerve entire the good friendſhip betwixt his Majeſty of Scotland and himſelf. James however found by the event, that this anſwer was but evaſive; for the neceſſary ſatisfaction had not been made: he was therefore determined to aſſert his right, and not to ſuffer ſo groſs an affront without an adequate reſentment.

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King James marries Princeſs Margaret of England.

There were ſome nobility of the privy council who ſtrongly oppoſed this match, inſiſting, that the kingdom of England, upon failure of heirs-male in Henry's family, would devolve to the crown of Scotland: but King Henry gave the juſt and proper anſwer; that, in ſuch a caſe, the leſs would be ſubjected and annexed to the greater; and therefore Scotland would be an acceſſion to England, and not England to Scotland.

Upon the celebration of this marriage, Julius the IId, now Pope, in teſtimony of his approbation of this marriage betwixt King James of Scotland and Margaret Princeſs Royal of England, ſent to King James the preſent of a ſword and coronet, adorned with flowers of ſolid gold; which, at that time, the Popes uſed to conſecrate on Chriſtmas-day. This holy cuſtom in the Romiſh church, was firſt introduced by Pope Sixtus the IVth; but this practice and rite of conſecrating, and retaining as ſacred, ſolid gold, whether coined or not, is not peculiar to the Romiſh church; for prieſts of all ſects conſecrate and keep up gold, as a moſt ſacred companion, for the devotion of their cloſets: and the peculiar influence of a wedge, image, or purſe of gold, wonderfully increaſes and elevates the devotions of their minds; if in their immediate view and poſſeſſion.

This conſecrated holy ſword was, by the Pope's nuncio, preſented to his Majeſty King James at the palace of Holyrood-houſe at Edinburgh; which his Majeſty very graciouſly accepted as a mark of the eſteem of his Holineſs.

In Auguſt (1500) the marriage betwixt King James and the Princeſs Royal of England, was conſummated in the palace at Edinburgh. King Henry had brought his daughter as far as Collweſton, the ſeat of his mother the counteſs of Richmond; when his Majeſty of England, in great formality, delivered up his daughter to the Earl of Northumberland, and a moſt numerous retinue of Lords and Ladies of the court of London; who attended the Princeſs to Scotland, and carried her ſafe to King James at the Palace of Holyrood-houſe.

Upon their arrival, the King of Scotland conſummated the marriage with his Queen the firſt night; and gave ſuch indications of extraordinary love and fondneſs towards the young Queen, that the Engliſh nobility, who attended the Princeſs to Scotland, were highly pleaſed with him. A ſmile appeared on the face of all ranks. Nobility and gentry came from England, France and other nations, to witneſs this jubilee, and to take part in the gaieties and diverſions of the court on this occaſion; which were continued for ſome weeks with great magnificence. Nothing but public balls, maſquerades, concerts, and amuſements for entertaining the foreign and native nobility and gentry, were attended to. Public gladiators and wreſtlers emulated to excel

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The expence of the King's magnificent appearance, and the extravagant grandeur of his court, on the arrival of the Princeſs Royal of England, and the conſummation of her marriage with the King, involved him in ſuch difficulties, that the treaſury was not able to anſwer the great demands from the expence of this ſolemnity: beſides, the King's exchequer was exhauſted and quite drained, by the expence of ſo many public and magnificent buildings, and ſo many new ſhips built to compleat the royal navy of Scotland; with the many garriſons and caſtles repaired and fortified, and the new-erected churches, abbeys, and monaſteries. The King embarraſſed for want of money.

King James, who was of a moſt generous and beneficent ſpirit, and could not bear with a contracted and narrow allowance for life, finding he could not levy ſupplies by parliament, and that the parliament would not yield to his meaſures, thought upon another expedient to raiſe money for ſupplying preſent exigencies.

In Scotland there is a feudal power veſted in ſuperiors, which is called feu duty; and is perpetual dependance and vaſſalage on the ſuperior for granting a charter to his dependent, to ſecure him, his heirs and aſſignees to his eſtate, upon payment of a certain ſum annually. This ſum is called feu duty; and the charter given is the feu of the eſtate. By the ſame law that allows of this title or conveyance to an eſtate, it is provided, that if the inferior fails in payment for two years, then the third year the Lord or ſuperior of the manor has right to take poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate. By this unfair law many good families were ruined.

The next hardſhip and ſlavery, to which the King ſhould have attended to rectify, was the law by which every young man of fortune or eſtate, ſhould be under the ſole direction of the King, or Lord of the manor, till of age; and that it ſhould be free to the King, or ſuperior, to receive and manage the whole profits of the eſtate, until the infant came of age.

The third baſe and oppreſſive law, which, at this time, was in force, was; that, if any vaſſal or inferior preſumed to ſell half or two parts of his eſtate, without the Lord of the manor's approbation, then the vaſſal or inferior was to forfeit the whole eſtate; and the Lord of the manor to take poſſeſſion of it.

At this time, the King, at a loſs for money, employed ſome of the moſt eminent and projecting counſellors and lawyers, with the help of ſome holy, crafty, and well-turned clergy, to find out expedients for ſupplying his Majeſty's treaſury.

The firſt they fixed upon was brought to light by the prieſtly ſuggeſtion of William Elphinſton Biſhop of Aberdeen; and was to lay hold of the advantage the King could take, at this juncture, of the abovementioned ſtatutes; which, for many years, had not been regarded, thro' the troubles, civil wars and commotions. His Majeſty's projectors therefore, counſelled him to ſummon in all, who held their eſtates by feu from the crown, to ſhew their receipts of their laſt payment; and thoſe who had ſold eſtates, to ſhew by what authority and power they had been ſold; yea, every nobleman and gentleman who held his eſtate from the crown as ſuperior, was forced to ſhew in what manner the rents and profits of his eſtate had been applied, during his being under age. Has recourſe to oppreſſive meaſures in procuring it.

The greater part had neglected theſe old and oppreſſive laws; and, finding themſelves thus entrapped, liable to loſe their all, and be totally ruined, made ſtrong and moving applications to the King, not to put theſe laws in execution. However, his Majeſty gave more attention to his projectors, than he did to the petitions of the diſtreſſed and ſorrowful: and, being aſſured he could draw a large ſum of money to his treaſury by ſuch proceedings, ordered a proſecution to be commenced at the ſuit of the crown, againſt all who did not come in and comply with the royal command.

Great numbers came in, and paid large ſums to have their eſtates preſerved in their families; and the King, having levied a conſiderable revenue by this, would not allow any of his vaſſals, for neglect of the ſtatutes, or the failure in not obeying the expreſs letter of the laws, to be diveſted or ſtript of their eſtates.

However oppreſſive and provoking to the people the revival of theſe tyrannical old ſtatutes might be; yet, ſuch was the ſtrong impreſſion of regard and affection in the minds of the people toward the King, that they were not to be moved or excited to ſedition or tumult; and even covered all his exactions and miſtakes of his conduct in this and his private œconomy, with a ſuperior eſteem of his many valuable and princely qualities.

His Majeſty, who was always merciful and generous in his natural inclination, finding how hard and heavy this meaſure bore upon many good families of the kingdom, remitted many of the ſums levied: and, that no ſuch meaſures ſhould be applied for ſupplying any future exigences of ſtate, his Majeſty aboliſhed the power and force of theſe ſtatutes; which raiſed ſuch an eſteem and love in his people towards their Sovereign, that they would have ſacrificed all to ſupport his royal dignity. This is evident proof and demonſtration, how eaſy, plain, and ſafe the path of wiſdom is, to any good and underſtanding Monarch; and how, without difficulty or pain, he can ſecure his government and authority, by reigning in the affections of his ſubjects. The love and eſteem of a King from his people, muſt be founded in great, noble, and generous acts of royal goodneſs, tenderneſs, benevolence, and diſintereſted concern for their Attones his miſconduct.

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King James, who was of a moſt generous and beneficent ſpirit, and could not bear with a contracted and narrow allowance for life, finding he could not levy ſupplies by parliament, and that the parliament would not yield to his meaſures, thought upon another expedient to raiſe money for ſupplying preſent exigencies.

In Scotland there is a feudal power veſted in ſuperiors, which is called feu duty; and is perpetual dependance and vaſſalage on the ſuperior for granting a charter to his dependent, to ſecure him, his heirs and aſſignees to his eſtate, upon payment of a certain ſum annually. This ſum is called feu duty; and the charter given is the feu of the eſtate. By the ſame law that allows of this title or conveyance to an eſtate, it is provided, that if the inferior fails in payment for two years, then the third year the Lord or ſuperior of the manor has right to take poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate. By this unfair law many good families were ruined.

The next hardſhip and ſlavery, to which the King ſhould have attended to rectify, was the law by which every young man of fortune or eſtate, ſhould be under the ſole direction of the King, or Lord of the manor, till of age; and that it ſhould be free to the King, or ſuperior, to receive and manage the whole profits of the eſtate, until the infant came of age.

The third baſe and oppreſſive law, which, at this time, was in force, was; that, if any vaſſal or inferior preſumed to ſell half or two parts of his eſtate, without the Lord of the manor's approbation, then the vaſſal or inferior was to forfeit the whole eſtate; and the Lord of the manor to take poſſeſſion of it.

At this time, the King, at a loſs for money, employed ſome of the moſt eminent and projecting counſellors and lawyers, with the help of ſome holy, crafty, and well-turned clergy, to find out expedients for ſupplying his Majeſty's treaſury.

The firſt they fixed upon was brought to light by the prieſtly ſuggeſtion of William Elphinſton Biſhop of Aberdeen; and was to lay hold of the advantage the King could take, at this juncture, of the abovementioned ſtatutes; which, for many years, had not been regarded, thro' the troubles, civil wars and commotions. His Majeſty's projectors therefore, counſelled him to ſummon in all, who held their eſtates by feu from the crown, to ſhew their receipts of their laſt payment; and thoſe who had ſold eſtates, to ſhew by what authority and power they had been ſold; yea, every nobleman and gentleman who held his eſtate from the crown as ſuperior, was forced to ſhew in what manner the rents and profits of his eſtate had been applied, during his being under age. Has recourſe to oppreſſive meaſures in procuring it.

The greater part had neglected theſe old and oppreſſive laws; and, finding themſelves thus entrapped, liable to loſe their all, and be totally ruined, made ſtrong and moving applications to the King, not to put theſe laws in execution. However, his Majeſty gave more attention to his projectors, than he did to the petitions of the diſtreſſed and ſorrowful: and, being aſſured he could draw a large ſum of money to his treaſury by ſuch proceedings, ordered a proſecution to be commenced at the ſuit of the crown, againſt all who did not come in and comply with the royal command.

Great numbers came in, and paid large ſums to have their eſtates preſerved in their families; and the King, having levied a conſiderable revenue by this, would not allow any of his vaſſals, for neglect of the ſtatutes, or the failure in not obeying the expreſs letter of the laws, to be diveſted or ſtript of their eſtates.

However oppreſſive and provoking to the people the revival of theſe tyrannical old ſtatutes might be; yet, ſuch was the ſtrong impreſſion of regard and affection in the minds of the people toward the King, that they were not to be moved or excited to ſedition or tumult; and even covered all his exactions and miſtakes of his conduct in this and his private œconomy, with a ſuperior eſteem of his many valuable and princely qualities.

His Majeſty, who was always merciful and generous in his natural inclination, finding how hard and heavy this meaſure bore upon many good families of the kingdom, remitted many of the ſums levied: and, that no ſuch meaſures ſhould be applied for ſupplying any future exigences of ſtate, his Majeſty aboliſhed the power and force of theſe ſtatutes; which raiſed ſuch an eſteem and love in his people towards their Sovereign, that they would have ſacrificed all to ſupport his royal dignity. This is evident proof and demonſtration, how eaſy, plain, and ſafe the path of wiſdom is, to any good and underſtanding Monarch; and how, without difficulty or pain, he can ſecure his government and authority, by reigning in the affections of his ſubjects. The love and eſteem of a King from his people, muſt be founded in great, noble, and generous acts of royal goodneſs, tenderneſs, benevolence, and diſintereſted concern for their Attones his miſconduct.

happineſs; which a people ſoon diſcern and are made ſenſible of: and the love of a people, built on ſo ſtrong a foundation, will remain inflexible. For when they conſider their happineſs, they rejoice in the perſon who made them ſo.

The authors of the money-ſcheme brought to juſtice.

But the projectors of this money-ſcheme, and the authors of theſe oppreſſive meaſures, (which were contrary to the King's own natural ſpirit, and were forced upon his Majeſty) became, according to their merit, contemptible in his Majeſty's eye: and, as all falſe, deſigning, and ſelfiſh miniſters, who want only to enrich themſelves and families, by oppreſſing and taxing the ſubjects, do, in the event, form their own overthrow, and make an effectual trap to catch themſelves; ſo, in the preſent caſe, the nobility and gentry united in impeachments againſt them, and applied to parliament to have them brought to trial. The voice of the nation was againſt theſe blood-ſuckers; and therefore, being upon trial found guilty of mal-practices, ſome of them were impriſoned for life, to gratify the injured, and to ſoften the minds of the people; and thus ended their days in miſery.

A Prince born,

On the 21ſt of January 1507, Queen Margaret was ſafely delivered of a ſon, titled Prince of Scotland and the Iſles, who was immediately baptized and named James. The Queen in her labour had ſuffered great agonies, and was apprehended to be in imminent danger. The King's affections were ſo ſtrongly attached to his beloved Queen, and ſo over-heated with religious zeal, thro' the diligent application and inſtructions of prieſtly devotion, that his Majeſty made a ſolemn vow, on occaſion of his Lady's ſafety, to take a pilgrimage to St. Ninian's in Galloway, to implore St. Ninian's good offices and interceſſion for the perfect recovery of the Queen, and the health of the young Prince James.

This St. Ninian was the Apoſtle and tutelar Saint of the Ancient Britons; and the monaſtery and abbey here erected, ſacred to his memory, was built in remembrance of his being buried in this place: on which account, St. Ninian's was a place remarkable for the many pilgrimages, proceſſions, and viſits of the Iriſh, Engliſh and Welch.

The King at his return (having performed his vow of pilgrimage) found the Queen perfectly recovered: but St. Ninian had only made his interceſſion by halves, and complied but in part

and dies.

with King James's prayers and devout requeſts; for the young Prince ſoon died at Stirling, and likewiſe his tutor the Abbot of St. Ninian's Biſhop of Galloway. The pious offerings and largeſſes of his Majeſty on this occaſion, very probably had been but ſcanty, and therefore not ſo pleaſing to the Saint, who, if ill paid, may be ſuppoſed leſs hearty and zealous in his interceſſions.

Another is born, and dies.

Next year, her Majeſty was brought to bed of a young Prince, named Arthur; but, in few months after, he died in the caſtle of Edinburgh.

This year likewiſe (1508) King Henry the VIIth of England departed this life: but the Engliſh hiſtorians make the æra of his death 1509, April the 22d, in the 24th year of his reign, and of his age the 52d.

Henry, now the VIIIth, ſucceeded to his father's throne; and, being by order of parliament proclaimed King, was crowned with great pomp and ſolemnity: upon which occaſion, his Majeſty King James ſent ambaſſadors extraordinary to congratulate and compliment the new King.

The King's grief.

King James, upon the loſs of his father-in-law Henry the VIIth and his two ſons, appeared much affected; and gave out, that he was not only in grief for their death, bnt could never ſatisfy his own mind for heading the nobility, and joining in their meaſures to riſe in arms and oppoſe his deceaſed father, even to rebellion, and to the taking away his life. The King upon this account intimated, that he had taken a reſolution to leave his kingdom for ſome

His deſign to go a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem ſet aſide.

time; and to go upon a pilgrimage to viſit the holy grave at Jeruſalem. Accordingly, he ordered Robert Blackitour, Abbot of Dumfermling, to go before and prepare the way for his Majeſty: but the Abbot was taken ill upon the road and died; and ſo he made his pilgrimage to the other world. Other circumſtances likewiſe concurred to ſtop the King's intended journey for Jeruſalem.

James V. born.

In the month of April (1512) the Queen was delivered of another young Prince, who was named James, and afterwards inherited the crown. The Queen continued at the palace of Linlithgow, where the Prince was born, till ſhe was perfectly recovered and in condition to appear in the drawing-room.

An embaſſy from France.

At this time the famous Bernard Stewart, the renowned general under Charles the VIIIth of France, who commanded the French in Boſworth field; and who, by his conduct and bravery in that action, ſet the crown on King Henry's head, arrived in Scotland: and ſoon after him Andrew Foreman Archbiſhop of Bruges, and the Biſhop of Murray, with Alexander Stewart the King's natural ſon, who was afterwards elected Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

The pretended reaſon of their coming over from the court of France to Scotland, at this juncture, was to have King James's opinion and ſentiments, as an ally and confederate, concerning the marriage of the eldeſt daughter of France: whether King James ſhould approve her being given to Francis of Valois, or to Charles King of Caſtile.

This was the ſham reaſon of the embaſſy; but the real and ſecreted motive was to engage King James to deſert the Engliſh, to detach himſelf from his brother Henry the VIIIth of England, and to join the French King Lewis; becauſe Lewis was in daily expectation of war with England.

The

The grounds and reaſons of this impending war were complicated, and aroſe from a variety of connections and intermixtures. Anne, daughter to Francis Duke of Bretagne, after the death of her eldeſt ſiſter Iſabella, became ſole heireſs of the duchy of Bretagne. Charles the VIIIth of France, having an eye as well to the heireſs as to the opulent duchy of Bretagne, uſed all the arts poſſible to compaſs both. The Princeſs Anne of Bretagne had been promiſed in marriage to Maximilian Emperor of the Romans: but Charles of France, being (as King of France) her chief guardian, by his power over-awed and influenced her ſubjects to be of his ſide; and ſo far gained over all her relations and the nobility of her court, that he procured the intended and promiſed marriage with Maximilian to be made void; notwithſtanding, by proxy, they had been ſolemnly promiſed to each other. Upon this, the Princeſs Anne of Bretagne was married to Charles the VIIIth. This was the more provoking, becauſe Maximilian, and all his Court, were in full expectation of Charles the VIIIth of France's being married to Maximilian's daughter; who, at this time, was at the court of France, and had been addreſſed by the French King for this end!

A remarkable inſtance of French perfidy.

Charles the VIIIth dying, Lewis the XIIth of France married Jane, daughter to Lewis the XIth and ſiſter to the late Charles; but Lewis, not thoroughly ſatisfied with his choice, finding Jane his Lady did not afford him ſufficient pleaſure, by his intereſt with Pope Alexander the VIth, procured a divorce from Jane his Queen for barrenneſs.

This Pope had been under great obligations for many favours to Lewis of France, and his Holineſs's ſon had received great favour and friendſhip from Lewis the XIIth. Theſe were the Chriſtian motives for granting this bull of divorce to the French King.

Upon the French King's marriage with Jane being diſſolved, Lewis married Anne of Bretagne, who ſoon pleaſed Lewis with her offspring.

Pope Alexander ſoon after this died, and Julius the IId ſucceeded him. Julius was a prelate of a magnificent and lofty mind, of a turbulent ſpirit, and loved to be buſy; a zealous defender and faithful aſſertor of prieſtcraft, and an enemy to the increaſing power of France in Italy; being very apprehenſive of an attack upon his Peter's patrimony in Italy; and that the French might ſhove him out of St. Peter's chair, and fill this holy ſeat with their favourite Cardinal of Amboiſe.

Inflamed from all theſe apprehenſions, the holy father required Lewis of France, upon pain of the higheſt cenſures of the church, to deſiſt from and relinquiſh the protection of the Duke of Ferrara, and of Hannibal Bentivoglio, whom the Pope had ejected the ſee of Bologna.

Lewis of France received his Holineſs's orders and requiſition with contempt. Upon which, the holy ſucceſſor of St. Peter, fired with ſpiritual indignation at the contempt of his authority, thundered out his rage in bulls, decrees, and excommunications, againſt the Duke of Ferrara, and all who ſhould aid or ſupport him; particularly, the French.

The King of France and the Pope quarrel.

The chief reaſon given for this fury of his Holineſs was, becauſe he eaſily foreſaw, that the French King, wherever he got footing, had ſuch a good appetite as to ſwallow all before he had done; and therefore would not content himſelf with the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which now he poſſeſſed; but, in a little time, hoped to make himſelf maſter of all Italy; not even ſparing St. Peter's patrimony.

The French King, as a rebellious child to his holy father, appealed from the Pope's decree and thundering, but ſubmitted all his part to a true, lawful, and general council; and did no leſs than threaten his Holineſs with a viſitation.

The Pope, upon this appearance of danger, applied himſelf to Henry the VIIIth of England; whom his Holineſs had obliged, by diſpenſing with his marrying his deceaſed Brother Prince Arthur's Lady. Henry was now in his prime, and in the higheſt ſpirits; a Prince of great fire and activity, and well furniſhed with treaſure, left him by his royal father.

Upon application made to him by the Pope, he firſt affected to act betwixt the French King and the Pope as a diſintereſted mediator for peace and reconciliation; but King Henry was in fact the chief ſupporter and promoter of the breach. Terms of reconciliation were offered to the French King by the Pope; but Henry, his mediator, did not accept of them, becauſe they would have marred his deſigns. Henry was a perſon of quick and lively wit, and therefore cut out work for the French King and all his force nigher home, and from an oppoſite quarter, to divert him from his deſigns and attempts upon the territories of the Pope.

King Henry VIII. engaged in the Pope's behalf.

King Henry (to the French King's ſurprize) made a demand upon him to reſtore directly to England the duchies of Guienne and Normandy, with the antient inheritance of his anceſtors of Anjou and Mayne; and, in ſhort, all the territories belonging to the Engliſh in France; which by force, iniquity, and violence, had been taken from them by the French.

This, tho' it alarmed the French King, yet did not directly force him to break off the war in Italy; for Lewis, ever alert in expedients, having received intelligence that his Holineſs, at the head of his army, was in full march to attack Ferrara, prevents the execution of his Holineſs's purpoſe; and blocks him, with his Cardinals, up in the caſtle of Bologna.

The Pope, thus caged, ſent his nuncios ſecretly to acquaint all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe, that his French Majeſty not only had a deſign upon the patrimony of St. Peter and the mother church, but likewiſe thirſted after Chriſtian blood; and therefore his Holineſs craved their immediate aid and relief againſt the common enemy.

Next the Pope, paſſing from a blunder to a bull, and being now in faſt keeping with his Cardinals by the French army, in holy wrath, emits a ſolemn edict; by which he diſſolved the allegiance of all the ſubjects of France from their Sovereign, and then gives full power and title to any, who had it in their power, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of France. Then a ſolemn bull was publiſhed, diveſting the King of France of the title of moſt Chriſtian King, and transferring it to Henry of England; who now had all his titles and rights to France ratified and confirmed by the Pope's bull.

Henry prepares an expedition againſt France.

King Henry, animated by this, and provoked by King Lewis of France's haughty return to his demand, prepares a fleet and army for an expedition againſt France. Having uſed all poſſible diligence, King Henry aſſembled an army of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, compleatly equipped and armed, with which his Majeſty embarked for France; and, having landed his army unmoleſted on the coaſt of France, King Henry marched to the borders of Picardy.

And arrives in Picardy.

He pitched his tents on the marches of this province. Prince Maximilian the Emperor, reſenting the injury and affronts received from the French King, repaired directly to the Engliſh army, and was well received by King Henry; who complimented him with the order of St. George, and gave him, while he ſtayed, the chief command of his army.

The agents of France, during this interval, had been both active and ſucceſsful in Scotland, and had carried their point to engage King James in the French intereſt. Before the arrival of Bernard Stewart and the Biſhop of Murray upon their embaſſy from France, King James ſeemed averſe to intereſt himſelf in any degree againſt the King of England his brother: but the French court had inſtructed their ambaſſadors here to deal effectually with the nobility and clergy in Scotland. The Biſhop of Murray had brought large remittances for the uſe of the clergy; and Bernard Stewart, by the ſame means, effectually gained over King James's mercenary miniſtry.

Upon this, the miniſtry and clergy, with other corrupted nobility, ſo beſet the King, that, by perſuaſion and cloſe importunity, they brought his Majeſty into their meaſures. However, that King James might not be impeached with groundleſs breach of honour and friendſhip with his brother the King of England, they contrived a way to fiſh a quarrel with Henry; and therefore formed a claim of jewels left to Queen Margaret of Scotland, by her brother Prince Arthur, and not delivered up by King Henry.

Evades a diſpute with King James,

Foreman Biſhop of Murray was ſent to demand them in the name of King James and his Queen. King Henry, immediately perceiving the drift of this embaſſy, payed not only the full demand, but even more.

This for a while diſconcerted the French intereſt in Scotland; but, the war beginning to be hot at ſea betwixt the Engliſh and French, and the French navigation and commerce ſuffering greatly, it was not long before the French ambaſſadors, with their party at the court of Scotland, prevailed upon King James to ſend out his Fleet, which was finely equipped and ready for ſervice, (intended at firſt for eſcorting his Majeſty to Syria) to the ſervice and aid of his Majeſty's couſin Anne of Bretagne, now Queen of France. His Majeſty appointed Lord Hamilton Earl of Arran to be Admiral of the Fleet.

who notwithſtanding ſupports the French againſt him.

When the fleet ſailed, the Earl of Arran, inſtead of directing his courſe, according to the King's orders, for the coaſt of France, being either a coward or knave, and, as is generally thought, well rewarded by King Henry of England for diſconcerting this intended ſuccour to France, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Ireland.

Lord Arran's treachery.

When the Earl of Arran appeared on the Iriſh coaſt, all the exploit he performed was to plunder and deſtroy the ſmall town of Knockfergus, on the ſea ſide. This, his diminutive performance, being over, he came with all his ſhips before Air; but did not venture to come on ſhore, much leſs to proceed to court.

Queen Anne of France, and all her court, had lodged ſtrong and heavy complaints againſt the Earl of Arran for his baſe and treacherous conduct, and the loſs ſuſtained by the untimely abſence of the Scots fleet.

The Earl of Arran had notice by his friends that his Majeſty was in great wrath, and had iſſued orders to apprehend him: he therefore, with great diſpatch, put to ſea with all his fleet; but, meeting with a violent ſtorm, his ſhips, in a ſhattered condition, were all drove on ſhore on the coaſt of France. The Earl of Arran upon getting his diſabled fleet into Breſt harbour, deſerted his command, and made his eſcape. He went to the Engliſh army, where he continued. King James ordered him to be attainted, and his eſtate forfeited to the Crown.

This traitor's behaviour to the Iriſh was moſt unjuſtifiable; for Ireland, at this time, was in perfect friendſhip and firm alliance with Scotland: that kingdom therefore was attacked by the Earl of Arran in the baſeſt, and moſt abſurd manner; for which, if taken, King James would have rewarded him with an exemplary puniſhment.

A war commenced againſt England.

King Henry of England highly reſented this behaviour of the King of Scotland, in pretending to aſſiſt the French with a fleet when at war with him; and therefore a quarrel enſued betwixt both kingdoms. King Henry gave full liberty to his borderers to harraſs and diſtreſs the Scots, and the Scots in their turn gave them retaliation.

The firſt remarkable effect of theſe national miſunderſtandings was in the caſe of Sir Robert Ker. Sir Robert was cup-bearer to his Majeſty, maſter of his ordnance, and Lord-warden of the

the middle frontier and marches upon the border of England. This Sir Robert Ker was ſtrict in the execution of juſtice againſt all looſe and diſorderly perſons, who committed any outrages upon the borders; and preſerved peace and good order in the beſt manner: he was the terror therefore of all theſe criminals and offenders; and, upon this account, both Scots and Engliſh of the worſt ſort wanted but an opportunity to cut him off. The grounds of the quarrel with England.

At a general meeting of the wardens and gentlemen of the borders of each nation, for adjuſting of all differences, and for making reparation of damages to either party injured, three Engliſhmen combined to deſtroy this worthy magiſtrate; John Heron or Hern, Lilburn and Starhead. Theſe three attacked Sir Robert Ker, in the moſt villainous manner, when coming from the meeting of the wardens. Hern firſt ſtabbed him behind with a lance, in a cowardly manner; and the other two finiſhed the tragedy.

This matter was loudly complained of to Henry the VIIth, the late King, who willingly delivered up two of the murderers, John Hern and Lilburn; who were brought priſoners to Faſt caſtle, and there died.

After this it was enacted and agreed betwixt both kingdoms, that no Scotſman ſhould enter England without legal ſecurity and good bail for his ſafety and protection. However, Sir Robert Ker's ſon was not ſatisfied with what had been done to avenge his father's blood; and now, that Henry the VIIIth had aſcended the throne, it enraged Ker and all his friends of the Scots nation, that Henry ſhould enlarge the condition of ſuch barbarous murtherers, and allow them full liberty to tranſact their affairs, and to keep open houſe. Therefore, Andrew Ker, Sir Robert's ſon, engaged two of his farmers, of the name of Tait, to lie in wait, and to cut off Starhead.

The Taits executed the jobb effectually; for, in the night, they came to Starhead's houſe, (who, living far from the frontier, ſuſpected no danger) entered it, and, catching him ſecure in bed, they cut off his head and carried it to Sir Robert Ker's ſon, who ſent it as a preſent to his Majeſty to be ſet up upon the moſt public place of the city; which was accordingly done. This highly provoked Henry the VIIIth of England, and he reſolved to make reprizals upon the Scots.

At this time one Andrew Breton, who had been a merchant and trader for ſome conſiderable time to Flanders, being on board his own ſhip upon the ſeas, was attacked by the Portugueſe rovers. They plundered and took the ſhip, and put Breton to death! The Portugueze murder Breton.

This cruel and vile action was complained of, by his ſon and a friend, at the court of Bruſſels. The court gave orders for reſtitution of all damages; but this was not complied with. Andrew Breton, ſon of the deceaſed, had no ſatisfaction made to him. Upon which, King James, highly enraged at the barefaced inſult upon his ſubjects, ſent an herald to demand redreſs, which was refuſed.

King James upon this, finding that tho' the murder and plunder was in the territories of Flanders, and the offenders the Portugueſe ſheltered themſelves there, yet no juſtice was to be had, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the iniquity of ſuch proceedings; and directly ordered out letters of marque and reprizal to Breton, againſt all Portugueſe veſſels; and wrote to all Kings, Princes, and States on the coaſts, not to diſturb Breton or his ſhips; for they were not to be deemed pirates, but ſuch as had true letters of marque and reprizal from the King of Scotland. Revenged by his ſon.

Henry the VIIIth however, was much enraged at Andrew Breton; becauſe Andrew had frequently viſited, and even taken, ſeveral Engliſh ſhips with Portugueſe colours. Andrew Breton's ſmall ſquadron was well manned and armed, and his ſhips light every way fit for fighting; and being a man of ſpirit and good conduct, he now commanded the ſea, and took ample ſatisfaction of the Portugueſe for the murder of his father, and the loſs of his effects.

Upon application by the Portugueſe to their King, the King of Portugal complained to Henry of England; and repreſented how his people on the Engliſh coaſt had been moleſted and interrupted in their commerce by the Scots letter-of-marque men. His Portugueſe Majeſty likewiſe demanded the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh fleet, as their old ally, to clear the ſea of Andrew Breton.

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Next the Pope, paſſing from a blunder to a bull, and being now in faſt keeping with his Cardinals by the French army, in holy wrath, emits a ſolemn edict; by which he diſſolved the allegiance of all the ſubjects of France from their Sovereign, and then gives full power and title to any, who had it in their power, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of France. Then a ſolemn bull was publiſhed, diveſting the King of France of the title of moſt Chriſtian King, and transferring it to Henry of England; who now had all his titles and rights to France ratified and confirmed by the Pope's bull.

Henry prepares an expedition againſt France.

King Henry, animated by this, and provoked by King Lewis of France's haughty return to his demand, prepares a fleet and army for an expedition againſt France. Having uſed all poſſible diligence, King Henry aſſembled an army of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, compleatly equipped and armed, with which his Majeſty embarked for France; and, having landed his army unmoleſted on the coaſt of France, King Henry marched to the borders of Picardy.

And arrives in Picardy.

He pitched his tents on the marches of this province. Prince Maximilian the Emperor, reſenting the injury and affronts received from the French King, repaired directly to the Engliſh army, and was well received by King Henry; who complimented him with the order of St. George, and gave him, while he ſtayed, the chief command of his army.

The agents of France, during this interval, had been both active and ſucceſsful in Scotland; and had carried their point to engage King James in the French intereſt. Before the arrival of Bernard Stewart and the Biſhop of Murray upon their embaſſy from France, King James ſeemed averſe to intereſt himſelf in any degree againſt the King of England his brother: but the French court had inſtructed their ambaſſadors here to deal effectually with the nobility and clergy in Scotland. The Biſhop of Murray had brought large remittances for the uſe of the clergy; and Bernard Stewart, by the ſame means, effectually gained over King James's mercenary miniſtry.

Upon this, the miniſtry and clergy, with other corrupted nobility, ſo beſet the King, that, by perſuaſion and cloſe importunity, they brought his Majeſty into their meaſures. However, that King James might not be impeached with groundleſs breach of honour and friendſhip with his brother the King of England, they contrived a way to fiſh a quarrel with Henry; and therefore formed a claim of jewels left to Queen Margaret of Scotland, by her brother Prince Arthur, and not delivered up by King Henry.

Evades a diſpute with King James,

Foreman Biſhop of Murray was ſent to demand them in the name of King James and his Queen. King Henry, immediately perceiving the drift of this embaſſy, payed not only the full demand, but even more.

This for a while diſconcerted the French intereſt in Scotland; but, the war beginning to be hot at ſea betwixt the Engliſh and French, and the French navigation and commerce ſuffering greatly, it was not long before the French ambaſſadors, with their party at the court of Scotland, prevailed upon King James to ſend out his Fleet, which was finely equipped and ready for ſervice, (intended at firſt for eſcorting his Majeſty to Syria) to the ſervice and aid of his Majeſty's couſin Anne of Bretagne, now Queen of France. His Majeſty appointed Lord Hamilton Earl of Arran to be Admiral of the Fleet.

who notwithſtanding ſupports the French againſt him.

Lord Arran's treachery.

When the fleet ſailed, the Earl of Arran, inſtead of directing his courſe, according to the King's orders, for the coaſt of France, being either a coward or knave, and, as is generally thought, well rewarded by King Henry of England for diſconcerting this intended ſuccour to France, ſet ſail for the coaſt of Ireland.

When the Earl of Arran appeared on the Iriſh coaſt, all the exploit he performed was to plunder and deſtroy the ſmall town of Knockfergus, on the ſea ſide. This, his diminutive performance, being over, he came with all his ſhips before Air; but did not venture to come on ſhore, much leſs to proceed to court.

Queen Anne of France, and all her court, had lodged ſtrong and heavy complaints againſt the Earl of Arran for his baſe and treacherous conduct, and the loſs ſuſtained by the untimely abſence of the Scots fleet.

The Earl of Arran had notice by his friends that his Majeſty was in great wrath, and had iſſued orders to apprehend him: he therefore, with great diſpatch, put to ſea with all his fleet; but, meeting with a violent ſtorm, his ſhips, in a ſhattered condition, were all drove on ſhore on the coaſt of France. The Earl of Arran upon getting his diſabled fleet into Breſt harbour, deſerted his command, and made his eſcape. He went to the Engliſh army, where he continued. King James ordered him to be attainted, and his eſtate forfeited to the Crown.

This traitor's behaviour to the Iriſh was moſt unjuſtifiable; for Ireland, at this time, was in perfect friendſhip and firm alliance with Scotland: that kingdom therefore was attacked by the Earl of Arran in the baſeſt, and moſt abſurd manner; for which, if taken, King James would have rewarded him with an exemplary puniſhment.

A war commenced againſt England.

King Henry of England highly reſented this behaviour of the King of Scotland, in pretending to aſſiſt the French with a fleet when at war with him; and therefore a quarrel enſued betwixt both kingdoms. King Henry gave full liberty to his borderers to harraſs and diſtreſs the Scots, and the Scots in their turn gave them retaliation.

The firſt remarkable effect of theſe national miſunderſtandings was in the caſe of Sir Robert Ker. Sir Robert was cup-bearer to his Majeſty, maſter of his ordnance, and Lord-warden of the

the middle frontier and marches upon the border of England. This Sir Robert Ker was ſtrict in the execution of juſtice againſt all looſe and diſorderly perſons, who committed any outrages upon the borders; and preſerved peace and good order in the beſt manner: he was the terror therefore of all theſe criminals and offenders; and, upon this account, both Scots and Engliſh of the worſt ſort wanted but an opportunity to cut him off. The grounds of the quarrel with England.

At a general meeting of the wardens and gentlemen of the borders of each nation, for adjuſting of all differences, and for making reparation of damages to either party injured, three Engliſhmen combined to deſtroy this worthy magiſtrate; John Heron or Hern, Lilburn and Starhead. Theſe three attacked Sir Robert Ker, in the moſt villainous manner, when coming from the meeting of the wardens. Hern firſt ſtabbed him behind with a lance, in a cowardly manner; and the other two finiſhed the tragedy.

This matter was loudly complained of to Henry the VIIth, the late King, who willingly delivered up two of the murderers, John Hern and Lilburn; who were brought priſoners to Faſt caſtle, and there died.

After this it was enacted and agreed betwixt both kingdoms, that no Scotſman ſhould enter England without legal ſecurity and good bail for his ſafety and protection. However, Sir Robert Ker's ſon was not ſatisfied with what had been done to avenge his father's blood; and now, that Henry the VIIIth had aſcended the throne, it enraged Ker and all his friends of the Scots nation, that Henry ſhould enlarge the condition of ſuch barbarous murtherers, and allow them full liberty to tranſact their affairs, and to keep open houſe. Therefore, Andrew Ker, Sir Robert's ſon, engaged two of his farmers, of the name of Tait, to lie in wait, and to cut off Starhead.

The Taits executed the jobb effectually; for, in the night, they came to Starhead's houſe, (who, living far from the frontier, ſuſpected no danger) entered it, and, catching him ſecure in bed, they cut off his head and carried it to Sir Robert Ker's ſon, who ſent it as a preſent to his Majeſty to be ſet up upon the moſt public place of the city; which was accordingly done. This highly provoked Henry the VIIIth of England, and he reſolved to make reprizals upon the Scots.

At this time one Andrew Breton, who had been a merchant and trader for ſome conſiderable time to Flanders, being on board his own ſhip upon the ſeas, was attacked by the Portugueſe rovers. They plundered and took the ſhip, and put Breton to death! The Portugueze murder Breton.

This cruel and vile action was complained of, by his ſon and a friend, at the court of Bruſſels. The court gave orders for reſtitution of all damages; but this was not complied with. Andrew Breton, ſon of the deceaſed, had no ſatisfaction made to him. Upon which, King James, highly enraged at the barefaced inſult upon his ſubjects, ſent an herald to demand redreſs, which was refuſed.

King James upon this, finding that tho' the murder and plunder was in the territories of Flanders, and the offenders the Portugueſe ſheltered themſelves there, yet no juſtice was to be had, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the iniquity of ſuch proceedings; and directly ordered out letters of marque and reprizal to Breton, againſt all Portugueſe veſſels; and wrote to all Kings, Princes, and States on the coaſts, not to diſturb Breton or his ſhips; for they were not to be deemed pirates, but ſuch as had true letters of marque and reprizal from the King of Scotland. Revenged by his ſon.

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When the news of this event was brought to King James, he directly acquainted his brother Henry of England, that this treatment of Andrew Breton was a groſs and barefaced affront upon his Majeſty, and a violation of the faith of nations among Kings and Princes; that Breton had his Majeſty's royal permiſſion, by letters under his great ſeal, for reprizals; and that therefore his Majeſty, without immediate ſatisfaction, was reſolved to take this as the commiſſion of open hoſtilities, and the beginning of war between both kingdoms.

King Henry, in anſwer to this, acquainted the Scots ambaſſador, that he thought always the reward of thieves was a halter; and he had done to pirates as they ought to be ſerved: therefore, he did not know of any obligation to make ſatisfaction for clearing the ſea of pirates.

Lord Hume invades England.

Upon this haughty return, Alexander Lord Hume, warden of the Eaſtern frontier, raiſed 3000 men, and entered with fire and ſword into England: but, having divided his ſmall army, and taking different routs in two bodies, he was ſurprized by an ambuſcade of the Engliſh; in which rencounter the Lord Hume was worſted, and obliged to fly; leaving his brother George a priſoner, with Sir William Belmur, who commanded this party of the Engliſh, conſiſting only of 1000 archers.

Defeated.

While theſe mutual ſkirmiſhes paſſed in the North of England, King Henry, with great art and policy, ſent the Lord Dacres and doctor Weſt to the court of Scotland, under colour of ambaſſadors for ſettling and compoſing of differences, and to bring matters back to the footing of the former friendſhip and alliance. But the real deſign of this embaſſy was to find out the ſecrets of King James's cabinet, and his negociations with the French; and therefore Henry ſent this embaſſy, well loaded with preſents for the Scots miniſtry.

The French ſolicit a war againſt England.

Monſieur de la Mote, at the ſame time, arrived from the French court, to ſolicit, in the ſtrongeſt terms, King James to declare war againſt England; and to ſupport the intereſt of their ally the French King. Monſieur de la Mote, in his voyage to Scotland, had met with thirteen ſail of the Engliſh; but being well provided and prepared for them, he engaged the Engliſh for ſome hours, ſunk three of their ſhips, and carried in with him ſeven, as prizes, to the port of Leith.

Take and deſtory ten Engliſh ſhips.

At the ſame time Robert Breton, who had a ſmall ſquadron of privateers at ſea to cruize upon the Engliſh, determined on avenging his father's death, who had been executed by Sir Thomas Howard, employed his time with great diligence againſt the Engliſh; for, immediately after the French admiral's arrival, he carried into Leith thirteen ſail of Engliſh prizes.

To back the more effectually the negociations of monſieur la Mote, the French admiral, Lewis of France ſent James Ogilvy, Abbot of Drybrough, on board a large ſhip of conſiderable force, well loaded with preſents of his beſt wines, and other things, to King James; together with plenty of all military ſtores and implements for war; with full inſtructions to the Abbot, to preſs, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the King of Scotland to immediate and vigorous reſolutions, in ſupport of his French Majeſty; by giving an effectual diverſion to Henry of England.

Andrew Foreman, Biſhop of Murray, now at the court of France, vigorouſly ſupported the French intereſt at this time, by repeated and importuning letters to his Majeſty King James, to the Biſhops and many of the nobility of Scotland.

King James calls a parliament.

King James was inclined to comply with the demands of the French King; but, in an enterprize of ſuch conſequence to the welfare of the whole kingdom, his Majeſty of Scotland thought it moſt prudent and expedient to conſult his parliament, and to have their approbation in ſuch a national and weighty meaſure. The parliament therefore was directly ſummoned to meet. The firſt thing which came under their deliberation, was the demand of the French embaſſy, and the expediency of an immediate declaration of war againſt England. Many of the moſt underſtanding and penetrating of the Lords and commons, oppoſed a rupture with England at this time; but the French intereſt cooked up a majority in both houſes of parliament, who favoured the King of Scotland's own inclinations for the French: ſo, after warm and long debates, it was voted to declare war againſt England, and orders were iſſued out for the army to aſſemble without loſs of time, and to raiſe all the new levies with the greateſt diligence. The King declared his royal pleaſure to council, that he reſolved to head his army, and to invade England.

Demands ſatisfaction of King Henry.

But before the declaration of war was iſſued out, and proclamation made of it over the kingdom, King James, by the advice of his parliament, thought it reaſonable, and for the vindication of his royal honour, firſt, to ſend one of his heralds to Henry of England his brother, with a friendly meſſage, and to make a demand of reparation and ſatisfaction for all the injuries and loſſes ſuffered by the kingdom of Scotland from the Engliſh nation; particularly, the inſults and abuſes committed againſt King James's authority and dignity, in the caſes of Sir Robert Ker and Breton, contrary to the laws and faith of nations.

King Henry, with his whole army, was before Tournay, carrying on the ſiege with great vigour, when he received the diſpatches, by the herald, from his brother King James. The herald in form required King Henry to withdraw his army from the territories of France, and to give over hoſtilities againſt Charles Duke of Guilders, who now was Captain-general of the French army. King Henry received the meſſage and demand by the herald with great contempt. The herald repreſented, that his Majeſty of Scotland could not remain an idle

ſpectator

ſpectator, if Henry perſiſted in his encroachments upon the French King, the ancient and conſtant ally of Scotland; eſpecially, at ſuch a juncture, when France was attacked from all quarters of Europe, and ready to be ſwallowed up and devoured.

In anſwer to all, King Henry ordered the herald to return, and to acquaint the King of Scotland, that he deſpiſed all his threatnings; for he was not to be frightened out of the war he was engaged in, and in which he had been ſo ſucceſsful hitherto: that he had now heard nothing from the King of Scotland, but what he expected from a Sovereign who thought himſelf not bound by laws divine nor humane! and that, having had full proof of the levity and inconſtancy of the King of Scotland, he valued not his friendſhip; but would do as he thought fit. Henry's ſharp anſwer.

This ſhort but ſtrong repulſe, being faithfully reported by the herald at his return to King James, ſo provoked his Majeſty, that he directly ordered a declaration of war to be got ready and proclaimed. The ſubſtance of the declaration was as follows: War againſt England proclaimed.

" That, tho' Kings and Princes are, by their rank and eſtabliſhment, accountable to none but Almighty God; yet they are bound, in all their actions, to have greater regard to conſcience than to fame; and when ſovereigns engage in a war they are not to regard what may be ſaid of them, but what is proper and right to be done. Sincerity and integrity ſhould be the meaſures of life to all good monarchs, who conſider they are not only to regard the preſent times, but the record of their tranſactions and government, tranſmitted to future ages; and therefore ought to be very watchful over themſelves, to direct their adminiſtration in the path of ſtrict rectitude and regard, for the intereſt and welfare of their kingdoms. The Declaration.

" The law of ſelf-preſervation is in nature univerſal; but the obligations of Sovereigns and Princes are ſtill cloſer and ſtronger than that of private perſons; for, as monarchs, they are bound to be the guardians, not only of their own lives, but of the lives, eſtates, liberties and rights of all their ſubjects, and to take the moſt effectual, juſt and ready means for their ſupport and protection: yea, the obligations of Kings and Princes extend to all their friends and allies; and eſpecially, to ſuch of them as are the moſt uſeful and faithful for the defence of the honour and happineſs of the kingdom. The many innovations and troubles, raiſed and increaſed about us in neighbouring kingdoms, and the repeated wrongs and inſults received by our ſubjects from the Engliſh, without the ſmalleſt reparation or ſatisfaction, tho' often demanded in the way of friendſhip, yet never complied with, by the influence of the wicked and deſigning councillors of our brother-in-law Henry King of England; theſe all are well known to Europe. The frontier of our kingdom has been inſulted and plundered; our loving and faithful ſubjects have been taken by the Engliſh, and ſome of them unjuſtly put to death! others uſed with unjuſtifiable ſeverity! our commerce has been interrupted and cramped; and all this, even in time of pretended peace, and contrary to the faith of treaties ſubſiſting betwixt us.

" But, not ſatisfied with theſe unfair practices, our brother-in-law Henry of England, without any ſhadow or colour of reaſon or provocation given by the King of France, has raiſed a formidable army againſt his Majeſty of France, to gratify the Biſhop of Rome; and has not only in perſon with his army invaded the territories of France, but inſtigated the chief powers upon the continent to make a common cauſe of it, to devour and overthrow the French Monarchy if poſſible.

" As then theſe are moſt engaging and affecting conſiderations, more than ſufficient for us to teſtify our royal diſpleaſure, and our juſt indignation at ſuch unmanly, violent and unprovok'd acts of injuſtice and encroaching barbarity from one Sovereign to another; we therefore, after mature and cool deliberation, by the advice and approbation of our parliament and privy council, have reſolved to ſupport the dignity and honour of our crown, by aſſerting and ſupporting all the rights and properties of our loving ſubjects; and, if not attainable by gentle meaſures, to exert the power and the terror of our armies and of our navy to the reduction of our enemies, not only in ſupport of the glory of our kingdom, but in the relief and defence of our ancient allies the French, to whom we are connected by repeated treaties and different obligations. And, as honour, fidelity, and all ſacred regard to our public faith and the welfare of our people, are the chief motives to conduct all our operations; we have determined to make this our royal declaration of the rectitude of our intentions, which, by the favour and countenance of divine providence, we are to follow with the arguments of war and juſt reſentment. All ſoft and eaſy meaſures having had no effect, we hope the juſtice of this neceſſary, defenſive and unavoidable war, will appear to all nations, and remain unſpotted to future generations."

This is the full ſubſtance of King James's declaration of war againſt Henry of England. Tho' I have the declaration of war at length in the old language of Scotland; yet, that being tedious, formal and not very intelligible to many Engliſh readers, I have not inſerted it at full length, but only given my reader, without mutilation or the leaſt deviation from the ſenſe of the original, the ſum and full ſubſtance of all contained in the manifeſto of King James, having only brought it into a ſhorter compaſs, and delivered it in a ſtile more uniform with the reſt of the hiſtory, which I hope will not be diſagreeable to any candid reader.

King James ſubjoined an article of his own formation to his manifeſto, agreed upon in council, which was; that if, after his Majeſty had marched his army towards England, his brother

brother Henry King of England would engage to draw off his army, and deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt the King of France, then his Majeſty of Scotland would ſtop his march, and ſubmit all differences betwixt England and Scotland to the friendly determination of ſome neighbouring powers, or in the way of negociation and treaty for reſtoring peace to both kingdoms.

This article was an indication of King James's peaceable and equitable ſpirit; but, from the face of the whole, it appears that the Scots nation were ſtrict to their honour and faith, yea nice and ſcrupulous to a fault, in fulfilling their engagements to France; but trace all the periods and alterations in the hiſtory of Scotland, you will find it evident to demonſtration, that the French never further regarded nor attended to the welfare and happineſs of Scotland, than as it anſwered for their own purpoſe and advantage; and, in the event, the Scots nation were always loſers by their ſcrupulous and ſtrict nicety in their regard to their honour, and to the accompliſhment of their ſtipulations with France.

The formality of proclaiming the declaration of war being over, the King got his army aſſembled with great expedition. The general rendezvous of the troops was at Linlithgow: and the King, being naturally of a devout and religious mind, went to St. Michael's church at Linlithgow, the day before the army begun their march, in order to implore the divine aid and favour to his deſigns, and to attend the celebration of high maſs, with great pomp and ſolemnity.

The King was ſurrounded with the nobility of the court and a grand retinue; yet, an ancient man, of a ſedate and reverend preſence, forced himſelf through the crouds, and even through the nobility in waiting, while his Majeſty was at his devotions; and, approaching to the King, he leaned over the ſeat of the canons of the church, where his Majeſty was, and addreſſed the King thus:

The King diſſuaded from the war by a ſuppoſed prophet.

"SIR,

"I am ſent to deſire and entreat of you to deſiſt from your intended expedition; for you will not ſucceed in your enterprize. I am likewiſe charged to warn you, if you are obſtinately reſolute to march your army, not to be under the direction or influence of women; for, if you are, you ſhall not proſper."

This old man appeared with his own long amber-coloured hair, down to his ſhoulder; girded with a towel about his loins, and his cloathing of a reddiſh colour.

This extraordinary appearance put the whole court in amaze: and Buchanan affirms, that he had not credited the aſſertion of ſuch a perſon's going into the royal preſence, had he not been aſſured of the fact from David Lindſay of Mont, * a gentleman of great honour, fortune, and good education, who was at Linlithgow at the time this happened. His Majeſty ordered diligent ſearch to be made after this perſon; but he was never ſeen afterwards.

The King, regardleſs of this warning from the unknown perſon, ordered his army next day to be muſtered on the place then called Borough Moor, near to Edinburgh city; which, at that time, lay in front of a wood, full of ſtately and large oaks. Several apparitions and extraordinary ſpectrums are related as fact, and affirmed with a bigotted ignorance, by ſome of our Scots hiſtorians, as very alarming to the people at that time in and about Edinburgh. Strange voices and appearances were pretended to be obſerved and heard in the night; but as theſe relations appear abſurd and groundleſs I ſhall take no farther notice of them.

By Lord Angus and the clergy. By the Queen.

The King marched his army, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances and repeated advice to the contrary of the Earl of Angus then Lord Chancellor, and the warm remonſtrances of the ſuperior clergy. King James was inflexible to all theſe; but his reſolution had nigh failed him upon the affectionate, tender, and moving tears of his beloved Queen, who uſed all poſſible arguments to diſſuade his Majeſty, and ſet forth to him the great and apparent danger to his family, and to the whole Kingdom, if he ſhould be defeated and loſe his life in this expedition; and ſo ſhould leave only his weakly and tender orphan to ſucceed him. Her Majeſty was with child, which made the caſe the more affecting to the King. The Queen reaſoned with his Majeſty with great ſtrength of argument. She told his Majeſty: "What is it for you to quench a fire in your neighbour of France's houſe; and by that means kindle a fire to deſtroy your own? What good reaſons can be aſſigned for making his war your's? Shall the letters of the debauched Queen Anne of France have greater weight with you than the tears and entreaties of your affectionate and faithful wife, and your little helpleſs ſon? Do not you know, that many of your nobility are but poor, and may be bribed to forſake you in the day of battle? Can it not be made evident to your Majeſty, that it is far more your intereſt, and for the happineſs of your kingdom, to be in friendſhip with England, than to be tools to France.

Ineffectual.

Theſe wiſe and faithful hints from the Queen prove her to have been a woman of judgment and diſcerning. But the art and cunning of French agents, and their ſecret ways of operating, had overpowered and prevailed againſt all oppoſition in the cabinet! The French faction among the nobility and gentry of Scotland, being the moſt powerful, therefore ſwayed his Majeſty, and he marched his army with great expedition to paſs the Tweed. The 22d of Auguſt

* Mont is a place near Coupar of Fife.

Auguſt 1513, his Majeſty, without waiting for all his forces, entered England and encamped at the Twiſell in Northumberland. King James enters England.

He employed his army in beſieging and taking the caſtles of Norham, Wark, Foord and Eatel. Having made himſelf maſter of theſe, he demoliſhed them. There were ſeveral gentlemen and ladies taken priſoners into the Scots camp; among whom were Hern of Foord's lady and daughter, both of great beauty and fine perſon: the King was enamoured with theſe ladies charms, which diverted his mind entirely from the neceſſary attention and application to the operations of his army, and the carrying on the war with conduct and ſucceſs. Here the King, being immerſed in his pleaſures with this lady and her daughter, became ſlow and inactive, and gave opportunity to his enemy to take all advantages of him. But in order to divert his mind from this effeminacy, the nobility and generals who were with King James, wanted to draw him from this place, and put his Majeſty upon action. They propoſed to the King, as the wiſeſt and ſafeſt meaſure at this time, to draw off his army, and to retire toward Berwick; which place was not provided with military ſtores, nor a ſufficient garriſon to make a defence; beſides they were in great want of proviſions. It was evident therefore, that King James could ſoon have carried both the town and caſtle of Berwick; for he had an army of 12000 men, well ſupplied with all neceſſaries, and a train of braſs cannon. But the King thought the taking of Berwick ſuch an eaſy and trifling conqueſt, that he imagined he could have it when he pleaſed in his return: therefore he reſolved to continue in his preſent ſtrong camp, and wait for the enemy, who had ſent an herald with a challenge to King James to ſtand an engagement, and to determine the whole controverſy by a pitched battle. Reduces ſeveral caſtles. Diverted from a vigorous proſecution of the war by effeminacy.

Upon receipt of this haughty challenge, ſent by the Earl of Surry, King James called a council of war, conſiſting of the nobility and general officers of the army, to determine upon what was ſafeſt to be executed. The beſt part were againſt coming to a pitched battle; becauſe of the far ſuperior numbers of the Engliſh, who now were above 26000 men. Sir Thomas Howard had juſt landed at Newcaſtle with 5000 choice troops, from King Henry's army, to reinforce the Earl of Surry: Sir Thomas had likewiſe brought over with him 1000 of the ableſt and beſt ſailors. By this acceſſion of ſtrength, the Earl of Surry formed a conſiderable army, and therefore determined to advance to diſlodge the Scots army. Challenged by the Earl of Surry.

King James, having intelligence by his ſpies and ſcouts, that the Engliſh were in full march towards him, moved to a more advantageous and ſtrong ſituation: and, by advice of his generals, pitched his tents upon a hill acceſſible only in front by a narrow path. The front of the hill the King ſecured by his braſs guns: The left of the hill was guarded at the foot or root, by a moraſs; and behind the camp were the mountains and Cheviot hills: on the right of King James's camp was the river Till, over which was a bridge, ſtrongly guarded by the Scots army, and ſo defended as to make it impoſſible to attack the Scots at this quarter.

The Earl of Surry was informed, by his out-parties and ſpies, that King James was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that, without great danger and loſs, it was impoſſible to attack the Scots in their camp, they had ſo ſecured themſelves. Both armies were now within three miles of each other; and the Engliſh only wanted to draw King James into a ſnare: therefore, the Earl of Surry ſent one Croſs, his herald, a ſecond time to the Scots camp, to challenge King James to decide the whole controverſy by an engagement in the open plain upon fair terms; and challenging the Scots with cowardice for taking the advantage of ground, and encamping in a place ſo fortified and ſtrong by nature.

Upon the arrival of this ſecond herald in the Scots camp, his Majeſty diſcovered too great forwardneſs to gratify the enemy by hazarding a battle: however, his Majeſty called a council of war extraordinary of all his nobility and general officers. The council being met, the King intimated to the Lords and generals his fixed reſolution not to retreat, but to fight the Engliſh. Upon which, great debates aroſe in council: the moſt prudent and ſagacious of the nobility of Scotland, particularly Douglaſs Earl of Angus, and the Earl of Douglaſs, remonſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt this meaſure of the King's. They repreſented his Majeſty's danger to him, in the moſt clear and convincing manner; for the numbers of the Scots army did not exceed 12000; the Engliſh were above double, and ſuperior in cavalry; and if the Engliſh ſhould obtain a victory, it was apparent how dangerous the conſequences of ſuch a defeat might be to all Scotland; yea, they repreſented to his Majeſty the danger his perſon was expoſed to, and how fatal to the nation and to the royal family the loſs of his Majeſty's life would be. They wiſely reaſoned with his Majeſty, and the party of council, who, inſtigated by the French ambaſſador, were reſolute upon fighting, that, as now the Scots army was ſtrongly encamped, they could wait for ſuccours and a reinforcement without any danger: that, by declining an engagement now, they could diſtreſs their enemy who were in great want of proviſions, and could not be ſupplied from the country where they were encamped; but that the Scots army could now be well ſupplied from Scotland without interruption, and were capable of ſtarving the Engliſh army. The majority of the Scots nobility inſiſted, that, ſeeing King James had waited for them in his camp upon the firſt challenge, and the Engliſh had not advanced nor fulfilled their threatnings, the King's honour was unblemiſhed and quite vindicated; and, if he retreated, it was prudent and ſafe. If after, he ſhould think fit to ſtand an engagement with the Engliſh, it was in all reſpects more ſafe and convenient for his army, who, in their own country, could take the enemy at all diſadvantages. The challenge repeated.

brother Henry King of England would engage to draw off his army, and deſiſt from all hoſtilities againſt the King of France, then his Majeſty of Scotland would ſtop his march, and ſubmit all differences betwixt England and Scotland to the friendly determination of ſome neighbouring powers, or in the way of negociation and treaty for reſtoring peace to both kingdoms.

This article was an indication of King James's peaceable and equitable ſpirit; but, from the face of the whole, it appears that the Scots nation were ſtrict to their honour and faith, yea nice and ſcrupulous to a fault, in fulfilling their engagements to France; but trace all the periods and alterations in the hiſtory of Scotland, you will find it evident to demonſtration, that the French never further regarded nor attended to the welfare and happineſs of Scotland, than as it anſwered for their own purpoſe and advantage; and, in the event, the Scots nation were always loſers by their ſcrupulous and ſtrict nicety in their regard to their honour, and to the accompliſhment of their ſtipulations with France.

The formality of proclaiming the declaration of war being over, the King got his army aſſembled with great expedition. The general rendezvous of the troops was at Linlithgow: and the King, being naturally of a devout and religious mind, went to St. Michael's church at Linlithgow, the day before the army begun their march, in order to implore the divine aid and favour to his deſigns, and to attend the celebration of high maſs, with great pomp and ſolemnity.

The King was ſurrounded with the nobility of the court and a grand retinue; yet, an ancient man, of a ſedate and reverend preſence, forced himſelf through the crouds, and even through the nobility in waiting, while his Majeſty was at his devotions; and, approaching to the King, he leaned over the ſeat of the canons of the church, where his Majeſty was, and addreſſed the King thus:

The King diſſuaded from the war by a ſuppoſed prophet.

"SIR,

"I am ſent to deſire and entreat of you to deſiſt from your intended expedition; for you will not ſucceed in your enterprize. I am likewiſe charged to warn you, if you are obſtinately reſolute to march your army, not to be under the direction or influence of women; for, if you are, you ſhall not proſper."

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The influence whoever of the French ambaſſador was too powerful with the King. He inſinuated to his Majeſty, how ſhameful a retreat would be at this time, and how unworthy of the bravery and ſpirit of the Scots nation. But the Earls of Douglaſs and Angus wiſely ſet forth to the King, that it was his Majeſty's intereſt to ſtudy the ſafety and welfare of his army, and not to gratify the ſelfiſh views of the French, who would not regard the effuſion of ſo much blood (as muſt happen) provided, they did but diſtreſs and divide the forces of England. The Earl of Angus told his Majeſty ſome ſeaſonable truths in council on this occaſion. He affirmed, with great juſtice, that the preſent intereſt and buſineſs of the Scots army was to exhauſt the Engliſh by expence, want of proviſions, and other ſtratagems, to diminiſh their army by wearying them out with delay, ſo as to excite a deſertion in their troops: that the King, having hitherto ſucceſsfully demoliſhed many of their forts and garriſons, and enriched his army with conſiderable booty, had done enough for this ſeaſon to gratify the French, and to convince his enemies of his bravery and conduct: that, by refreſhing and reinforcing his army, his Majeſty would be capable to act more effectually to annoy and reduce the Engliſh next campaign, if there were occaſion for it: that the buſineſs of a true and experienced general was to obtain victory more by wiſdom and good conduct, than by arms; and this would always ſecure the affections of the army to their captain general.

The King determines on an engagement.

But notwithſtanding all theſe ſtrong and convincing reaſons, offered the King to divert him from hazarding a battle on this occaſion, his Majeſty in council acquainted them all, that fight he would! He had taken a ſolemn oath, and would not retract from it; and therefore, notwithſtanding who might forſake him, he would riſque all rather than be branded with cowardice by the Engliſh.

The Earl of Douglaſs, with diſcontent, departed from his Majeſty, and withdrew his men; and others of the nobility followed his example.

This was the King's greateſt weakneſs, that he was obſtinately tenacious and reſolute in whatever he fixed upon. There was no changing of his ſentiments; and therefore the next thing the nobility and generals were forced to have recourſe to, was to make their diſpoſitions in ſuch a wiſe and well-concerted manner, as to be capable to charge the enemy with vigour; and, being far inferior in number, to range their order of battle, ſo as to make up the deficiency of numbers by an accurate and artful diſpoſition of their forces.

Quits his ſtrong camp, and advances againſt the Engliſh.

The King accordingly marched his army out of his ſtrong camp, to advance nigher a plain, upon a naked and open eminence in full view of his enemy. The ground, King James moved to, tho' a hill (call'd Flodden-hill) was quite expoſed and defenceleſs all round. He concealed his march from the Engliſh by ſetting fire to all the huts and booths, built round the camp for the ſhelter of his troops from the heavy rains, which had lately fallen. The ſmoak of this fire intercepted the ſight of the armies from each other, ſo that the Scots army had got upon Flodden-hill* before the Engliſh were aware of their motions.

The Earl of Surry, as ſoon as he received intelligence of this, (immediately with a party of horſe reconnoitring the enemy and their ſituation all round) diſcovered the weakneſs of the Scots army, and the expoſed ſituation of their encampment. Therefore, having held a ſhort council of war with his general officers, they reſolved to form their army directly, and advance up Flodden-hill to the Scots army. The Scots being on an elevated ground, and the hill on all ſides expoſed, their army was in danger of being incloſed by the ſuperior numbers of the Engliſh; and the Scots artillery, being planted in front of the enemy upon a height far above the plain on which the Engliſh advanced, could not be levelled ſo as to do the Engliſh army any conſiderable damage; for all the artillery pointed over the enemies heads.

In this poſition, the Scots upon the hill and the Engliſh at it's foot on the plain, on the banks of the Till, three miles above Stannington-bridge and near Milfield, or Milford-ford, where the river was paſſable for horſe and foot, drew up their armies. The Scots army formed their center with the King in perſon at their head: Alexander Gordon Earl of Huntley, commanded the right wing, conſiſting of choice men; ſupported by the Earls of Crawford and Montroſe, with their men. The left wing was led on by the brave Gilleſpy Campbell Earl of Argyle, and Matthew Stewart Earl of Lenox; ſupported by the M'Kenzies and M'Leans, with the flower of the Highland clans. Adam Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, with the nobility and gentry of Lothian, commanded the corps de reſerve; with orders to ſupport the center, where the King charged the enemy.

The Engliſh army formed double, becauſe of the advantage of their ſuperior numbers: ſo that they appeared as two armies; one in the van, and the other in the rear to ſupport the front. The diviſion in the front of the enemy was ranged in the following manner: Sir Thomas Howard, admiral, who had come over with 6000 men from King Henry, led on the center; Sir Edmund Howard his brother commanded the right wing in front; and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable the left. Theſe wings were ſupported by the Lord Dacres, with his men, on the right; Sir Edward Stanley on the left, with his battalions; and the Earl of Surry, with the body of the nobility and the beſt troops, in the center of the rear.

The engagement.

The Earl of Huntley, with the Gordons, begun the attack, and bore down the hill with ſuch irreſiſtible rapidity upon the Engliſh on the left, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Conſtable, that immediately this wing of the Engliſh was put into confuſion, and ſo hardly preſſed, they found

* Flodden-hill is betwixt the town of Ouler and the Tweed in Northumberland, and on the North ſide of the river Blich, and is waſhed by the Till.

found it impoſſible to rally: but the remains of this wing were too cloſely and far purſued by the Earl of Huntley and his men; who, upon their return, found the whole army on both ſides cloſely engaged ſword in hand, and the Scots upon the left quite broke. The reaſon of which was; the Highlanders, always eager and keen to be engaged when in the field of action, had, upon ſight of the rout of the Engliſh right wing by the Gordons, received ſuch a fluſh of ſpirits, that, without regard to the brave Lords of Argyle and Lenox, who were their generals, they ruſhed in upon Sir Edmund Howard on the right of the Engliſh, ſword and target, and ſo paid away the Engliſh jackets, that Sir Edmund Howard was not capable to ſuſtain the charge. The Highlanders made great havock in this wing, and had certainly taken Sir Edmund priſoner, had he not been timely relieved by one Heron and my Lord Dacres with his men, who ſtood the attack, and renewed the fight with great obſtinacy. The Highlanders not being under the direction of their generals the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, but fired with too high an emulation for glory and victory, did not obey their orders nor obſerve due diſcipline; and being open and expoſed, in an irregular and not military diſpoſition as to their ranks, ſuffered greatly by the regularity of the Engliſh in their attacks. At length Sir Edward Stanley, wheeling about, got round Flodden-hill, attacked the brave Highlanders in flank and rear, while the Earl of Surry, with the center of the Engliſh, charged them in front; ſo as to cut them almoſt all to pieces.

The temerity of the Highlanders fatal to them.

Upon ſeeing the Highlanders ſo overpowered, King James charged the Earl of Surry, (with Latimer Scroup and Sir Stephen Bull) who led on the Engliſh center, with ſuch incredible bravery, that victory ſeemed for ſome time inclined to the Scots; but the centers of both armies being now ſo warmly engaged, the Earl of Bothwell, with all the prime nobility of Scotland, led on their corps de reſerve to ſupport King James now in the heat of the action. The action upon this became general, and proved moſt bloody and fatal; both ſides, with great obſtinacy, maintaining their ground till night ſeparated them.

Victory doubtful.

Both armies retired in the dark from the field, leaving a moſt frightful ſight of dead bodies; among which, were many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland. Here was a terrible carnage of brave men! The nobility killed in the field, of the Scots nation, were, Alexander Stewart the King's natural ſon, Primate of St. Andrew's and Biſhop of the Iſles; the Abbots of Inch Jeffray and Kilwinning; the Earls of Crawford, Morton, Argyle, Lenox, Errol, Kathneſs, Bothwell, and Athol; the Lords Elphinſton, Erſkin, Forbes, Roſs, Lovet, St. Clair, Semple, Borthwick, and the Lord Maxwell with his three brothers. The Scots gentry killed were, Balgony Blackatour, Borchard, Sir Alexander Seaton, Mackenzie and Maclean; together with George Maſter of Angus, and Sir William Douglaſs of Glanbervie; with nigh two hundred gentlemen more their vaſſals. The numbers of the Engliſh ſlain were not inferior; but they happened to be moſtly private ſoldiers.

Night finiſhes the conflict.

On this bloody and fatal day, Alexander Lord Hume behaved not only as a coward, but with the juſt ſuſpicion and imputation of treachery; for when the Earl of Huntley ſent his aid de camp to him to come to ſupport the center, wherein the King was hotly engaged, his anſwer was below all contempt. He ſent my Lord Huntley word, "he thought him the beſt man, on ſuch a day, who could ſave himſelf." It is currently aſſerted, and by the moſt authentic hiſtorians believed, that Lord Hume was in concert with the Engliſh in his behaviour and conduct! His men were the firſt who next morning ranſacked the field of battle for plunder, ſtript the dead, and then departed without burying any of them, tho' their own countrymen. After they were gone, my Lord Dacres came up with a party of horſe to view the field, and the ſlain of both ſides. The bodies which had not been ſtripped were ſtripped and buried; and the Lord Dacres gave orders to carry off directly for Berwick, the braſs guns of the Scots artillery, which had been left on the field of battle the night before, and now deſerted by their own men. There were ſeven braſs guns of the ſame diameter and weight of metal, which the Scots called the ſeven ſiſters.

Lord Hume's miſbehaviour.

The King's body was not to be found in the field, by either Engliſh or Scots; tho' Alexander Lord Elphinſton, who reſembled the King greatly in countenance and ſtature, and was likewiſe in armour, was found upon the field.

The King miſſing.

Scots and Engliſh hiſtorians are not agreed about the place nor manner of the King's death. It is moſt probable, that he was deſtroyed in his flight. He is ſaid to have been going between Kelſo and Dunce; and alſo, that the Humes, having been traitors and villains to their national intereſts, in this fatal Battle of Flodden, meeting his Majeſty in his retreat and confuſion; and being juſtly afraid of their being brought to condign puniſhment, by the King, for their treachery, they had deſtroyed and cut him off, to ſecure themſelves from further enquiry. This is the more probable, becauſe this tribe had been accuſtomed for ſome years paſt to fiſh beſt in troubled water; and took the opportunity to make their account always in confuſion and national troubles. Tho' the preſumptions and ſuſpicions be ſtrong againſt the Lord Hume's men, in this affair; yet there is no full proof nor direct evidence to fix the completion of the tragical and villainous ſcene upon them.

Various conjectures concerning his Majeſty's death.

Lord Hume had ſome raſcally fellows of his dependents, capable and ready for any vile enterprize; and his father, with his friends, had been concerned againſt the late King's father; yea, had been acceſſary to his death: ſo that this faction ſeemed to be a brood of regicides.

After

After this fatal action of Flodden-hill, one Ker, an impudent fellow, and a creature of the Earl of Hume's, taking advantage from the preſent troubled and diſturbed ſtate of the kingdom, diſlodged, in a violent manner, the Abbot of Kelſo from his houſe and abbey, which he would not have dared to have done had his Majeſty been alive.

There was another of Lord Hume's followers, one Carbreth, who, ſome years after, in public company, talking of the Humes, ſaid, "Tho' John, now governor of Scotland, had perſecuted the Humes; yet he might be humbled: for he himſelf had been one of ſix who had made the late King James know he was a man, and behov'd to die as well as other men."

Lord Hume's party ſtrongly ſuſpected of making away with the King

All theſe circumſtances collected, and preſumptions compared, made the Lord Hume always ſuſpected of foul practices on this occaſion.

The ignorant part of the common people were impreſſed with an imagination of the King's being alive; and that he had only, from the affliction of this fatal defeat, retired upon a pilgrimage to viſit the holy ſepulchre in Paleſtine.

This fatal Battle of Flodden-hill happened in the 39th year of his Majeſty's age, and of his reign the 25th year, the 9th of September, 1513; or, according to ſome Engliſh hiſtorians, 1514.

King James's iſſue.

King James left behind him, James his third ſon, but eldeſt alive, who ſucceeded to the throne; Alexander, born after the King's death, but died in his infancy; Alexander his natural ſon, who was killed at Flodden-hill, and who was the favourite of Eraſmus, and admired by all men of learning; and Margaret, a natural daughter, by Lord Drummond's daughter, who was married to the Earl of Huntley.

The inſolent behaviour of the Earl of Surry. His ignominy.

Thomas Howard Earl of Surry, upon this victory, conducted himſelf with great inſolence to the Scots; which made his name hateful to that nation. In order to triumph over their loſs and calamity, he contrived a new badge for all his men to wear upon the left ſleeves of their coat; viz. a white lion (which was his own coat of arms) trampling upon the red lion, and with his paws tearing the red lion to pieces. But it was remarkable of him, and his whole family, that they ended their days in infamy, diſgrace and contempt.

Before I paſs from the hiſtory of this great Monarch, I cannot but take notice of what Buchanan affirms for certain fact; that he was acquainted with one Laurence Talifer, who was one of his Majeſty's ſervants at the battle of Flodden-hill, and was in the field in the time of the action: that he was eye witneſs to the King his maſter's going off on horſeback toward the Tweed; but never heard any more of his Majeſty. Buchanan further affirms this Talifer to have been an honeſt and good man, whoſe relation he could depend upon; and that he had heard him often in company repeat this as undoubted truth. This evidence increaſes the ſuſpicion of ſome dirty work among the Humes on this occaſion.

King James's death regretted by the whole nation.

King James was ſo much the darling of his people while alive, that the manner and ſurprize of his death drew a cloud of univerſal ſorrow and ſincere grief over the whole kingdom, among all ranks. The King's generous, compaſſionate and merciful conduct had rooted the ſtrongeſt love to him in the minds of his people. His ſtrict, yet equitable, diſtribution of juſtice to all, made even his enemies admire, love and fear him.

His great weakneſs and failure was his overtowering deſire of fame and ambition after popularity, which heightened his bounty and encreaſed his generoſity and expence even to extravagancy; but the poor were always the objects of his compaſſion and care. The ſorrow of the nation for ſo great a loſs appeared in the countenance of all his ſubjects of whatever rank.

His Character.

King James was a great encourager of learning and the politer arts, and had an excelling genius for literature, and always promoted learned men as he had opportunity. In the year 1500, which was the twelfth year of his Majeſty's reign, he granted a patent to William Elphinſton, Biſhop of Aberdeen, for founding and endowing a college with great privileges and very extenſive immunities at Aberdeen; and made conſiderable acceſſions to the revenues of this new erected ſeminary of learning. His Majeſty was of the ſtricteſt faith, honour and hoſpitality; but eaſily gained and captivated by the charms of a beautiful woman. In this trap he had been twice taken: one inſtance was in the caſe of Jane Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Caſſills, whom he fell in love with as he was upon his pilgrimage to St. Ninian's; and the latter inſtance was, that of my Lady Foord, with whom the King became ſo enamoured, that he neglected the care and proper management of the operations of his army againſt the Engliſh; becoming inactive, thro' his amorous dotage upon another man's wife. This is an evident proof, that Kings do not ſcruple to diſobey the moral command, the obedience of which they enforce on their ſubjects; and ſhews us, how a King, who pollutes the pleaſures which are the property of another man's bed, becomes trifling, inactive, low and inattentive to the promoting the glory and honour of his nation; regarding nothing higher than his amour and intrigue with another man's wife. His projecting, enterpriſing and lofty genius had a fall; and his deſigns failed of ſucceſs. This, in the cloſe of his reign, blotted the glory and luſtre of it; and, the people aſcribed the overthrow at Flodden-hill, to the judgment of providence upon his licentious and unjuſtifiable pleaſures, at a time of ſuch univerſal and national danger.

King

King James was of a moſt ſparkling and lively wit; of a pleaſant and comely preſence; eaſy of acceſs; meek and mild to all; excelled in horſemanſhip, fencing and ſhooting; of a robuſt, healthy conſtitution, could undergo any hardſhips, and not affected by weather; liberal and great in all his largeſſes; free and unaffected in his deportment to the nobility, and kind to the diſtreſſed. He was inflexible and obſtinate in whatever he reſolved upon; and no danger was ſo frightful as to deter him from facing it. This variety of different and many valuable qualities, uniting in the perſon of King James, made him ſo much the greater favourite of his people, and his death the more univerſally regretted; becauſe few of his predeceſſors had ſhewn any ſuch great and royal endowments of mind: and therefore his memory remained ſacred in the eſteem of all.

The Queen of France dies.

Queen Ann of France, a few days after ſhe received the news of King James's death, died of grief; as being the chief inſtrument who decoyed and importuned the King to this fatal expedition.

# JAMES the FIFTH,

## The HUNDRED and SIXTH KING.

IN the year of the world 5484, and after Chriſt 1513, James the Vth ſucceeded to his father's, throne, in the year 1844 after the foundation, and beginning of the monarchy of Scotland. This King was not full two years old, when King James his father was killed.

Upon the court's recovering a little from their ſurprize, ſorrow, and confuſion, by the late overthrow, the loſs of their valuable King, and ſo many of the firſt nobility and gentry of Scotland; the Lords, commons and clergy, were directly ſummoned to meet at Stirling, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, and to ſettle the government of the kingdom. All the chief officers of ſtate and privy councillors lay in Flodden-field; ſo that the nation, being ſtript of her great and wiſe men, and none left but women and boys to rule, wore a gloomy aſpect, and appeared in a very dangerous ſituation to all conſiderate perſons. The artful clergy, who watch all opportunities and means to engroſs or enlarge their power (of whatever denomination they be) thought now was their time to ſtep in, when the honeſt and beſt part of the kingdom were deſtroyed, to hold the reins of power and government; and, as they love meddling, they begun now to fiſh in troubled water, and to graſp at ſuperiority, to enhance all the power and riches they could, by increaſing their revenues, and multiplying their preferments. However, before they came to any height in their factious practices, the parliament being met at Stirling, directly ordered the coronation of the infant King James, by the title of James the Vth of Scotland; and upon the 22d of February, the young King was crowned, 1514. The King's will then was opened and read in parliament; by which the guardianſhip of the young King, and the regency of the kingdom, was veſted in the perſon of the Queen dowager, while ſhe remained ſingle and unmarried; which ſettlement of the late King's was agreed to by parliament, and ratified.

*The ſelfiſh views of the clergy.*

*James V. crowned.*

*The Queen appointed regent.*

The parliament, having given the neceſſary and uſual ſecurities, by taking the oaths to the young King and the Queen regent, and ſhe being acknowledged as ſuch by the three eſtates of the Kingdom, entered upon the exerciſe of government.

The Queen dowager, being in great apprehenſions of danger from England, to prevent therefore any invaſion or attack from that nation, ſhe ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to Henry her brother; with the moſt dutiful and ſubmiſſive letters, imploring King Henry's tender and generous compaſſion to a widow Queen, and an orphan King; and repreſenting her deſolate condition, and, being now big with child, ſhe earneſtly entreated, that King Henry would deſiſt from any enterprize or deſign againſt Scotland.

*A truce with England.*

King Henry's anſwer to the Queen his ſiſter's letters was; that King James's death was to be imputed to his own indiſcreet raſhneſs, and ill grounded kindneſs to France; but that he regretted his death as his ally, and would willingly put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and remain in a peaceable condition with the Scots during the King's being under age; and, if the Scots would live in peace, they ſhould have it; but he expected the Scots would not venture to diſturb or plunder the frontier of his kingdom, but cultivate friendſhip and good neighbourhood.

This ſoft and ſatisfactory anſwer, from the King of England to his ſiſter the Queen regent of Scotland, greatly compoſed matters in her mind. But in a little time the government of a woman and an infant King, not having ſufficient authority, begun not to ſit eaſy on the turbulent minds of the factious and avaricious clergy, and the ambitious young nobility. The diſpute and firſt flames of faction appeared among the fatted and dignified clergy, about the chief preferments; and as they are the moth-worms of ſtate, which gender putrefaction inſenſibly by their ſecret arts and holy fraud; ſo they, in the preſent depreſſed and lamentable ſtate of the kingdom, carried their party-intereſts to a great height about the ſee of St. Andrew, now vacant by the death of Alexander Stewart, late primate; who was killed at Flodden-hill.

*Contentions about the ſee of St. Andrew's.*

Andrew Foreman, who had been the chief agent for the French, in engaging the Scots nation to war againſt England, and thereby had almoſt ruined Scotland, by French intereſt, tho' already Archbiſhop of Bruges and Biſhop of Murray, had procured a bull from Pope Julius, as his legate, to ſucceed to the ſee of St. Andrew's. Gavin Douglaſs, uncle to the Earl of Angus, and now Biſhop of Dunkeld, ſupported by the intereſt of the Douglaſſes, was the next candidate, and was preſented by the Queen. The third candidate was, John Hepburn

burn Prior of St. Andrew's, elected to the archiepiſcopal ſee by the Dean and chapter of Canons in the old form of election, and ſupported by the intereſt of the Lords Hales and Bothwell, with many of the other nobility. Hepburn's intereſt was ſuch, that none would venture to publiſh or proclaim the Pope's bull at Edinburgh, or any public place, for fear of the nobility; till at length the Lord Hume, by a proper gratification, was engaged to ſupport it's authority in favour of Foreman.

The gratification engaged to be given to Alexander Lord Hume was the rich abby of Coldingham; which, in preceding reigns, had been the occaſion of ſuch fatal contention among the Scots nobility. This abby or priory of Coldingham, was given on this occaſion to David Hume, my Lord's youngeſt brother, in oppoſition to my Lord Hales and all his powerful intereſt: upon which, my Lord Hume prevailed to have the Pope's bull proclaimed at the market-croſs of Edinburgh; which occaſioned great heats and faction among ſome noble families. Several of the nobility had made an offer of the Primacy of St. Andrew's to William Elphinſton Biſhop of Aberdeen; but he declined it; and, being of a very advanced age, wore out thro' age and infirmities, he ſoon after died at Edinburgh.

Differences among the nobility.

The nobility, ſoon after this, begun to diſagree and fall out about their offices and preferments in the ſtate. Alexander Lord Gordon, becauſe of his extenſive juriſdiction and ſuperiority, having at this time the command almoſt of all to the North of the Forth, imagined he ought to be looked upon as a perſon of the greateſt conſequence in the ſtate; but my Lord Hume, having the intire management of all to the South of the Forth, looked upon himſelf now as the firſt man of the kingdom; and ſo, thro' the ambition, pride, and interferings of the nobility, the authority and regard of the Queen daily decreaſed, they being not governable by a woman. The diſcontent of the people increaſed at the Queen, becauſe of the encouragement ſhe gave to the addreſſes and courtſhip of the young Earl of Angus.

The Queen falls in love with the young Earl of Angus.

This young Lord was a very engaging perſon, of the moſt beautiful and comely preſence, and of a lively wit, fit to catch the affections even of a Princeſs, being a man of ſtately ſtature and handſomely made. The Queen, having fixed her affections upon him, was determined to make him her huſband; becauſe ſhe found herſelf uncapable, without aſſiſtance, to maintain and ſupport the dignity and authority of her rank, as regent of the kingdom. Many of the nobility begun to ſhew their diſregard and contempt of female power and authority, on this occaſion.

This, together with the irreconcileable difference now flaming betwixt the Hepburns and the Humes, on account of the diſappointment of the former as to the preferment of their friend to the Archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, occaſioned great convulſions in the kingdom; Alexander Lord Hume being a man of unbounded ambition, and now of ſuch extenſive influence, and armed with an opulent fortune, projected no leſs than the leading and dictating the whole affairs of ſtate: but tho' he had taken part with Foreman to promote him, by the proclamation of the Pope's bull, to the Primacy of St. Andrew's; yet he could not effect the putting of Andrew Foreman in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and places belonging to the archiepiſcopal ſee of St. Andrew's: for John Hepburn, Prior, the oppoſing candidate, had taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle and abbey of St. Andrew's, and fortified it; and having furniſhed the place with a ſtrong garriſon and all neceſſary ſtores, he reſolved to defend it in perſon againſt all attacks.

This diſconcerted my Lord Hume for ſome time: at laſt my Lord, finding he could not eaſily compaſs his ends by force and violence, came to a compremiſe and agreement with John Hepburn Prior of St. Andrew's; wherein it was ſtipulated, that Andrew Foreman ſhould be inducted to the full and peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſee of St. Andrews, and all the palaces, revenues and endowments belonging to it; in conſideration of which, Andrew Foreman ſhould reſign his Biſhoprick of Murray, and remit all the paſt revenues of St. Andrew's, levied and appropriated by John Hepburn the Prior; and that the Primate Andrew Foreman, who now was a man of immenſe fortune, ſhould allow the Prior annually 3000 French crowns to divide among his poor relations.

Andrew Foreman ſucceeds in the Primacy.

Andrew Foreman, now Archbiſhop, being likewiſe Archbiſhop of Bruges, and always in French pay, as their moſt faithful and active agent in promoting the French intereſt at the court of Scotland, could well afford ſuch a large ſlice, to fix himſelf in the Primacy of St. Andrew's. This matter being ſettled however did not compoſe the nation; for the Queen being delivered in Stirling caſtle of a ſon, who was named Alexander, and baptized by the Biſhop of Cathneſs Abbot of Dumfermling and Archdeacon of St. Andrews; after her Majeſty was perfectly recovered, ſhe begun to be a little gay and juvenile in her affections. Her longings for the Earl of Angus, who was in all reſpects a fine gentleman, revived with greater warmth than ever: and, thro' the blindneſs with which her love to him had affected her, regardleſs and forgetful of the forfeiture ſhe incurred by the late King's will, both of the regency of the kingdom and the guardianſhip of her ſon, if ſhe married; her Majeſty, thro' impatience and impulſe of her warm love to the Earl of Angus, like a fond and kind-hearted Engliſh lady of ſocial affections, could remain no longer alone and ſolitary; but without ever conſulting with her brother King Henry of England, or giving him any previous notice, or taking the opinion of the nobility of her own court, ſhe hurries her marriage with the Earl of Angus; and, immediately after, makes an attempt to transfer the regency over intirely in his perſon, and to his adminiſtration.

The Queen marries Lord Angus.

But

The Queen diveſted of the regency.

But no ſooner was the marriage declared and made known, than the caballing nobility began to form their pretenſions, and to make their intereſt for ſucceeding to the government and regency of the kingdom; which now the Queen, by her marriage, was diveſted of. The Queen uſed her greateſt efforts, both in parliament and council, to have the national choice and approbation fixed upon the Earl of Angus her huſband: but this was vigorouſly oppoſed by two oppoſite and contending very powerful parties.

When the parliament met upon this extraordinary event, to deliberate upon the nomination and ſettlement of a new regency, Biſhop Elphinſton (who ſurvived this but a very ſhort time) in Tears addreſſed himſelf to the Lords and commons, bewailing the loſs of ſo many uſeful and valuable nobility at Flodden-hill, and the mournful conſequences now affecting the whole kingdom: that there ſcarce remained one of the nation fit to hold the reins of government: that the King's extraordinary expences, and the Queen's magnificent jointure, had quite exhauſted and impoveriſhed the treaſury and the kingdom; and that following the dictates of France had brought Scotland on her knees. This and all the misfortunes of the late war with England, the wiſe and judicious part of the nation imputed to the French intereſt in the Scots council. The chief promoter of French game in Scotland was Andrew Foreman, a crafty well-turned prieſt, who valued not his native land, nor it's diſhonour and the effuſion of ſo much valuable blood, if he could ſerve in his own the French intereſt; by which mean traffic and roguiſh prieſtcraft, he had amaſſed large ſums of money, and was now elevated to the Primate's chair in Scotland.

Three different parties contend for the regency.

The chief parties in Scotland at this time were:

The Queen's, for the Earl of Angus;

The Earl of Arran Lord Hamilton's party; and

The Lord Hume's, who ſupported the intereſt of John Duke of Albany, Couſin to the deceaſed King, now in France.

The French prevail,

The French faction in the kingdom, at this juncture, was the moſt powerful and numerous. Though the nation very lately had received recent and bleeding wounds, from their compliance and ſimple ſubmiſſion to French meaſures; yet, ſuch was the national infatuation at this time, that the leading and moſt powerful men of the kingdom would hear of none to ſucceed to the regency of Scotland, but John Duke of Albany, recommended and promoted by the French King's intereſt.

This Duke of Albany was Son to Alexander Duke of Albany (Brother to James the third) who died in France. This Duke was a native of France, and, when he came over to Scotland, could ſpeak neither Engliſh nor Scots. But, before I narrate the manner in which he was brought over, my reader will want to know the reaſon why Lord Hamilton Earl of Arran, who was ſon to Mary Stewart, daughter to James the third, by James Lord Hamilton, to whom ſhe was married; why this Earl of Arran, I ſay, who was a native of Scotland, and of the ſame degree of blood-royal, was not choſen regent nor ſupported in his pretenſions by any conſiderable body of the nation. The anſwer is: his conduct in the management and loſs of the great and ſtrong fleet, he was ſent with by King James to aſſiſt Queen Ann of France, had rendered his name hateful and noxious to the kingdom; as a man who betrayed the truſt repoſed in him by his maſter King James, by holding traiterous correſpondence with Henry of England, then an enemy to Scotland, to the degrading the honour of the King and nation, and putting them to immenſe loſs and expence; and, being likewiſe ſuſpected of favouring the Queen's and the Engliſh intereſt, he was become quite obnoxious to the French faction at the court of Scotland: therefore, he was overpowered, and obliged to drop his pretenſions though ſtrong.

This was the Lord Hamilton, who was created Earl of Arran, and had the Iſle of Arran given him by King James, upon negociating his marriage with Queen Margaret of England. This made the Earl of Arran always in favour with the King of England and Queen Margaret, and hated by the Scots nobility of the French faction.

The chief diſpute therefore, concerning the regency of Scotland, (laying aſide the Earl of Arran) run betwixt the Queen's party, whom the Douglaſſes all joined, and the Lord Hume with his adherents, the Primate of St. Andrew's, and many perſons of diſtinction, who were inveterate enemies to the Engliſh, and all who favoured any connection with them. The parliament held long debates upon this as an affair upon which the future welfare of the kingdom depended, and the choice of a good, wiſe and faithful governor or regent, was the great mean to recover and reſtore the kingdom, and all ranks in it, from the low and depreſſed condition they at preſent appeared to be in; and, if they failed in their choice, they brought irrecoverable ruin upon the kingdom.

The Lord Hume, with the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and the majority of the Biſhops, inſiſted upon the governorſhip and regency of the kingdom to be given to John Duke of Albany, now at the court of France; and that he ſhould be ſent for over to be placed in that dignity. Upon this, great debates and heats aroſe betwixt the Douglaſſes and the Humes. Alexander Lord Hume declared to the parliament and council, that, if the meaſure he propoſed was not agreed to, he would in perſon go to France and have the Duke of Albany over with him.

Lord Hume's inſolence.

Lord

Lord Hume's zeal for the Duke of Albany,

Lord Hume and all his aſſociates appeared violently ſanguine and zealous for the Duke of Albany, for no reaſons of national and public concern, tho' the good of the kingdom was the pretext. The real grounds and motives of my Lord Hume's haughty and tyrannical behaviour to the other Lords and commons, were, that having by his power and his vaſt fortune, become formidable to the government, he did not chuſe to have any power transferred nor any acceſſion made to his enemies. He had already found, that the Queen's marriage to the Earl of Angus had brought over the Clidſdale and Annandale men to the Douglaſſes, and to forſake his meaſures. He dreaded the Queen's reſentment for his oppoſition to her meaſures, if the Earl of Angus her huſband prevailed in his projected ſyſtem; and, having the Engliſh intereſt always to ſupport him, the Lord Hume apprehended himſelf and all his friends in danger of being made ſacrifices to their wrath. Therefore, the Lord Hume, with Andrew Foreman Primate of St. Andrew's, determined to have the Duke of Albany over, and conſtituted regent at all events; and intimated this their fixed reſolution in parliament.

The nation at this time being afraid of civil commotions, and foreſeeing danger by reſiſting the motion of the Duke of Albany's being ſent for, the parliament agreed to put it to the vote; and, having put the queſtion, by the influence of French artifice, it was carried to invite John Duke of Albany over to Scotland: in conſequence of which, the parliament appointed Andrew Wood, of Largs in Cunningham, as King at arms, and ſome other gentlemen, to go over to France, in name of the parliament and kingdom of Scotland, and to invite John Duke of Albany over, to accept of the regency and government of the kingdom during the King's minority. At the ſame time the Duke of Albany received letters from the Lord Hume, preſſing him to haſte over to Scotland: but to ſharpen the edge and deſire of the people of Scotland for him, the Duke of Albany excuſed himſelf for the preſent year; becauſe he was called upon by his friend the King of France, to attend the ſolemnity of his marriage to Princeſs Mary King Henry of England's youngeſt ſiſter; the marriage betwixt Lewis and this Princeſs being agreed upon.

who is invited to Scotland.

The King at arms returned with this meſſage, accompanied by Sir Anthony Darcé le Sieur de la Beauté, who was inſtructed to make certain demands and propoſitions to the court of Scotland:

The Duke's demands previous to his aſſent.

Firſt, relating to the form of government which he ſhould obſerve and ſupport.
Secondly, as to his guards, his garriſons, and palaces. And,
Thirdly, concerning his being reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of all his father's honours, eſtates, and preferments.

Theſe demands and propoſitions were all favourably received, and as chearfully yielded to, by the parliament of Scotland, as they were earneſtly ſought for by the Duke of Albany. In conſequence of theſe conceſſions, direct orders were iſſued out to deliver the caſtle of Dunbar to the Sieur de la Beauté Sir Anthony Darcé, into which he put a garriſon of French.

Theſe things being over, the parliament ſent over a ſecond embaſſy to haſten the Duke of Albany's departure for Scotland. The ambaſſadors were, Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran; and James Ogilvy, Abbot of Aberbrothock; attended by a herald.

They were moſt graciouſly received by the French King, who was highly pleaſed to find thus his ſyſtem and deſigns take place in Scotland. The Duke of Albany was fitted out with a magnificent equipage and a grand retinue, for his public entry into Scotland, at the expence of the French King; who likewiſe ordered the Duke to be eſcorted with eight ſhips of force, and land forces on board.

Arrives in Scotland.

The Duke appeared on the Weſt coaſt of Scotland in the month of May; and, having landed at Dunbarton the 20th, 1515, he proceeded, by eaſy journies, amidſt the acclamations of vaſt multitudes, for the city of Edinburgh.

The Duke was met by the Queen upon the road, and was attended to the city by a very great concourſe of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who came to pay their compliments of congratulation on his arrival in Scotland.

Upon the Duke of Albany's arrival at Edinburgh, the parliament, which had been prorogued, was ſummoned to meet; and, accordingly having met, they ſettled the Duke in the regency and government of the kingdom. The Duke accepted of the government, and took the oaths of fidelity to the King and the kingdom; when both he and every member of the Lords and commons were mutually ſworn to ſupport each other in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in the defence of the rights, properties and lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

Inveſted with the regency.

On this occaſion, the Duke, by order of parliament, was publicly proclaimed Duke of Albany, Earl of March and governor of the kingdom, untill the King came of age. After this the parliament granted a patent to James, natural ſon to the deceaſed King, to be Earl of Murray. Then they enacted many good laws for the eſtabliſhment of peace and proſperity in the kingdom.

The nation appeared now in a ſettled and compoſed ſtate. Juſtice was adminiſtered with impartiality; and infamous perſons were baniſhed from the court. The governor began his adminiſtration with great ſplendor, and many acts of generous benevolence. To make himſelf known to the people he made a tour thro' all the cities and chief towns of Scotland; and,

The Duke's popularity.

by his affable, generous and eaſy behaviour, remarkably gained the minds and affections of the people. But, being a native of France, and wholly unacquainted with the conſtitution, laws, genius, cuſtoms, and manners of all ranks, and of the kingdom, he was forced to receive information and inſtruction from ſuch of the nobility as were repreſented to him the fitteſt for perſons of honour and integrity. But here he was forced to take many things from falſe repreſentations, and was expoſed to the arts and craft of cunning and deſigning men. A chief one, and by his profeſſion perfectly qualified in the art of inſinuating himſelf into favour and regard, was John Hepburn Prior of St. Andrew's.

Hepburn adviſes him,

This Prior, with great addreſs, inſinuated himſelf ſo greatly into the governor's favour, as to be in a little time his chief favourite. He ſo engaged the eſteem and attention of the governor, that he conſulted the opinion of the prieſt in all national affairs, as to the laws, the conſtitution of the kingdom, the genius of the people, their manners, their cuſtoms, and different characters. John Hepburn inſtructed the governor in all the characters of the nobility and gentry, to enable him how to act and behave towards them, and in what manner to govern and counteract ſome ſeditious and turbulent ſpirits. In this he was of ſuch ſingular ſervice to the governor, that he made himſelf neceſſary; but as he was not a man of great nicety as to integrity, impartiality, and candor in giving characters, it is evident, he had a fair opportunity of doing miſchief, without being obſerved; and this was found to be the fact. He

and attempts Foreman's ruin.

uſed all poſſible prieſtly artifice to diſengage the affections of the governor from Foreman, Primate of St. Andrew's; by giving him ſuch impreſſions as might produce both hatred and contempt of him, as a perfidious time-ſerving man, not to be truſted as a man of regard in the nation, and a perſon who held a correſpondence with the Queen and her brother Henry of England, notwithſtanding the confidence repoſed in him by his French Majeſty; but the governor was not to be infected with theſe prejudices, which he knew from large experience to the contrary, to be ill grounded, and without juſt foundation.

His inſinuations againſt Lord Hume

The next perſon, whom John Hepburn repreſented and painted in black colours to the governor, was the Lord Hume, Lord Chamberlain; and to this, the governor gave ſtrict attention: for, tho' he was the chief inſtrument in advancing the governor to the regency of the kingdom, yet the governor found, from his ſhort acquaintance with the Lord Hume, that he was a perſon of a moſt diſagreeable, haughty, and over-bearing turn of mind, unpoliſhed, ſtubbornly brave and hazardous; of a turbulent and over-buſy ſpirit, and had been fortified in ſpirit by his repeated and ſucceſsful adventures; and a perſon of ſuch dangerous, cool, and premeditated malice, that he could be a ſpectator, without concern or generous humanity, of the ſlaughter of his King and countrymen at Flodden-hill.

The governor was a perſon of quick apprehenſion and ſound judgment, and came ſoon to underſtand the ſtate of the nation; tho' at firſt he was forced to inſtruct and inform himſelf from ſuch of the nobility and clergy, whoſe judgment, integrity, and underſtanding, he thought he could moſt ſafely and warrantably depend upon. The governor was a good judge of men and their capacity; he therefore found that John Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrew's, was a perſon of great judgment, and thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of the nation; who underſtood perfectly all the affairs of ſtate, the political intereſt of the kingdom, and the connections, characters, and diſpoſition of all the nobility and perſons of rank over the kingdom. Hepburn knew the ſpirit of the nation, and in what manner they were to be dealt with; and what the different factions, oppoſitions, and contraſts of all ranks, were; ſo as to be capable to direct the governor how to conduct himſelf and regulate his meaſures, in ſuch manner, as to be ſufficiently capable to traverſe all intrigues or caballing of his court, or in any part of the kingdom. By theſe accompliſhments which the governor diſcovered in the Prior, he rendered himſelf neceſſary to the governor, and ſo inſinuated himſelf, that he chiefly conſulted him in all matters of ſtate and affairs of conſequence; yea, could not do without him.

Hepburn wanted to have exerciſed his talent in overturning Andrew Foreman, Primate of St. Andrew's, in his intereſt and regard with the governor; by whiſpering ſuch hints of his character and conduct, as might render him contemptible, and of no weight with the governor: but the Duke was too well acquainted with Andrew Foreman, and had too great experience of his fidelity to the French Intereſt, to regard either theſe or the former attempts made to ſubvert the influence of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

This Hepburn the Prior, from his old premeditated grudge to Foreman, not only uſed all his own ſecret craft and art with the governor, but likewiſe bribed thoſe of his attendants, who were the governor's chief confidents, and had moſt frequent acceſs to him, to inſinuate to the governor variety of new complaints and clamours of the people againſt the Archbiſhop: but the Duke eaſily perceived the ſpring and ground of all the reproaches lodged againſt the Primate; and therefore entertained no ſuſpicion of him.

Archbiſhop Foreman was a man of great liberality, generous to the poor, and by no means covetous: a perſon who had ſo effectually and faithfully, in all caſes, ſupported the intereſt of France and her friends, that the governor, who was wholly at the direction and under the management of France, could not be brought to credit any thing to the prejudice of Foreman. But the caſe was different as to Lord Hume; the governor ſoon found out, from the repreſentations of others, that many things, charged upon Lord Hume by Hepburn, were

ſucceed.

facts;

facts; and that Lord Hume, by his immenſe fortune, extenſive influence and great power, was become both formidable and dangerous.

Hepburn continued in great credit, as a private informer to the governor, for ſome conſiderable time; and, in all governments and ſtates, there are ſuch ſad tools, who ſupport themſelves in the ſame manner. Hepburn gave in to the governor a long liſt of the many bloody quarrels and feuds of the Scots nobility with their Sovereigns, and the many deadly long-rooted family differences, which for generations had been continued among families of diſtinction in Scotland. Hepburn likewiſe repreſented to the governor, that the Scots nobility and gentry were of ſuch a ſpirit, they would not long bear with the government of a ſtranger. He repreſented the Scots as ungovernable by their own Kings, as the moſt deliberately malicious, ſpiteful and revengeful people; who extended their reſentments, not only to the perſons againſt whom they were directly enraged, but againſt all connected or allied to them. Hepburn told the governor, they were not a people to be governed but by the ſword drawn.

Hepburn ſlanders his own countrymen.

It was very extraordinary in a Scotſman to draw ſuch a picture of his own nation. He inſtanced their cruelty to King James the Iſt; their rebellion againſt James the IIId, and their murder of him after the battle of Stirling; their behaviour at Flodden; and particularly, the repeated ſeditious, rebellious, and treacherous practices of the Humes. Hepburn aſſured the governor, that ſuch were the connections, alliances, and intermarriages, of the different great families of the kingdom, that he would find the utmoſt difficulty and danger in bringing any of them, tho' never ſo guilty of the higheſt crimes, to condign puniſhment; for they always endeavoured and attempted a reſcue; and, if prevented, an inſurrection.

The governor having thoroughly weighed and conſidered the dark and ſhaded picture of the nation preſented to him by Hepburn, found himſelf in great perplexity, and in a labyrinth of difficulty how to act. The three greateſt men now of the kingdom were, the Earl of Angus, the Primate of St. Andrew's and the Lord Hume.

The governor perplexed.

The Earl of Angus, tho' much elated with his affinity to the King of England, and big with hopes of ſpeedy and effectual ſupport from him; yet was a nobleman of ſo much moderation, gentle behaviour, and agreeable deportment, that he behaved in the moſt peaceable and mannerly way towards the governor; and diſcovered ſuch a diſpoſition to be above doing a baſe or mean action, that the governor ſeemed ſatisfied there was no danger from him; for he appeared more addicted to gaiety and innocent amuſements, than to meditating confuſion in the ſtate.

The governor was perfectly ſatisfied as to the fidelity of Archbiſhop Foreman; for they ſtood upon the ſame bottom, and were united in affections and ſentiments as to the French intereſt.

The only perſon dreaded by the governor was the Lord Hume; and ſuch were the impreſſions received from Hepburn's private inſinuations and prejudices inſtilled in the governor's mind, that he could not conceal ſhewing an averſion, coolneſs, and more diſtant behaviour than formerly. This alteration of countenance and behaviour in the governor, who had been brought over from France by my Lord Hume's intereſt chiefly, and, ſupported by him, had arrived to his preſent dignity, ſo provoked the ſpirit and exaſperated the mind of the Lord Hume, that he was reſtleſs to have his reſentment executed againſt the governor for ſuch ingratitude.

Jealous of Lord Hume,

The firſt thing my Lord Hume meditated was, to be reconciled to the Queen and her huſband, the Earl of Angus; in order to concert joint meaſures for putting the kingdom under a new form of government. Lord Hume, fired with indignation at the governor's unprovoked ingratitude, made the moſt humble conceſſions to the Queen; and repeated his viſits and ſolicitations with ſuch diligence and importunity, that he was reſtored to the Queen's favour, and in perfect friendſhip and confederacy with the Earl of Angus, in a ſhort time.

who confederates with the Queen againſt him.

When they entered into joint meaſures, they determined to execute all their deſigns with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch; and my Lord Hume, the more effectually to attach the Queen in his intereſt, acquainted her, that ſhe was in danger of having her ſon, the apparent heir, or rather the infant King, taken from her by the governor; and that, as the governor's father had attempted to deſtroy the King, James the IIId his own brother, this preſent governor would take the opportunity if allowed, to be maſter of the young King's perſon, and then it was poſſible he might have the infant King ſo diſpoſed of, that he ſhould ſtep to the throne, and become King himſelf.

The Lord Hume ſo influenced the Queen's mind, and the Earl of Angus, that they together agreed upon it, as the moſt ſafe and expedient mean to be executed without delay, to ſend the infant King into England with his mother; there to remain in ſafety with the King of England.

But tho' this ſcheme was concerted with all poſſible ſecrecy, yet the inquiſitive and crafty ſpirit of John Hepburn found means to diſcover an intention to carry off the young King, and directly gave ſecret notice to the Duke of Albany the governor. The Duke was alert and quick in executing all his undertakings, by which he gave no time for diſcoveries. He hearkened to Hepburn's intelligence, and immediately collected a body of men, with which he marched for Stirling, where the Queen with her ſon were.

Lord Hume's intrigues diſcovered.

The governor, upon his arrival, took the young King into his protection and care, removed the Queen and the Douglaſſes from court, and appointed three of the wiſeſt and moſt prudent

prudent nobility to attend upon and take care of the young King, in conjunction with Lord Erſkine governor of Stirling caſtle. Theſe four Lords, appointed to guard the King's perſon, were firm in the governor's intereſt; and to ſupport them, they had guards appointed them from the governor of the moſt faithful of his adherents among the Scots and French. It is generally believed, that the Queen's intentions, and all the ſecret conferences with the Lord Hume, were diſcovered by ſome of the Queen's domeſtics in pay by John Hepburn.

The Queen, her huſband, and Lord Hume fly to England.

Upon Lord Hume's receiving the ſurprizing news of this alteration and diſlocation of their ſyſtem, he, with his brother William, fled directly for England. The Earl of Angus, with the Queen, retired firſt to the caſtle of Tantallon, attended by Sir George Douglaſs brother to the Earl of Angus. They ſtaid but ſhort time here. Apprehending danger, they went for Berwick, and from thence to the nunnery of Coldſtream. Here they halted, and ſent off expreſſes to their brother King Henry, to let him know what had happened. King Henry ordered them to wait at Hartbotle caſtle in Northumberland for his Majeſty's further orders, and recommended to Lord Dacres to protect them untill he ſhould have advice from his Majeſty how to act againſt Scotland.

The governor was greatly diſappointed and much perplexed at the eſcape of the Queen, her huſband, and the Lord Hume, with other chief conſpirators.

The governor, afraid of conſequences, prepares directly an embaſſy-extraordinary for the court of London to King Henry, to vindicate his whole conduct and proceedings, againſt the Queen and the Earl of Angus. He acquainted King Henry, he had done nothing which might give the leaſt occaſion for the Queen's departure out of the kingdom; neither had her Majeſty any juſt ground to ſuſpect him of any bad deſigns againſt her, or the Earl of Angus; nor againſt any who followed them: That, if her Majeſty, and all the nobility who followed her into England, with all their attendants, returned to their own kingdom, they ſhould be at full liberty, and be unmoleſted: if they were conſcious they had done any thing againſt him, he would not be ſtrict to ſearch into their ſecret managements and intrigues; provided, for the future, they did not diſturb the peace of the kingdom.

The governor entreats their return.

The governor likewiſe, with a friendly importunity, dealt with their relations and friends to perſuade them to return, being afraid of the intriguing and turbulent ſpirit of the Lord Hume, and the addreſs of the Earl of Angus. He did not think himſelf nor his government in ſafety, till they were engaged to return. By his ſtrong aſſurances, and the repeated intreaty of their friends, the Lords were prevailed upon to return; but the Queen, being nigh the time of her delivery, remained at Hartbotle caſtle in Northumberland, till ſhe recovered. Here her Majeſty was brought to bed of a daughter named Margaret; and as ſoon as the Queen was perfectly recovered, ſo as to be capable to travel, King Henry ordered her to be brought up to court attended with a ſplendid retinue; where, upon her arrival, Henry, with his ſiſter Mary Queen dowager of France, received Queen Margaret with great tenderneſs and affection; and, in May following, ſhe made her progreſs and entry, in a magnificent manner, through the city of London to Baynard's caſtle, and thence to Greenwich.

Prevails.

The governor having now the Lords and others, who had projected the carrying off the young King into England, within his juriſdiction and all returned to the kingdom, being inſtigated by the officious and inflammatory ſurmizes and whiſpers of tale-bearers and private informers; is mind was agitated with a variety of cloudy ſuſpicions of danger from theſe perſons; and that they would not reſt ſatisfied in their preſent condition. Therefore, he thought his engagements, by his promiſes to them, not binding upon him to his own hurt and prejudice; or to the endangering the government and preſent conſtitution of the kingdom.

Calls them to account.

The Duke of Albany therefore, as regent and governor of the whole kingdom, thought it incumbent upon him to call theſe Lords and their aſſociates to account, and to anſwer for their conduct. Againſt ſome the proofs were ſtrong; others were only branded with ſtrong ſuſpicions of being acceſſary, and in the ſecret of the meaſures concerted. Among others, ſummoned to appear before the governor and council, were, Gavin Douglaſs, Biſhop of Dunkeld; and Patrick Pantar, Eſq; ſecretary to the late king.

Upon examination, Gavin Douglaſs, Biſhop of Dunkeld, was committed priſoner to the caſtle of St. Andrew's; and Pantar, ſecretary, to Garvet-caſtle; and ſoon after baniſhed the kingdom.

Lord Drummond, upon this occaſion, was likewiſe called upon to anſwer for his conduct. This Lord Drummond was grandfather to Douglaſs Earl of Angus, and a man of great ſpirit, fortitude and reſolution; and, tho' in an advanced age, retained a ſteady, penetrating judgment, and was not to be forced into any conceſſion or meaſures contrary to his deliberate ſentiments of what was right and juſt. The governor and council ordered a herald to go with the uſual formality, to ſummon the Lord Drummond to ſurrender, and to appear before the council. The herald, in the execution of his orders, behaving with too much inſolence and unbecoming haughtineſs, the Lord Drummond gave the unmannerly herald the drubbing and correction due from his encroaching behaviour; for the herald was not by his office to inſult a perſon of diſtinction, but to execute his office, and deliver his ſummons with the neceſſary and legal formalities.

The herald having reported his treatment from Lord Drummond to the governor and privy council, they ordered out a ſtrong party to ſurprize and take my Lord Drummond into cuſtody.

He

He was brought before the council; and, upon examination, committed close priſoner to Blackneſs-caſtle, nine or ten miles Weſt of Edinburgh.

Lord Hume was next ſummoned to anſwer before the privy-council firſt, and then before the parliament, to make his vindication againſt ſuch matters as they had ready to charge upon him: but he did not appear according to the time allowed him by parliament, which was the 12th of July, 1516; and therefore he was out-lawed, and declared a rebel againſt the government. His perſonal eſtate was immediately ſeized upon, according to the conſtitution of Scotland, and levied into the King's exchequer. His real eſtate was likewiſe forfeited by act of parliament this ſeſſion.

Lord Hume lays waſte the regent's eſtate.

Theſe extremities drove the Lord Hume to deſperate meaſures: he raiſed therefore all the men he could muſter, takes the field, and firſt attacks the governor's eſtate; laying all deſolate by fire and ſword, both over his lands and all connected with him. At the ſame time he prevailed upon the borderers to form themſelves into bodies, and to ravage all over the borders of Scotland, to diſtract and perplex the governor.

The Duke of Albany upon this, to give an immediate check to ſuch proceedings, marched in perſon with about a thouſand of his beſt and reſolute troops, to attack the Lord Hume if he ventured to ſtand it. For ſome time Lord Hume continued about Dunbar, plundering the town, and damaging all about the caſtle which was the governor's country-ſeat; but, upon the governor's approach, either afraid of the Duke's ſuperior force, or thro' diſcouragement and depreſſion of ſpirits at his miſerable and dangerous ſituation, he ſubmits and ſurrenders himſelf and his men to the governor; committing his life and eſtate to the governor's clemency, honour, and good faith.

Overpowered, ſurrenders himſelf priſoner.

Upon this, he was delivered up priſoner to James Earl of Arran, now governor of Edinburgh caſtle; and the Earl of Arran received orders, upon pain of high treaſon and forfeiture of life and eſtate, not to quit him, nor allow him to eſcape any how.

Committed to the cuſtody of the Earl of Arran.

Buchanan, on this occaſion, affirms that the parliament ordered the governor to raiſe ten thouſand horſe and foot, to ſuppreſs the Lord Hume; and that he accordingly marched ſuch an army: but I do not find the other moſt impartial hiſtorians mention or confirm any ſuch thing; for, it is evident, there was no occaſion for levying ſuch an army againſt my Lord Hume. Biſhop Leſlie's and Hautherdane's account ſeem by much the moſt probable, viz. that the governor carried with him in this expedition, only about a thouſand choice men, and moſt probably French troops, ſuch as he could confide in, and would ſtrictly execute his command. My Lord Hume could not be ſuppoſed to have collected any conſiderable army: he had neither time, ſupport, nor opportunity; having but juſt returned from England: and in his abſence, without conviction or full evidence, upon the Queen's flight with the Earl of Angus and Lord Hume into England; the governor, with great diſpatch, and ſharpened by French rigidity, had ſent in a body of men under the command of the Earls of Arran and Lenox, to plunder and deſtroy Lord Hume's eſtate.

After they had rifled the caſtle of Hume, deſtroyed all the furniture, and carried off all that was valuable, the ſoldiery, under the command of the Earls of Arran and Lenox, pretending to ſearch for ſome things concealed, and to diſcover jewels, plate, and other things of value, ſecreted in hidden corners of the caſtle, returned with great eagerneſs to make a ſtrict and general ſearch; and to break through even the walls, to diſcover what they expected: but, to their great ſurprize, (in their abſence) great quantities of gun-powder had been laid, covered in all corners above and below, with a train from each; ſo that, by a communicating train, the whole gun-powder was all fired upon them at once, juſt as the party entered the houſe.

This was executed ſlily by a poor fellow who came unobſerved, when the party were all entered and within doors. By this unexpected, but well laid ſtratagem, many of the French whiſkers were ſinged; ſome were ſcalded, others lamed, and many killed by the downfal and breaches in different places of the caſtle.

It is not then poſſible, nor probable, that the Lord Hume could have any great force to ſupport him in his depredations upon the governor's eſtate. To return therefore to the account of my Lord Hume's confinement: tho' he was committed to the care of the Earl of Arran, with the ſtricteſt command to keep a cloſe and wathful eye over him, he was not long in the caſtle of Edinburgh; for, he ſo conducted his ſcheme, as to make the Earl of Arran join chearfully in his meaſures, and both made their eſcape together from the governor. The manner in which the governor was ſurprized by the artifice of the Lord Hume was thus:

Seduces the Earl of Arran to join him and eſcapes.

The Lord Hume, under his confinement in the caſtle, deſired ſome private interviews with the Earl of Arran, upon ſome matters of conſequence, in which my Lord Arran was much intereſted. In their converſation together, when not ſuſpected, the Lord Hume, who had great dexterity in perſuading, and was maſter of eloquence, ſo repreſented matters to the Earl of Arran, as to engage his affections thoroughly to oppoſe the governor; and, if poſſible, to overthrow his government. The Lord Hume repreſented in ſtrong and moving terms, how mean and ſervile, how abject and unworthy it was of the Earl of Arran to ſubmit to the governor, as he himſelf was by deſcent of royal blood, a grand-child of James the IId, and, by his mother, nephew to James the IIId; a native of the kingdom, and now in right of blood and birth, as firſt couſin to the late king, the next in ſucceſſion, failing the preſent King and his brother Alexander, and had a right to inherit the crown upon their demiſe with-

out iſſue: therefore, Lord Hume acquainted the Earl of Arran of his ſentiments, and intimated without reſerve to him, that he thought he had a preferable right to be regent or governor of the kingdom, to the preſent governor, who was a ſtranger, a foreigner; and, tho' ſon of Alexander Duke of Albany, was born in France, and while his father was an exile there. My Lord Hume gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his fidelity and fixed reſolution to ſupport his intereſt at all events; provided the Earl of Arran would now lay hold of this opportunity, and aſſert his juſt rights.

The ſcheme effectually took with Lord Arran; and, after ſeveral ſecret conferences and ſolemn mutual engagements of ſecreſy and fidelity to each other, they agreed upon the meaſures they were to purſue: they concerted to make their eſcape together, and then to ſend out circular letters to all their friends, and ſuch as they expected to join them, from all corners, to repair to them without loſs of an hour.

Having concerted all their matters, the Earl of Arran and my Lord Hume went off together; but ſo ordered matters before their departure, that they ſhould be got to the Southermoſt part of Scotland, before the governor and council ſhould be acquainted of their eſcape. The topics, by which my Lord Hume wrought effectually upon the Earl of Arran, were chiefly, his expectations and ſtrong aſſurances of ſupport from Henry of England; next, the Earls nigh relation by blood to the royal family of Scotland; and thirdly, the alienation of the affections of many towards the Duke of Albany, the preſent governor.

The Lord Hume was violent and ſanguine in this affair; becauſe he reckoned himſelf groſsly abuſed and ungratefully ſerved by the Duke of Albany now governor: for it was known to all men, that the Lord Hume had, to his own hurt, and to the gaining the Queen's diſpleaſure and the reſentment of the Douglaſſes, been the chief, yea, the firſt and greateſt promoter of the Duke of Albany's intereſt; and it was intirely owing to the Lord Hume that ever he was invited over, or placed in the regency and governorſhip of the kingdom.

It was upon the 11th of October, 1516, they eſcaped out of the caſtle, three days before the governor had received intelligence of the event. The governor, in great ſurprize, and highly enraged, acquainted the parliament, now ſitting, with the news. The parliament ordered forces to be raiſed directly to march to ſuppreſs them: then they proceeded to paſs a bill of attainder and forfeiture againſt Lord Hume, and his brothers William and David. After this, a proclamation was iſſued out; commanding the Lords, and all their adherents, to return to their duty and allegiance in fifteen days after reading the proclamation: but this not being complied with, the winter approaching, and the ſeaſon being ſuch as rendered it impoſſible for an army to keep the field, the governor delayed his march till ſpring of next year 1517.

The Lords Arran, Lenox, and Hume, levy forces.

In the mean time, the Lord Hume and the Earl of Arran were active in ſpiriting up their friends and neighbours, and collecting what force they could. At length, they gained over Stewart Earl of Lenox to their ſide. He was nephew to the Earl of Arran by his mother, who was the Lord Arran's ſiſter. Having got a number of friends formed into a pretty large body, they took the field early in the ſpring, 1517, and marched to beſiege the caſtle of Glaſcow; which, after a faint reſiſtance, ſurrendered to them: but it was not a place of ſtrength, nor regularly fortified; neither had they a ſufficiency of military ſtores nor proviſions, wherewith to defend the place.

Are reduced.

Upon this, the governor, following them cloſe, attacked the caſtle of Glaſcow before they were well ſettled in it, and forced them to capitulate and ſurrender: but, before the ſurrender, the Earls of Lenox and Arran, with the Lord Hume, went off ſecretly, untill they had interceeded by their friends to be pardoned by the governor.

The Earls of Lenox and Arran obtained their pardon by the interceſſions of the Lady dowager of Hamilton, and Andrew Foreman Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. This Lady dowager of Hamilton was mother to the Earl of Arran, and grand-mother to the Earl of Lenox, the governor's own aunt, daughter to King James the ſecond, and ſiſter to James the third.

The governor was ſo enraged at the behaviour of the Earl of Arran, and the Humes, with the other nobility who had joined them, that, in his return from Glaſcow, he determined to raze the fine palace and caſtle of Hamilton, where the old Lady dowager reſided, and to make it a heap of ruins; but, by the interceſſion of Foreman Primate of St. Andrew's, and by the tears and humble ſupplications of the venerable, ancient and worthy Lady, the governor not only ſpared the caſtle, and reſtrained his military from all acts of outrage and violence; but likewiſe aſſured the Lady Hamilton of a pardon and reſtoration to favour to the Earls of Arran and Lenox, her ſon and grandſon: but the Lord Hume was forced to fly. In November 1517 the Earls of Arran and Lenox came to Edinburgh; and, according to concert and agreement with the ancient Lady the mother, the Primate of St. Andrew's preſented them both to the governor, and effected a reconciliation.

Lords Arran and Lenox pardoned.

At this time, Alexander Duke of Rothſey, the King's brother, a child beautiful and delightful to the admiration of all, was taken ill, and in a few days taken off. This young prince died at Stirling, and was buried in the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, much regretted by the nation.

The time fixed for the peace betwixt both kingdoms was now nigh expired; but both England and Scotland were diſpoſed to renew the treaty: therefore, to prevent the expiration of the terms ſettled in the laſt treaty, the Engliſh commiſſioners came to Coldingham to ſettle matters with Scotland.

Upon

Upon notice of their arrival, the Duke of Albany, governor, ordered directly M. du Plains, the French ambaſſador, from the court of France, Sir William Scott of Balweary, and Gavin Dunbar Archdeacon of St. Andrew's, to repair to Coldingham, to confirm and ſettle with the commiſſioners from England the articles of pacification.

They received their full inſtructions how to act; and, upon their meeting with the Engliſh deputies, they ſat immediately for diſpatch of buſineſs: but the receiving and entertaining the Queen, and ſeveral of the nobility of Scotland, being brought upon the carpet, occaſioned high debates; and the heats ariſing from this, had nigh broke off all the conferences. At length, they agreed to renew the former pacification, to continue only from January 1518, to Whitſunday of this year; which was only an armiſtice, or ceſſation of arms. The Engliſh inſiſted, that, in the preſent agreement, ſhould be included a free pardon and full forgiveneſs of all paſt offences to the Earl of Angus, the Lord Hume, and all others of the Queen's friends ſcattered up and down, who had not been already reſtored to the governor's favour. It was with great difficulty, that Lord Hume was pardoned and reſtored; but it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that, if ever he did again forfeit his promiſes and oaths of duty and fidelity to the governor, all his former crimes and miſdemeanors ſhould be added as articles of his impeachment.

The truce with England renewed.

Lord Hume reſtored.

Upon the event of this truce, according to agreement, Gavin Douglaſs, Biſhop of Dunkeld, was reſtored, and ſet at full liberty; with Patrick Pantar or Panther, and Lord Drummond, both hitherto cloſe confined. The Earl of Angus was allowed to return to court, and received with the uſual honours and regard as formerly.

After this, a new parliament was called, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation; and in this ſeveral acts were firſt made for the eſtabliſhment of the peace of the Kingdom. Next, they proceeded to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, now that Alexander Duke of Rothſey, the King's brother, was dead. It was propoſed in parliament, that the parliament ſhould declare the governor the ſecond perſon of the Kingdom, and next in ſucceſſion to the King to ſucceed to the throne, upon the King's dying without male iſſue.

A parliament called.

This motion was juſtly oppos'd by many both of Lords and commons, who, with good reaſon, thought it an unjuſt encroachment upon the preferable right of Alexander Stewart, the governor's elder brother. Alexander Duke of Albany, father to the preſent governor, had been married to my Lord Orkney's daughter before he went to France, and this Alexander Stewart was the Duke's eldeſt ſon by her. After her death, he went over to France, and there married the Lord Bulloigne's daughter, by whom he begot John the preſent governor: ſo that, by equity, Alexander Stewart, grand-child to the Earl of Orkney, had the beſt right to the ſucceſſion; and, if otherwiſe qualified and acceptable to the nation, ought to have been governor before his brother John; for Alexander was a native of the kingdom, deſcended of the Kings, and the firſt nobility of Scotland, and in right of blood every way preferable.

But this ignorant animal, forgetful and inſenſible of his natural rights, and being of a low and clowniſh nature, unworthy of his birth and deſcent, had never the ſpirit and fortitude to aſſert his birthrights. The Duke of Albany knew very well his low turn of mind, and his incapacity for any figure in the ſtate: in order therefore to fix the ſucceſſion in his own perſon and family, the governor operated effectually upon his brother's weak mind. He blinded him with preſents, and amuſed him with toys as a child; and, knowing his genius was chiefly adapted to indolence and retirement, and his affections devoted to the prieſtly tribe, he aſſured him of preferments in the church. This being more pleaſing to the monkiſh genius of Alexander Stewart, the governor prevailed upon him to appear before the parliament, and to make a ſolemn renunciation of his right by blood and ſeniority, in favour of his brother the Duke of Albany, the preſent governor of the kingdom; which he accordingly ſigned and ratified in full meeting of parliament; and, in conſideration of this his contemptible and abject renunciation of his birthright and all his right of ſucceſſion to the crown, he was enter'd immediately into orders as a prieſt, and this calf-ſkin was ſtuffed with a biſhopric and abbey. He was by his brother the Duke, in conſideration of his tame ſubmiſſion, appointed Biſhop of Murray and Abbot of Skoon. This is demonſtration of the fineſſe and refinement of French education; and how the Frenchman is often more than match, by artful addreſs, and cunning, for the ſimplicity and unguarded over-honeſty of a Caledonian.

The regent is declared ſecond in the ſucceſſion.

The truce or armiſtice, which now ſubſiſted betwixt Scotland and England, was religiouſly obſerved by both kingdoms; which produced this good effect to reſtrain and ſuppreſs all old family quarrels in Scotland: for the governor, not being diſturbed from abroad, exerted himſelf in reducing Scotland into peace and order, by compoſing and extinguiſhing the quarrels and animoſities which had long ſubſiſted betwixt ſome of the moſt ancient and greateſt families of the kingdom.

Theſe differences and grudges, being converted into cordial and mutual friendſhips, the kingdom was in an agreeable ſtate. The governor, upon finiſhing theſe laudable deſigns, retir'd himſelf for ſome relaxation to his palace at Falkland, to be free and diſengaged from any public affairs for ſome months, and to recruit his ſpirits.

The whiſpering, artful and informing prieſt, John Hepburn the prior, who had kindled the flame of ſedition formerly ſo effectually, by his tell-tale whiſpering and ſtabbing in the dark, now watching this opportunity of the governor's being retired and free of all public company, inſinuated himſelf ſo as to have acceſs to the governor in his retirement; well knowing, that,

Heſburn's invidious counſel.

that, by his art and addreſs, he could now ſo model and influence the mind and affections of the governor, as ſoon to introduce a new ſcene. The Prior's holy ſpirit was fixed and determined upon the ſame invariable mark! to proſecute his reſentment againſt the Lord Hume, until, if poſſible, he deſtroyed him! This is the mercileſs humanity, and religious, inoffenſive ſpirit of a blood-thirſty, well-turn'd prieſt! whoſe ſweeteſt morſel is revenge, and who is never in the zenith of his tranquility, nor ſufficiently gratified, until his malicious, holy and blood-thirſty affections be ſufficiently glutted and ſatisfied with the execution of all his projections, for the overthrow of them deſign'd to be cut off! Accordingly, this well accompliſhed prieſt, was effectually active and diligent with the governor, in his receſs at Falkland; inſtilling in his Highneſs impreſſions and ſtrong ſuſpicions of ſeditious deſigns, fomented and propagated by the ſecret practices of the Lord Hume. The Prior, from his malignant hatred to Lord Hume, propagated ſuch falſhoods againſt him as excited a jealouſy in the governor againſt him. This the Prior inflamed, by repreſenting to the Duke, how dangerous and implacably revengeful a perſon my Lord Hume was in the ſtate; and that the governor could never be ſafe while he was in power and full liberty.

This Hepburn ſo gain'd upon the governor's affections, that he blindly credited all his falſe malicious ſuggeſtions of danger, and ſome new ſecret enterprizes from the Lord Hume. The notions and impreſſions fix'd in the governor's mind, ſo alter'd his ſentiments as to Lord Hume, that he determined to bring him to trial at his return to Edinburgh.

Being returned the 22d of September 1518, he immediately called a council extraordinary of his nobility, to deliberate upon ſome national affairs of the greateſt conſequence; but the real cauſe of their being ſummoned, was to bring Lord Hume to trial. However, this was concealed and diſguiſed by falſe colours, and by all apparent, friendly and encouraging motives. The governor perſuaded my Lord Hume and his friends, to engage him to come to court on this occaſion, to aſſiſt at the councils upon ſome affairs of the greateſt concern to the nation; becauſe theſe matters were to be ſettled directly, and did not admit of any delay. The Lord Hume was perſuaded, by the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip, to come to court; but, as the treachery and deſigns againſt him were whiſpered about, and many ſurmiſes at court of ſudden and great alterations ſoon to happen among the nobility; ſeveral of Lord Hume's moſt penetrating and diſcerning friends, apprehending danger to him, diſſuaded him therefore from going to Edinburgh, or truſting himſelf in the governor's hands any further; at leaſt, if he went himſelf, not to truſt his brother William in their hands. However, not moved nor afraid, he ventured to Edinburgh to wait of the governor. He and his brothers were received in the moſt hearty and moſt affectionate manner by the governor, to all outward appearance, and much careſſed. Sir Andrew Hume, with David Ker of Ferniharſt, attended my Lord Hume and his brothers to Edinburgh. At their firſt arrival, they were entertained with more than ordinary marks of diſtinction, deſigned only to amuſe them; but all of a ſudden, when ſecure, they were all committed to cloſe priſon, and an impeachment brought againſt them all; to which they were ordered to plead, and make their defence before the council.

The Humes impriſoned and tried.

The council, after finding articles ſufficient, and of the higheſt nature, proceeded to ſubject them to the verdict of a jury. The Lord Hume, his brothers, Ker of Ferniharſt, and Sir Andrew Hume were not impeached of any new crimes, but had evidence brought againſt them for their former behaviour. The Earl of Murray, the late King's natural ſon, impeached the Lord Hume with cutting off his father in his flight from Flodden-hill: but this was not clearly proved. The other articles of his impeachment, which were proved fully to the jury, were:

Their articles of impeachment.

Firſt, that the Lord Hume, and his aſſociates, had out-hounded all the robbers, thieves, and banditti, to plunder and lay waſte the eſtates of their neighbours who were not of the ſame confederacy.

Secondly, that at Flodden-hill the Lord Hume had manifeſtly behaved like a traitor and a coward.

Thirdly, that he had wilfully allowed the Engliſh to repair and fortify Norham caſtle.

They accuſed him of ſeveral other treaſonable practices; and tho' he fully juſtified himſelf, as being already pardoned; yet, from a ſecret and pretended article, of which the judges were affirmed to have certain knowlege, the Lord Hume with his brother William were condemned, and ordered the next day to have their heads cut off; which was accordingly performed, and the heads fixed upon the moſt public places of the city of Edinburgh. Ker of Ferniharſt was, by ways and means, allowed to make his eſcape out of the city gaol; and ſo got off for England. The keeper of the goal was a hungry Frenchman, and was believed by all to have taken a round ſum for this eſcape.

Illegally condemned and executed.

The overthrow of the Lord Hume, and the cutting off his brothers, men of ſuch power, opulent eſtates, and univerſal regard, ſtruck the nobility and gentry of Scotland with anxiety and uneaſineſs, to reflect upon the manner of the Lord Hume's trial; how, upon a pretended ſecret article, known to the judges, but concealed from the public, he and his brothers ſhould, in ſo extraordinary a manner, loſe their lives and their eſtates. This put the nobility all in great concern, and made them juſtly apprehend danger; for if ſuch a method ſhould be carried into

into a precedent, then the lives and fortunes of the nobility and gentry were all precarious and dependent upon the caprice and blood-thirſty ſpirit of a frenchified governor, whenever he thought it for his intereſt to have them deſtroyed, and taken out of the way.

The nobility diſcontented at the treatment of the Humes.

This alarmed and awakened the nobility of Scotland, to a ſtrict attention to all the governor's French ſyſtem; and the governor ſoon experienced, that this experiment he had performed upon the Humes, had made the nation now look upon, and conſider him, as a dangerous enemy; rather as a wolf or French fox waiting for his prey; and more ſuch, than a governor to rule over and protect them in their lives and liberties.

The nobility always after this, diſcovered their inclinations and affections toward the Duke, their French governor, in ſuch a manner by their behaviour, as made him eaſily underſtand a diſlike of his meaſures and his attempts upon their liberties.

Foreigners who are either tyrannical or arbitrary in their notions of government, or exerciſe ſuch a form of government elſewhere, are the moſt unfit and incapable in life to govern a free, bold, and brave people; for their aim is to make all ſlaves: and the preſent French governor, finding he did not ſit eaſy on the affections of the Scots nobility and gentry (who ſoon can take a hint when ill uſed) became uneaſy and perplexed. The very looks of his beſt ſubjects ſpoke jealouſy and ſuſpicion of him: he determined therefore to make a ſhort and decent retreat to France for his relaxation, to concert his meaſures with the French King, and his friends of that nation.

The governor deſigns to go to France.

That the governor might get over to France with the better grace, he contrived that Francis, now King of France, ſhould ſend an embaſſy into Scotland to demand the renewal of the old treaties betwixt both kingdoms.

The embaſſy arrived according to the governor's deſire, and the matter was laid before the council, who agreed to nominate ambaſſadors to the court of France: but it was debated who ſhould be ſent upon this embaſſy. The governor being propoſed himſelf to be the chief perſon, great debates and oppoſition aroſe in council concerning the governor's going over; but, by his French intereſt in the privy council, it was carried, that the governor in perſon ſhould go over to France to ſettle the articles of the preſent embaſſy. The governor gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the council and parliament of his ſpeedy return to Scotland, in ſix months after his departure at fartheſt.

His prudent precautions before his departure.

This being agreed to, the governor took care, firſt to commit the young King's perſon to the care of ſuch with whom he might be ſecure and ſafe till his return: He therefore removed the young King to Edinburgh caſtle from Stirling; and placed him under the tuition of the Earl of Marſhal, the Lords Ruthven and Borthwick, to have a ſtrict eye over his Majeſty in the governor's abſence.

The next thing, for the peace and preſervation of the kingdom in proper ſubjection, and to prevent any defection, revolt, or inſurrections, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, and Angus, were appointed regents, with the Archbiſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſcow, to be guardians of the kingdom till the governor's return.

But, notwithſtanding theſe precautions and ſettlements, a general diſcontent prevailed over the kingdom at his going to France: he therefore, to ſatisfy the minds of the people, ſtaid till late in the ſpring; and then, before he ſet out, he took care to have one of his French tools joined in the regency, to be as a check and ſpy for him in all their councils and deliberations. This was Sir Anthony Darcy, whom the Duke had made governor of Dunbar caſtle, and now Lord chamberlain and warden of the Eaſtern marches and frontier, in the room of the Lord Hume. Having ordered matters ſo as to keep the kingdom in a peaceable ſtate, and to overawe any malcontents, he ſet ſail for France; taking over with him the Earl of Lenox, Lord Gordon, the maſters of Glencarn and Arran, under pretence of friendſhip and regard, to make them known at the court of France, and for their pleaſure and amuſement: but the true and real reaſon of his carrying over theſe, and ſo many more young Lords, was to ſecure their parents and friends, out of regard to their children's ſafety and welfare, not to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, nor to make any oppoſition, nor form any confederacies in his abſence: ſo that theſe young Lords were no more than hoſtages for ſecurity to the governor; which was not uſing the nobility of the kingdom with proper regard, and declared his diſtruſt in their honour and fidelity.

Sir Anthony Darcy, his great confident and truſtee was, by the governor, appointed Lord lieutenant of Lothian and the Mers. The other Lords of the regency had their ſeveral counties aſſigned them for their diſtricts; over which they were to be likewiſe Lord lieutenants, and to act in that capacity in thoſe counties moſt contiguous to them and adjacent to their eſtates. But tho' the governor ſet ſail in the cloſe of ſpring; yet, thinking he had not made all ſufficiently ſecure, he put back, and ordered ſo many Lords and perſons of diſtinction whom he was afraid of, to be ſent to different caſtles and garriſons, which were gariſoned by French ſoldiers, and there to remain till the governor's return from France; but likewiſe dreading the influence of Gavin Douglaſs Biſhop of Dunkeld, and Panther the ſecretary to the late King, he carried them both over with him to France. Having executed this, and given ſome new and ſecret inſtructions to Sir Anthony Darcy his chief confident, in June he put to ſea again from Dunbarton.

Sets ſail for France.

Dunbarton, Dunbar, and Carvet caſtles, were the goals at this time in which he ſecured ſuch of the nobility as he ſuſpected might be active and diligent in his abſence.

The governor ſet ſail for France, and ſoon arrived there. But no ſooner had the Queen intelligence of the governor's being gone, than ſhe repaired directly to Scotland, attended by a magnificent retinue, by order of King Henry her brother. But the Earl of Angus, having come to welcome her to Berwick, the Queen received him in a manner quite different from her former tender affection. The Queen looked cool upon the Earl her huſband; and as a reaſon and colour for it, ſhe gave out, that the Earl of Angus had kept a miſtreſs in Douglaſsdale; and therefore the ſuſpicion and jealouſy of this had ſo enraged the Queen at the Earl of Angus, that ſhe was reſolved upon ſuing for a divorce.

The Queen jealous of her huſband.

The poor Earl of Angus doting on his Engliſh Lady and deſpiſed, was very tame and dejected! He had gone thorough a ſcene of hardſhips and long troubles by the perſecution of the governor; and now when in favour and reſtored to power (being now of the regency) he was fond of his Queen-conſort. It is not very probable, that the Earl of Angus, when perſecuted and toſſed from one place to another, and marching from place to place, having his enemy in purſuit of him, and in ſuch concern of mind, could be much taken up in amours; or in fact at all concerned in them. But the Queen was an Engliſh Lady of ſpirit and gaiety, and poſſibly, when at the court of London, and in full emjoyment of the delights and amuſements of the court, having her huſband far removed from her, and no poſſibility of having him upon a call; through frailty of nature, and natural deſires ariſing from high living, might have made trial of an experiment at the court of London for curioſity and compariſon; and that from a variation of taſte, the Queen's diſtaſte might ariſe at the Earl of Angus, who now was more depreſſed in ſpirit and fortune, and therefore more directly expoſed to the contempt of a wife.

The great Sir Walter Raleigh, in his advice to his ſon, has the following expreſſions, which will pretty nigh account for the Queen's behaviour to the Earl of Angus. Sir Walter exhorts his ſon to be moſt careful about his eſtate; for money in his pocket would be always in faſhion: and let him always remember it, as from his dying father, that his wife was only the companion of his plenty, and if poverty did overtake him, he muſt expect her to deſpiſe him. This maxim of that excellent and wiſe perſon (who was ſacrificed by a villainous miniſtry, and a contemptible King) holds true in fact, with little variation, in all ages, and in moſt places; except where primitive integrity and ſimplicity of manners prevail.

Denied acceſs to her ſon.

The Queen came chiefly to Scotland, upon the governor's departure, to have acceſs to her ſon the young King. But her Majeſty was denied this while he remained in the caſtle of Edinburgh; but when the King was removed to Craigmillar caſtle, the Lord Erſkine, who was his conſtant guardian, and obliged to be in cloſe waiting upon the infant King by the governor's expreſs orders, allowed her Majeſty, upon her earneſt ſolicitations and repeated intreaty, to have acceſs to her ſon; having previouſly obtained the permiſſion and approbation of the regency for his ſecurity. But the Queen, having obtained leave, repeated her viſits but too often; and by coming too frequently to Craigmillar caſtle, gave ſuch ſuſpicions to Lord Erſkine and the other guardians, that they juſtly feared ſhe had the ſame deſign that her predeceſſor Queen had put into execution, by ſtealing away her ſon from Chancellor Creighton: therefore they denied her Majeſty any future acceſs, and ordered the King to be brought back to the caſtle of Edinburgh to be in perfect ſafety from all the Queen's efforts and intrigues.

Obtains leave.

A conſpiracy againſt Sir Anthony Darcy.

At this time, a deſign was formed to get rid of Sir Anthony Darcy Sieur de la Beauté, who poſſeſſed the caſtle of Dunbar, and held the eſtates and honours of my Lord Hume who was beheaded; particularly as Lord chamberlain of the Eaſtern frontier.

Sir Anthony had conducted himſelf with great equity, impartiality, and approved mildneſs in his puniſhing of tumults, robberies and diſorders, through the whole of his juriſdiction: but the Humes and Cockburns bore him, as a Frenchman, and all the friends of the governor, a moſt malignant and irreconcileable hatred; therefore, they contrived to excite a tumult and riot, purpoſely to have an opportunity of the warden Sir Andrew Darcy to cut him off.

William Cockburn, a gentleman of the Mers, had driven away and diſpoſſeſſed the other guardians to his young nephew, Cockburn of Langton*, and had taken poſſeſſion of Langton caſtle; having, for his chief ſupport in this enterprize, Sir David Hume of Wedderburn†, to whoſe ſiſter William Cockburn was married. The Stewards, of the young Squire Cockburn of Langton, complained to Sir Anthony Darcy, the Lord warden and chamberlain of the marches, concerning this violence and encroachment. Upon which Sir Anthony, to redreſs the injury and reſtore the young gentleman under age to his juſt rights, and to the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, appointed to meet at the town of Duns, to examine into this riot, and check any acts of violence of this nature for the future. The Humes upon this laid an ambuſcade for Sir Anthony; having revenge for the chief motive of all their proceedings againſt the governor, and all his true friends.

Sir Anthony, upon the day appointed, advanced to Langton caſtle, to demand of them to ſurrender; but the garriſon refuſed. Finding them obſtinate, Sir Anthony was upon retiring to procure a greater force to reduce them to reaſon; but, a little way from Langton caſtle, Sir David Hume, with a party of light horſe, came up with Sir Anthony, and begun to quarrel

* Langton is a town in the Mers a mile Weſt of Duns.
† Wedderburn is a town in the Mers.

rel with him; reproaching the governor and him with the barbarous and ungrateful treatment of his brother the Lord Hume.

Sir Anthony Darcy was diſtruſtful of his party, and therefore did not chuſe to ſtand it, but made off, truſting to his horſe's heels, which far exceeded any of his enemies: but Sir David Hume purſued cloſe, and Sir Anthony's horſe falling in a ditch, the Humes came up with him, killed Sir Anthony, and then cut off his head; which they carried in triumph, and ſtuck up upon the balcony of Hume caſtle, as a trophy to gall the French at Dunbar, and other places. Sir Anthony murdered.

The ſurpriſe and importance of this tragical event to Sir Anthony Darcy, occaſioned directly a meeting extraordinary of the Lords of the regency; being apprehenſive this would be but an introduction to greater inſurrections and confuſion. The Lords therefore at their firſt meeting agreed to give the chief command to the Earl of Arran, to march directly with a body of men to diſperſe and ſuppreſs the rioters: but the firſt ſtep the Earl of Arran made, was to take Sir George Douglaſs into cuſtody, and commit him cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh; and Mark Ker to Garvet caſtle‡. The reaſon of this was a ſuſpicion of their being concerned in the death of Sir Anthony Darcy; but the chief ground was out of reſentment againſt Archbald Douglaſs Earl of Angus, brother to Sir George Douglaſs; becauſe the Earl of Angus had uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the choice of the Earl of Arran to ſucceed the late Sir Anthony Darcy, as Lord warden and chamberlain of the Eaſtern frontier.

Another quarrel ſtarted up at this time betwixt the Earl of Angus and Andrew Ker of Ferniharſt, about the ſuperiority of ſome land, which my Lord Angus contended were ſubjected to him as ſuperior: but, on the other hand, Andrew Ker concluded he had an independent right to hold courts, and to adminiſter juſtice of himſelf; and therefore had no ſuperior but the King. The other families of the Kers took part with Douglaſs Earl of Angus, but the Earl of Arran and all the Hamiltons were of Andrew Ker's party. More domeſtic quarrels.

Andrew Ker of Ferniharſt, to aſſert his right to adminiſter juſtice, appointed a day to hold a court to decide all matters betwixt his vaſſals. On the day appointed, Andrew Ker, attended by a number of Gentlemen and vaſſals, came to Jedborough, the place appointed. Sir James Hamilton, natural ſon to the Earl of Arran, attended Andrew Ker with forty men on horſeback: but as Sir James approached to Jedborough, he was met with by Ker of Ceſford and Somervill, a man of great bravery and of an ancient family, with all their followers. They attacked Sir James Hamilton, who, being in the ſcuffle deſerted by his tribe, was cut off by Somervill.

This diſpute encreaſing, and the bloodſhed kindling the flame of irreconcileable enmity, the Lords of the regency found it neceſſary to ſummon the parliament to meet at Edinburgh, April the 30th, 1520, to put an end to all theſe commotions, which threatened to involve the whole kingdom in a civil war. A parliament called.

At the firſt meeting of the parliament, the Earl of Arran and all the Hamiltons complained, they were not in ſafety to remain in the city of Edinburgh, while the Earl of Angus continued governor of the place.

Upon this repreſentation, ſtrongly backed, the Earl of Angus of himſelf gave up the government of Edinburgh; and, in order to bring about a perfect reconciliation betwixt the Hamiltons and the Douglaſſes, there was a meeting of many Lords; particularly, the Earls of Eglinton, Caſſils, Lenox; the Lords Roſs and Semple, and the Biſhop of Galloway Abbot of Paſley, Archibald Douglaſs of Kilſpindy, and the mayor of the city of Edinburgh, with many more.

But tho' a reconciliation between the Douglaſſes and Hamiltons was given out to be the reaſon of their frequent meetings; yet it appeared after, that the real cauſe of their caballing was to concert a ſcheme for apprehending and cutting off the Earl of Angus, whom they thought was now overgrown with power and wealth. But the Earl of Angus received timely notice of their deſigns: therefore, he ſent his ancient uncle Gavin Douglaſs Biſhop of Dunkeld, newly returned from France, to confer with the combined Lords; and if poſſible to bring matters to a compremiſe and agreement. But the Biſhop found them both implacable and unreaſonable againſt him: he found no poſſibility of getting out of the city, they had ſo ſecured all the avenues and gates by ſuperior numbers, ready to fall upon him and his friends: upon which, Lord Angus addreſſed himſelf to his friends, who attended him, and were about eighty in number, in very ſtrong and moving terms as follows: A deſign to deſtroy the Earl of Angus.

"Gentlemen and friends,

"We are ſurrounded and encloſed by our inveterate enemies. They are determined upon taking away our lives: let us then defend ourſelves, tho' few and but a handful, like men rather to die fighting, than ſubmit to the ignominy and diſgrace of the ſhameful death they want to inflict upon us. Let us ſhake off fear, ſtrike them with terror, and demonſtrate to them our reſolution and bravery."

Douglaſs Earl of Angus and all his people were in armour; and, being well furniſhed with ſmall arms from the citizens, they ruſhed out, like a flood and like roaring lions, into the ſtreets, and Averted by the bravery of Lord Angus.

‡ Garvet, or Inch Garvy, is a caſtle in an iſland in the Forth.

and drove all before them. The Earl of Arran made his eſcape over the North lake, and had nigh been loſt in the mud. Beaton, the Chancellor, took ſanctuary in the friary of the Dominicans. All gentlemen and others, who were willing to depart peaceably from the city, were allowed to go off with paſſports. The Douglaſſes were now maſters of the gates and city too, paying off and levelling their oppoſites, of whom about eighty gentlemen loſt their lives in the ſcuffle; particularly, my Lord Eglinton's eldeſt ſon, and Sir Patrick Hamilton, the Earl of Arran's brother, were killed in the ſtreet.

While the city was in this confuſion, William Douglaſs brother to the Earl of Angus, and all the poſſe of the Humes, came up and entered the city, to ſupport the Earl of Angus and the Douglaſſes, who, tho' ſo few, had behaved wonderfully in their own defence. On their coming into the city, terrible ſlaughter enſued among the Hamiltons. The Cockburns had joined the Humes, and remembered to the Earl of Arran how he had entered their country, how he had battered the caſtles of Hume and Langton, and how he had procured the forfeiture of the eſtates of the Humes and Cockburns, and had them all declared rebels and fugitives. This buſtle at Edinburgh happened on April the 30th, 1521.

When the news of all theſe commotions were carried over to the governor and the court of France, Francis now King of France is ſaid to have anſwered the Duke of Albany, that it was no more than what he expected of the Scots nation; for they were always ungrateful to the French.

This was a barefaced piece of French chicanery, ſo impudently falſe, that it hurt the governor's intereſt when tranſmitted to the ears of the nobility of Scotland.

The governor's meaſures for reſtoring order in the ſtate.

To ſoften and amuſe the Scots nation, now in a tumultuary ſpirit, the governor, by conſent of his patron the French King, ſent over Gavin Douglaſs Biſhop of Dunkeld, full loaded with inſtructions to repreſent and deliver the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, and the largeſt profeſſions and proteſtations of friendſhip and regard, from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty towards the intereſt, the honour and happy eſtabliſhment of the Peace of Scotland.

Theſe windy and empty bladders of vapor, his French Majeſty thought ſufficient to feed up and amuſe the imagination of the Scots, and to nurſe them up with this extenuating and ſublimated food.

Immediately after, the Duke of Albany, governor, ſent over the Earl of Lenox to Scotland, with repeated aſſurances of the moſt hearty diſpoſitions of the French court, to ſupport all the intereſts of Scotland, with letters to many of the nobility, particularly the Lords of the regency, to puff them up with chimerical notions of matters never intended.

French ingratitude.

But alas! unlucky for the governor and his French cooks, the Queen, the Lords of the regency, and many of the chief nobility, received, immediately after the arrival of the Earl of Lenox, letters with certain advice from their correſpondents abroad, to acquaint them, that their faithful ally, the French King Francis, had accommodated all differences with Henry the VIIIth of England: that Henry had agreed to reſtore Tournay to the French; and that a marriage was agreed and ſettled between the Dauphin of France, and the eldeſt Princeſs of England, when ſhe arrived at maturity for marriage: that articles for a laſting pacification had been agreed upon betwixt England and France, and were ready only for ſignature and ratification: but that, in the whole of this ſecretly negotiated treaty, not one word was mentioned of Scotland, nor the ſmalleſt proviſion or care taken to ſecure the peace and the intereſt of the Scots nation, from the encroachments of the Engliſh; but that the French had agreed upon all without conſulting or regarding the kingdom of Scotland in the ſmalleſt, tho' their ally, and bound to do otherwiſe by the faith of repeated treaties and engagements.

The regency exaſperated againſt France.

Upon receiving and conſidering of theſe advices, the regency of Scotland and the parliament ſent over their letters to the governor; acquainting him, they thought the kingdom well ſerved by the French, for all the blood and treaſure ſpent in their quarrels: they thanked his governorſhip for his care and fidelity to the intereſt of his nation, and his vigilance in promoting their intereſt with his patron the French King.

The French King and the governor now found they had exaſperated and enraged the kingdom of Scotland by their perfidy; and therefore ſet all their engines to work to ſoften and calm their ſpirits. The French King Francis wrote a letter, with his own hand, to the parliament of Scotland, to excuſe his not mentioning Scotland at all in his treaty with England; whereas, by repeated and ſolemnly renewed treaties, he was bound to enter into no articles nor ſtipulations with any nation without previouſly acquainting the King or miniſtry of Scotland with the particulars. But French honour can refine off the obligations of truth and common honeſty, when intereſt interferes.

King Francis found his evaſive letter had no regard from the nobility of Scotland, and that they weighed him and their French governor in the ſame ballance: therefore, his Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſave himſelf, in ſome meaſure, from the juſt reproach, hatred and indignation of the Scots nation, in conjunction with Henry of England, ſends two commiſſioners; Clarencieux came from England, and la Fiot from the French King, to ſettle the terms of a pacification with Scotland. But all the great job, effected by his French Majeſty, was to have a ceſſation of arms and truce ſigned and ratified betwixt Scotland and England for a year and day; and this was done only to give leiſure and opportunity to Henry of England and King Francis, to have a private interview to concert their meaſures jointly together.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding this truce now ſettled, yet great heats and violent outrages happened in the kingdom betwixt ſome of the greateſt families. The Earl of Rothſey diſputed and contended for his right to the ſheriffſhip of Fife againſt the Earl of Crawford. They carried the matter to that height, that both parties came armed to the field, to determine their right by blows; but they were prevented from further miſchief by a party of forces coming upon them, and ſecuring both the Lords. The one they committed to Dunbarton caſtle, and the other to that of Dunbar, to be under the care of French garriſons.

Domeſtic commotions.

At this time, the country all over, was in great confuſion, and threatned with a general inſurrection. Robert Blackatour, Prior of Coldingham, with ſix of his ſervants, were murdered in an ambuſcade by Hume of Wedderburn. The ſtate of the nation put on the face of anarchy; and therefore the governor's return to his government was much wanted, and impatiently expected, to prevent greater evils in the ſtate.

A plague breaks out at Edinburgh.

There was this year (1520) an epidemical diſtemper, which, by it's infectious nature, had the appearance, and raiſed the apprehenſions, of a plague in Scotland. It raged in the city of Edinburgh; the Earl of Arran therefore thought proper to convey the young King from the caſtle of Edinburgh, to that of Dalkeith; and, having ordered all matters for the King's ſafety and preſervation, he returned to Edinburgh: but, to his ſurprize, found the gates of the city ſhut upon him, and no poſſibility of acceſs. The magiſtrates and inhabitants, in juſtification of their conduct, pretended, that he came to over-awe and influence their elections: but this had been cooked up for the Earl of Arran by the Earl of Angus, who had artfully gained over the city of Edinburgh, and made them enemies to the Earl of Arran and all the Hamiltons. They called to mind the late ſcuffle, wherein ſeveral of the townſmen and inhabitants had loſt their lives, by the indiſcreet and baſe deſigns of the Earl of Arran, Chancellor Beaton, and many other Lords, who had plotted and caballed to cut off the Earl of Angus and his friends, when incloſed and ſurrounded in the city of Edinburgh.

The indignity offered the Earl of Arran by the citizens of Edinburgh, in ſhutting him out of the city, was highly reſented by him and all his friends; and, after this, the Earls of Arran and Angus were in continual oppoſition to each other; and being noblemen of the moſt extenſive influence and opulent fortunes beyond any noblemen of the kingdom, carried their debates to that height of rancor, that the whole kingdom was in danger of being engaged, upon one ſide or other, in open enmity and war againſt each other.

The governor returns to Scotland.

This inflamed and ungoverned ſtate of the kingdom, called for the governor's immediate return and preſence. The governor, having received repeated diſpatches calling him to Scotland to quell the diſorders of the nation; and being fully acquainted with the inſults of the Humes, how they had taken down the heads of Lord Hume and his brothers from the public places of Edinburgh city, upon the 20th of July, 1521; and how they, with the Douglaſſes and Cockburns, had inſulted and encroached upon the Hamiltons, the Boyds, and all their adherents: the governor, I ſay, urged by theſe reaſons, after five year's abſence, returned for Scotland, and landed at Garloch*, October 30, 1521.

When the governor was once got to Edinburgh, he applied himſelf, with great diligence, to make the ſtricteſt enquiry into the ſecret ſprings of all theſe diſorders, tumults, and convulſions, which had ravaged the kingdom during his abſence. He had matters ſecretly repreſented to him by the Earl of Arran and his friends, much to the diſadvantage of the Douglaſſes; and, having ſtrong repreſentations made him of the overgrown and dangerous power of the Earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George, he determined to have them removed from the court and kingdom for ſome time. Therefore, after taking the advice of his privy council, the governor called the parliament to meet for the diſpatch of divers weighty and important affairs.

Calls a parliament.

The parliament being met, the governor laid before them the ſtate of the nation, and the immediate neceſſity of ſuppreſſing all inteſtine and civil commotions, in order to be capable to act effectually againſt the common enemy. The governor pointed his reſentment chiefly againſt the Douglaſſes, Humes, and Cockburns, who had been concerned in cutting off Sir Anthony Darcy.

Baniſhes Lord Angus for a year.

The parliament ſummoned the Humes and Cockburns to anſwer before them for their conduct, and to make their defence to the impeachment the governor had laid againſt them. The Earl of Angus and his brothers were likewiſe ſummoned. But tho' Buchanan affirms, that Douglaſs was ſuddenly, without order of parliament, ſent an exile by the governor into France, and hurried away in the night in a French bottom; yet Drummond of Hautherdane, and other impartial and authentic hiſtorians affirm, that Douglaſs Earl of Angus, by the Queen his conſort's interceſſion, was pardoned upon condition that he removed to France for one year; and that his brother, Sir George, was likewiſe forced to depart the kingdom upon the ſame conditions.

Buchanan affirms, that the Duke of Albany the governor, forced Gavin Douglaſs, Biſhop of Dunkeld, to go over to Rome, to make oath before his holineſs the Pope for his vindication from any acceſſion to deſigns or conſpiracies againſt the governor's intereſt in his abſence, in conjunction with the Earl of Angus his nephew, and the Humes, Cockburns, and their adherents: but all the other hiſtorians of credit aſſert, that Gavin Douglaſs, being now in the



* Garloch, a ſea-port and good harbour upon the Iriſh ſea, on the Weſt coaſt of Roſs-ſhire.

Gavin Douglaſs retires to London.

decline of Life, and (from the reſentment the governor had diſcovered againſt his nephew the Earl of Angus, and all the Douglaſſes) being afraid of the governor's next attempt upon himſelf, as the perſon who had the immediate inſpection and care of the young King's education, reſolved to retire: therefore, he left the kingdom ſecretly, and conveyed himſelf to the court of London; where, being well received by King Henry, and highly eſteemed by the court, as a gentleman of great ingenuity, learning, and of ſolid judgment, he remained for ſome time.

Upon his arrival at the court of London, the good old Biſhop had a private audience of Henry the VIIIth; wherein he acquainted his Majeſty, that he had retired from Scotland to London, to be at a diſtance from the French governor of Scotland's pernicious ſchemes: that he very well knew the governor's buſineſs at this time, in Scotland, was to execute the ſyſtem of his patron the French King; who intended to excite (if poſſible) the Scots to declare war againſt England: that the governor had firſt baniſhed the Earl of Angus, his Majeſty's brother-in-law, in order to make indecent attempts upon the Queen's chaſtity in her huſband's abſence, which in part the governor had already executed; and that he had ſignified his high diſpleaſure at Gavin the Biſhop, for aſſuming the ſole management of the young King's education. The Biſhop gave ſuch further intelligence of the real ſituation of affairs in Scotland at this time, as fully ſatisfied King Henry, that the governor, by his coming over from France at this juncture, wanted firſt to remove all from the court and from power, who were for maintaining peace and good neighbourhood with England; and to have the faction in his cabinet, who favoured the French intereſt, to be poſſeſſed of the ſole adminiſtration of the national affairs, in order to prepare matters for a rupture with England; ſo to divert his people by a foreign war from civil commotions.

The chief intent of the French King Francis, in ſpiriting up the Scots nation to war with England at this juncture, was to divert the Engliſh from this quarter; that they might not be in capacity to aſſiſt the Emperor againſt France; and the next point in view with the French King, was to draw the Scots nation to a ſlaviſh and neceſſary dependence upon France, having no other allies left to ſupport them.

When Henry of England had in private learned the whole of the governor's French ſyſtem, from Gavin Douglaſs the Biſhop of Dunkeld, he ordered his meaſures accordingly; and, without loſs of time, ſent Clarencieux his envoy extraordinary and ambaſſador to Scotland: but juſt as Clarencieux ſet out upon his embaſſy, Gavin Douglaſs was taken ill, and died in few days. His remains, with great reſpect, were depoſited in the Savoy church in London.

Dies.

His character.

Gavin Douglaſs was by deſcent of noble extract, ſprung from the greateſt families of the kingdom: a man of fine preſence and of a comely perſonage; of quick wit, great judgment; moderate and cool, ſo as to be regarded by oppoſite factions; prudent and faithful in his councils; of generous benevolence and humanity; and greatly eſteemed for his excelling learning and knowlege both of books and men. It is affirmed by Buchanan, that he died in ſummer, 1522, of the plague at London; but this manner of his death I do not find confirmed by any other hiſtorians.

Henry VIII ſends a herald to Scotland.

Clarencieux, having his full inſtructions from King Henry, proceeded with all expedition for Scotland; and, upon his arrival, waited directly upon the governor of Scotland, now at Edinburgh, to deliver the meſſage given him in charge from the King of England. Having immediate acceſs to the governor, Clarencieux delivered himſelf in the following addreſs to the governor:

His meſſage to the governor.

"I am ſent by the King of England, my maſter, to intimate to your Highneſs, that his Majeſty of England cannot think the young King of Scotland, his nephew, in perfect ſafety, as to life, fortune, honour, nor government, while you as governor remain in Scotland: that, as next heir, and declared ſo by parliament, to the crown of Scotland, you may poſſibly, either thro' ambition or evil council, be tempted to remove the young King to make way for yourſelf. Such things have been done by former regents, and likewiſe in other kingdoms of Europe: therefore, the King of England inſiſts, that, if you bear any love to the young King as you profeſs, you depart the kingdom of Scotland; and if you obſtinately perſiſt in a reſolution to continue in Scotland, the King of England is determined to declare war directly againſt the Scots nation on your account."

Clarencieux further intimated, in the name of his maſter the King, that he highly reſented the treatment of the Earl of Angus's baniſhment to France, and his being kept there; eſpecially, when he had certain intelligence, that the governor had done this from very diſhonourable deſigns upon the Queen of Scotland his ſiſter's chaſtity; which he (the governor) had attempted moſt baſely to violate in her huſband's abſence. Therefore, if the governor ſhould not be diſpoſed to comply with the demands of the King of England, he might depend upon the marks of his immediate and effectual reſentment; it having been ſtipulated, betwixt his Majeſty and the King of France, that the governor of Scotland ſhould not remain nor continue in Scotland; otherwiſe the preliminaries for a pacification with France, mutually ſigned by the Kings of England and France, ſhould become void and of no validity.

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The governor's anſwer to the Engliſh ambaſſador was as haughty: he acquainted the ambaſſador, that, tho' there might be ſtipulations agreed upon betwixt the two Monarchs; yet he did not know what relation their mutual engagements could have to him: he was independent of them: they had no juriſdiction or authority over him, nor could they pretend to baniſh him from his native land, over which he was conſtituted governor and ſole regent by parliamentary eſtabliſhment and the united ſuffrages of the kingdom. That as to the young King of Scotland, he would execute every part of his truſt and guardianſhip to him, in ſuch manner as would demonſtrate to the world, that he was no ſuch perſon as deſired to be King upon the overthrow of an infant King: that if he did not inherit a crown by right, and in the moſt fair and equitable manner, he did not deſire it; nor would he have it in any other way: for he was none of thoſe men who coveted a crown, with ſuch brutal affections as to reject all honour, humanity or decency. That as to the Earl of Angus, he had heaped favours and acts of the moſt generous kindneſs upon him, to ſecure his friendſhip and fidelity, untill that his conduct became intollerable: and as for the Queen, nothing had paſſed betwixt her and him but the common compliments, which, at the court of France, would not have been in the leaſt taken notice of, tho' by the Engliſh ladies (thro' miſtake) might be conſtrued to be the conſequence of ſome criminal intrigue; and he aſſured King Henry he never ſhould attempt any thing to diſhonour the Queen: but that if his Majeſty was reſolved to attack Scotland upon his account, he would take care to put his nation in a ſtate of defence, to repel the injuſtice of ſuch an encroachment. The governor's haughty anſwer.

Upon receiving this haughty return from the governor of Scotland, King Henry ordered a fleet of ſeven ſail of his largeſt ſhips of war to be got ready with all expedition to put to ſea, and to cruize upon the coaſt of Scotland, to intercept all French ſuccours, and if poſſible the governor himſelf, if attempting to depart for France. The Engliſh fleet came upon the coaſt of Scotland, burnt and deſtroyed ſeveral ſea-ports, and did all in their power to excite the people of Scotland to a revolt from the governor. The Engliſh plundered every place they came to, and all the Scots, with the French, were ordered by proclamation to depart from London, yea from England. In return, the French King iſſued out his arret, for all Engliſh, under pain of impriſonment, to depart the kingdom of France in twenty-four hours; but he firſt ſeized their money and effects both at Bourdeaux and other cities. King Henry commits hoſtilities againſt Scotland.

Some hiſtorians ſay, the Earl of Shrewſbury; others, that the Earl of Surrey, entered Scotland at the ſame time with a great army; and coming down upon Kelſo, burnt half the town, plundered the other half, and all the counties round it.

While Henry of England thus diſtreſſed and harraſſed Scotland, the Emperor Charles V. came over to England, to engage King Henry to declare war againſt France. The French ſent at the ſame time repeated and importuning embaſſies to Scotland, to engage the Scots in their quarrel by an open declaration of war againſt England. Upon this, the governor, to gratify his French patron, ſummoned the parliament to meet, to deliberate upon the diſpatches received from France.

The parliament met according to proclamation, and the governor ſo cooked matters, as to procure a majority for raiſing an army with all expedition to invade England. To encourage all concerned to be more hearty in this expedition, the parliament enacted, that the heirs and ſucceſſors of all noblemen, gentlemen, or others, who ſhould loſe their lives in this expedition, ſhould be freed and exempted of the ſervitude or wardſhip of their ſuperiors; that is, the ſuperior ſhould not have the management of the young heir during his minority, nor any power over his rents, as was the ancient law and cuſtom of Scotland, which was moſt unfair and oppreſſive. This ſervitude was entitled the wardſhip; which was only an encroachment firſt introduced by the arbitrary nobility of Scotland, upon their vaſſals. Theſe tyrannical ſuperiorities in Scotland have not been practiced there for many years, and the laws, which gave them being, are become obſolete. The regent raiſes an army.

This parliament further enacted, that the widows and orphans of all killed in this expedition, ſhould be provided for by penſions according to their rank. All theſe encouragements were French craft to draw Scotland into a ſnare, and to make them tools to diſtreſs the King of England. The governor however got his army aſſembled with great diſcontent. Their general rendezvous was on Roſlin heath or moor, near Edinburgh.

When the army was completed, the artillery got ready, with all the baggage and neceſſaries for a march, the orders being given, the main army, under the governor's command, marched to the banks of the Solway near Dumfries. Juſt upon the borders here, the regent pitched upon an advantageous ſituation for an encampment, and halted with his army. The Earl of Huntley, with his men, kept back about three miles diſtant from the army: many of the other nobility, by his influence, began to draw back, and to ſhew a diſpoſition to oppoſe any attack upon England. Upon this, the regent in perſon went back to the Earl of Huntley, to expoſtulate with him about the meaning of his not advancing with the army; and told the Lord Huntley, that his withdrawing occaſioned a deſertion and oppoſition from the other nobility. The nobility diſconcert his meaſures.

The governor called a council of war of all the nobility and heads of the clans, to demand of them an explication of their meaſures: firſt to take the field, and to make an appearance of joining him with their forces; then, when juſt upon the point of action, and in capacity to annoy their enemy, to retire and diſconcert all his well-intended meaſures.

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The anſwer of the nobility to this was ſtrong aud reſolute: they acquainted the governor, that they had taken the field, not to attack England, nor to be the aggreſſors, but to defend their own kingdom againſt any invaſion or attack from the Engliſh, or any other enemy: that they were very ready and willing to concur in every meaſure for the honour and ſafety of their nation; but that the regent muſt allow them to know, from former fatal experience, that the kingdom of Scotland had neither honour nor advantage by being ſo very forward in proſecuting French meaſures. The preſent expedition (they plainly told the governor) was no ſcheme for the grandeur of the Scots nation; but for ſerving and gratifying his French patron. His love to the nation, his regard to the welfare and happineſs of the nobility, did not appear in this undertaking; but the contrary, to expoſe them and their families to certain dangers without any honourable and national pretext.

Theſe ſtrong repulſes of reaſon, which likewiſe breathed indignation at the French and the governor, excited the governor to exert all the power of his eloquence and perſuaſive arguments to gain over the nobility. He remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt their untimely oppoſition, why they had not declared themſelves at the meeting of the parliament, to be averſe to the raiſing any army: that now, being ſo far advanced, to return or remain inactive would appear for ever in future annals inglorious. Their conduct, in the preſent undertaking, would make the nation for ever branded with raſhneſs and precipitation, as well as cowardice and weakneſs of mind. The governor inſiſted, that their provocation from the Engliſh had been great; that the Engliſh always repeated their encroachments and depredations upon the frontier of Scotland, and of late in a very audacious manner. But all theſe plauſible and well-told tales of the governor had no effect upon the minds of the nobility. They were reſolute, fixed and determined, to blaſt the French ſyſtem of their governor; and on this occaſion they were neither to be coaxed nor threatened into his meaſures.

The regent in great perplexity.

This united diſpoſition of the nobility of Scotland put the governor and regent in ſuch perplexity, he was at a loſs how to conduct himſelf. To retire and to diſperſe his forces would be ſhameful: to advance, in oppoſition to the ſentiments and affections of his nobility, would be to thruſt himſelf headlong into danger, and to expoſe any troops who ſupported him to be a ſacrifice to the Engliſh.

The Queen dowager was in full knowlege of all this labyrinth into which her Majeſty, with addreſs and good management, had brought the governor; for her Majeſty bore an entire affection and great regard for her brother King Henry; and therefore had taken care to form and fix the affections and reſolutions of the nobility of Scotland, before they ſet out upon this expedition, and had ſo effectually disjointed the governor's ſyſtem, that now he was in danger from all quarters.

The Queen, having cooked up this oppoſition to the French with great judgment and accuracy, and having full intelligence how all ſtood, diſpatched an expreſs ſecretly to the governor to propoſe an expedient to him to diſentangle him from his preſent difficult ſituation. The Queen's expedient was, that the Lord Dacres, Lord-warden of the Engliſh frontier, and the governor ſhould have a ſecret interview, to concert ſome healing meaſure to pave the way for a ſolid pacification; and her Majeſty propoſed, that ſhe ſhould privately acquaint the Lord Dacres of the governor's good diſpoſition for an accommodation.

My Lord Dacres, upon receipt of this letter from the Queen, called a meeting of the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, to deliberate upon what was moſt proper to be done.

Sues for peace.

The reſult of their conſultation, and their reſolution, was, that Lord Dacres, Sir Thomas Muſgrave, and about twenty more gentlemen, ſhould ſignify, in a private manner, to the governor, their intention and deſire to wait of him at his own tent, to ſettle all differences in a friendly manner.

This meaſure the Lord Dacres wiſely executed, becauſe at this time he was not in a condition to make a defence, nor to oppoſe the Scots army ſo numerous, provided they ſhould have determined to march their whole army into England. The Lord Dacres, with the other Engliſh nobility and gentry, were well received by the governor, and treated with great politeneſs. They agreed upon a ceſſation of all hoſtilities, and preliminaries were drawn up, September 11, 1522, to be tranſmitted to King Henry for his approbation add ſignature,

Unſucceſsful.

which were ſent by a ſolemn embaſſy from the governor to the court of London: but King Henry, with great indignation, rejected all offers of accommodation from the governor; being in full knowlege, that theſe his ſubmiſſions proceeded not from choice, but the neceſſity of his affairs: and therefore King Henry was not to ſuit himſelf to the governor's exigencies, nor to accommodate himſelf to his preſent preſſures; but determined, if poſſible, to ſpirit up the nobility of Scotland, ſo that he ſhould make the governor ſoon wearied of Scotland, which point he effected: for the 25th of October of this year 1522, he ſet ſail from the Weſt coaſt of Scotland, to repreſent matters to Francis the French King his patron, and to procure ſuch ſuccours as might effectually over-awe the Scots nation, and diſtreſs England.

This Year (1522) was remarkable for two events: the death of Foreman Primate of St. Andrew's, who always had been a faithful agent for the French intereſt in Scotland. The next event was the promotion of Beaton, Archbiſhop of Glaſcow, to the ſee of St. Andrew's. This Beaton afterwards proved the moſt bloodthirſty, infamous tool of Romiſh cruelty; as the

the memoirs of his life, in this hiſtory, ſhall plainly demonſtrate. Gavin Dunbar was, upon this tranſlation, promoted to the ſee of Glaſcow.

The governor, at his departure from Scotland, to compoſe the minds of the diſcontented, aſſured them, that he was to return by Auguſt next year, and would bring over a ſufficient army to make Scotland the terror of England: but the governor, upon his arrival in France, having repreſented matters in the moſt urgent and importuning manner to his French Majeſty, could not obtain from him more than five hundred men at firſt, with ſome few marines; which the governor ſent over in June to Scotland, together with ſome thouſands of arms and warlike ſtores. The governor had demanded of the French King five thouſand German horſe with ten thouſand foot, to be ſet on board tranſports, under convoy of a fleet of men of war able to diſpute the ſea with the Engliſh: but this could not be granted, becauſe of the preſſure upon the French King, both from England and the Emperor, which gave him employment for all his force by ſea and land. However, the five hundred men, with marines and ſailors, were ſent on board ſome ſtout ſhips of conſiderable force, and ordered to Scotland. The regent goes again to France.

They had a quick paſſage, and came up the Forth to the iſland of May, without any moleſtation: but here, both upon the coaſt and in the creeks of the iſland, there lay ſome Engliſh ſhips ready to intercept them. This brought the French to engage the Engliſh. The fight was warm and obſtinate, but the French ſeemed to have the better; for they begun to board the Engliſh ſhips, and made great ſlaughter in the Engliſh fleet. At length, the French admiral being killed by a cannon ball, the French, enraged, redoubled their fury, and boarded the Engliſh ſhips, making their decks a frightful ſcene, ſtrowed over with dead and wounded; having no mercy on the Engliſh, becauſe of the loſs of their admiral. In this action the Engliſh were ſeverely ſhattered in their ſhipping, and loſt great numbers of ſailors, and therefore retired.

The French came up the river and landed their handful of ſuccours, which, at this time, were not of uſe to Scotland; for Sir Thomas Howard, Earl of Surry, taking advantage of the governor's abſence in France, and of the heart-burnings and oppoſition among the nobility, by King Henry of England's order, marched down upon Scotland with an army of ten thouſand men, and ſome thouſand voluntiers. Meeting with no oppoſition nor reſiſtance of any conſequence, he did what he pleaſed, and marched thro' the different moſt opulent counties in the South and Weſt of Scotland; levying contributions, and laying the country waſte every where. But, in reprizal, the Scots, tho' abandoned by their French governor, collected bodies of men, and watched their opportunity to diſtreſs, harraſs, and ſometimes cut off, detatched parties of the Engliſh. They had not force to ſtand a general action with the Engliſh at this time, the nation being ſo divided and diſturbed by the contending factions in the Kingdom. Scotland ravaged by the Engliſh.

Mers and Teviotdale ſuffered moſt by this invaſion of the Engliſh. But, after the Engliſh army had traverſed theſe and the adjacent counties, and encamped nigh to Jedburgh to wait for any ſuccours or aſſiſtance which the Scots might receive from France, the Humes, Cockburns, and ſome of the Douglaſſes, who had been ill uſed by the Engliſh army, got together ſome hundreds of deſperate fellows; and by ſtratagem from an adjacent wood nigh to the Engliſh camp, where they had placed themſelves in a ſecure and ſafe ambuſcade, in the night-time, contrived to make an irruption with ſome inſtruments contrived for that purpoſe, to make a dreadful noiſe, in imitation of thunder; and thereby they ſo frightned the Engliſh cavalry, that they all broke looſe, run off to the number of ſix hundred, and, without poſſibility of taking them, they ſtrayed for ſeveral miles through the country; and at laſt, however, fell into the hands of the Scots farmers, and others, who could pick them up.

This attempt, from the Scots upon the Engliſh cavalry, made the Engliſh army apprehend greater danger was at hand; that the Scots had never ventured upon ſuch a deſperate meaſure with a handful men, when their country had lately ſuffered ſo much: therefore, the Engliſh general conceived a ſuſpicion of ſome formidable body being not far off, to ſupport them who frightned their cavalry. Upon which, they held a council of war, in which they determined to retire into England, but to leave Jedburgh as a monument of their reſentment; which they did, and burnt it to aſhes.

The governor had been at ſea with his French fleet and ſuccours for ſome days. He had now procured from King Francis 3000 foot, 100 curaſſiers, 3000 pikes, and 1000 lances, with other implements of war; and having fifty ſail of ſhipping, he watched his opportunity, when the Engliſh fleet had put into port, the end of Auguſt, to eſcape any ſtorm at ſea. Finding the ſea clear at this time, the governor, with his fleet and men on board, ventured, and got without interruption, to the South-weſt coaſt of Scotland. He landed his men and arms all ſafe on the iſle of Arran, the 21ſt of September. They had been but ten days at ſea from their embarkation at Breſt. The governor returns with ſuccours.

It happened, that the Duke of Albany, governor, with his French auxiliaries, landed the ſame day that the Engliſh army, under the command of the Earl of Surry and the Marquiſs of Dorſet, had ſet fire to Jedburgh town in their retreat for England.

The news of the depredations and ravaging of the Engliſh army over the country, did furniſh the governor with ſufficient foundation and grounds to magnify the immediate neceſſity of

raiſing an army with all expedition, and to make the moſt effectual preparations for an open declaration of war againſt England. The governor's party in Scotland, by his arrival with ſuch ſuccours, received a fluſh and full recruit of ſpirits, and redoubled their reſolution to make reprizals on the Engliſh.

The regent calls a parliament.

The governor called a parliament to meet directly at Edinburgh, to reſolve on what was moſt proper to be done for the ſafety and defence of the kingdom. Here great debates aroſe about the declaration of war againſt England. The Queen's party, who were very numeous, with all their ſtrength of argument, contended for a peace with England; and that the greateſt ſafety of Scotland was by their ſtrict friendſhip with the King of England. Engliſh aid, they ſaid, was always nigh at hand, and no croſſing of ſeas for it. That an union in intereſts with England was moſt natural, being under one climate, under the ſame cuſtoms, of nighly the ſame language and manners, of the ſame colour, conſtitution, and make of body, and but parts of one iſland.

King Henry's fineſſe

Upon this occaſion, King Henry of England artfully dropt into Scotland, to his ſiſter the Queen, and by her, to the other nobility of Scotland who were her friends, his letters; intimating, in very ſtrong and perſuaſive terms, his cordial inclinations to preſerve peace and good friendſhip with Scotland: that it was not his fault, that his friendſhip and alliance had not been ſtrongly rivetted and cemented before now, by the moſt demonſtrative proofs on his Majeſty's part: that, at this juncture, the entering into the cloſeſt and ſtricteſt friendſhip with Scotland, would be moſt acceptable to him; and if the Scots nation, upon this occaſion, would but renounce their engagements with the French, and diſſolve all their old confederacies, connections and dependencies with France, converting their alliance into the moſt natural and true channel, ſo as to fortify both nations againſt all attempts of a foreign enemy, and to make this iſland the controul of France, capable to traverſe all her intriguing and ſelfiſh deſigns, his Majeſty of England was ready, upon ſubſtantial proof given by the Scots at this juncture of their diſpoſition to friendſhip, and their making any ſteps or advances towards the foundation of it, to demonſtrate to the kingdom of Scotland, that his views were not ambitious; but that his royal intentions were pure, and to eſtabliſh laſting concord and love betwixt Scotland and England: that his great concern was to have the welfare and happineſs of his nephew, King James, promoted, that his kingdom might flouriſh, and the people be made eaſy.

King Henry propoſed, for the more cloſely uniting their mutual intereſts, that his only daughter, the Princeſs Mary, ſhould be married to his nephew King James; which would ſo confirm the alliance and friendſhip between the two nations, that the Engliſh would more chearfully comply with the government of Scotland, and the Scots would not be compelled to the government of England. To enforce all, King Henry, in his letters, ſubjoined, that there had been animoſities and enmity betwixt other kingdoms carried higher, and of an ancienter date, than all the quarrels ſubſiſting between Scotland and England; but by intermarriages and repeated alliances, by interchange of friendſhip and mutual conceſſions, they had come to be firmly and unalterably united in their deſigns and undertakings: and, to ſum up all, if England and Scotland were immutably joined in friendſhip and alliance, and the nobility of Scotland did but coolly weigh matters in the juſt ballance, they would be convinced, that, if England were their friend, France could not be an enemy; for that their enmity could not be of any fatal conſequence to either part of the iſland.

The reaſoning in theſe letters of Henry the VIIIth of England, of which I have given you the ſubſtance, (the original letters being tedious and in old language) demonſtrates him to be a man of acute wit and ſound judgment; and it muſt be owned, the reaſoning is juſt, the topics inſiſted upon rational, and ſpeaking the real intereſt of both kingdoms. But two ſtrong motives produced a powerful oppoſition to the Engliſh intereſt in the parliament of Scotland: firſt, the French gold had got over at this juncture to Scotland, and had touched the affections of many of both houſes of parliament: many perſons of rank had made their eſtates by the confuſion, calamity, and troubles of the kingdom; and, being accuſtomed to fiſh in troubled water, they chuſed to have the water ſtill muddy and troubled to promote their fiſhing. The next reaſon was a diſtruſt in the veracity, integrity, and ſincerity of cardinal Wolſey, whom the Scots believed to be a man not very nice in the obſervation of faith, or fulfilling engagements to any, further than his own private intereſt was concerned. In this he acted in character as a prieſt, the faith of prieſts being nearly allied to Carthaginian honeſty.

traverſed.

In anſwer to the pleadings in parliament upon King Henry's letter, and the offers he had made to Scotland, the chiefs of the nobility in the French intereſt, inſiſted, that all the promiſes and offers now made, were only amuſing and enſnaring, in order to temporize with the Scots nation, and to excite the old enmity and rooted hatred in the minds of the nobility and gentry in parliament.

The promoters of the French intereſt recapitulated all former injuries, barbarities and inſults, committed by the Engliſh againſt Scotland.

This was inflaming an old ſore, opening an old wound, and raking into a putrid dunghill, to call to mind old grudges, and renewing the fire of diſtaſte and diſcord betwixt both nations.

Firſt, theſe frenchified nobility deſired every honeſt and impartial Scotſman, but to look back to the behaviour of Edward the Iſt; how he had ſolemnly and ſacredly ſworn to act and decide equitably betwixt the Bruces and Balliols, when choſen arbiter to determine the con-

controverſy, and, inſtead of acting with juſtice and honour, had made himſelf upon the matter, King of Scotland, aiming at no leſs than to reduce the whole of Scotland by conqueſt; tho' he failed in his unfair, yea perfidious attempt.

To fulfil this, next they opened the Scene of Edward the IVth's behaviour, and breach of faith with Scotland; how he had by articles, engaged to give his daughter the Princeſs Cecilia to James the IIId's ſon and Prince ſucceſſor; but, upon the encreaſe and danger of the civil war and rebellion in Scotland, which Edward himſelf had promoted, he had excuſed himſelf from fulfilling his engagements, and refuſed his daughter to the Prince of Scotland.

This treatment they boldly affirmed was ſufficient indication, that a King of England was never to be truſted by Scotland, except it were for his own intereſt; they farther ſubjoined, that an uncertain friend, and an old enemy upon the ſame continent, was not to be much confided in, nor his alliance much to be valued or depended on; for of ſurprize he could attack and overpower, from ſpecious pretences, all his neighbours and allies, even without any formality of a declaration of war. Without regard therefore to the advantageous offers of Henry the VIIIth of England, and the ſtrong appearance of many of the nobility, the French ſuccours and ſupplies of different kinds, ſo over-ruled the parliament, that it was carried, by a great majority, to declare war, and to raiſe all their forces, to aſſemble them, and join the French troops without loſs of time. This was proof, that French engines never become ruſty for want of exerciſe and working, but often, by over heating, catch fire, and raiſe a flame. All poſſible diligence was uſed for the completion of this purpoſe; the Duke of Albany had brought the French troops, and all his warlike ſtores, from the iſle of Arran to Glaſgow; which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous for the whole army.

The governor marches again for England.

The forces of Scotland were ordered to join the French here; and upon the 22d of October, according to Buchanan, and the 28th, according to Drummond and Doctor Leſly, the Scots army, being compleat, begun it's march to England, and was in high ſpirits, 'till the Queen had ſecretly repeated her game with the nobility, to embarraſs the governor, and to ſtop his progreſs into England. However, the Scots army marched to Coldſtream, upon the Tweed.

Bombards Werk caſtle.

Being arrived on the banks of the river, the Duke of Albany, by the approbation of his general officers, ſent over a ſtrong detachment of the beſt of the Scots and French troops, with ſome artillery, under the command of David Ker of Fernihaſt, to attack the caſtle of Werk, on the other ſide the river. The Scots forces and artillery paſſed over a wooden bridge; and, having appeared before Werk caſtle, the French, as the beſt engineers, and moſt regular in the attacks of places, begun to ſtorm the place with a warm, and well-pointed diſcharge of all their artillery.

The governor however, in his operations here, was much perplexed; for the nobility of Scotland now acted over what they had done in the Duke of Albany's former expedition. They declared their fixed reſolution not to enter England; ſo that the Duke (their governor) was forced to call back his out-parties, and to deſiſt from any attempts to penetrate farther into England. But the French and Scots, who had attacked the caſtle of Werk, continued to bombard the place. The horſe, who inveſted the caſtle of Werk, ſo ſurrounded and encloſed the place, as to make a compleat blockade of the fortreſs, and intercepted all communication for proviſions, ſtores, or any neceſſaries, for the garriſon, ſo as to reduce them to great extremities; yet the garriſon, with their ſmall ſtock of proviſions, by the aſſiſtance of the country people, who had taken ſanctuary within the walls, and had brought in all their effects, made a gallant reſiſtance, and defended the caſtle with great bravery, notwithſtanding the continual fire from the beſiegers.

That my reader may the better underſtand the manner of fortifying caſtles in the country, in thoſe troubleſome times, the caſtle of Werk, was ſituated on an eminence, upon a rocky foundation. The tower, in the center, was a high ſtrong caſtle, built of ſtone, and of great thickneſs. This tower, or caſtle, was the capital building, and the place of accommodation for the officers and garriſon; where likewiſe all their arms, ammunition, and ſtores, were kept. This caſtle, or tower, was compaſſed by a double wall; the outermoſt wall was ſtrong and high, quite round the fort, with a rampart for playing off ſmall arms and field-pieces. Betwixt this outer wall and the inner wall was a large tract of ground, or a ſufficient encloſure, to hold many families, and their beſt effects, who retired for ſanctuary under the walls; and this encloſure was airy and not confined. The inner wall was ſeparated from the area, within the outer wall, by a deep intrenchment, or ditch; and, on the inſide of the inner wall, was likewiſe a foſſe and mole betwixt the wall and the tower. The inner wall was fortified with turrets, for the benefit of the beſieged to make the better defence upon an attack. The tower being high above the walls, the garriſon in the tower could, with darts, lances, and other weapons, annoy the beſiegers greatly in any attack, and pour down upon them, if attempting a breach, which was the preſent caſe: for the French and Scots forces had, by ſtorm, taken poſſeſſion of the firſt wall, and of the area, in which all the country people were ſheltered, and ſo proceeded to the inner wall: but the country people all of ſurprize, ſet fire to their hay, ſtraw, wood, and other combuſtibles, which they had brought hither for ſafety, and thereby raiſed ſuch a ſmoak and darkneſs, that the garriſon, by the aſſiſtance of the country people and this ſtratagem, drove the French and Scots back to their firſt quarters.

However,

However, after recovering their diſorder, the aſſailants returned to the attack, and penetrated to the inner wall; but they were ſo warmly received, with ſuch ſhowers of ſtones, of darts, and ſmall arms, ſupported by their field-pieces on the turrets, that they forced the beſiegers from the breach thay had made, tho' the breach was wide, and that they had battered in breach for ſome days; yet, upon their approach, they were ſo galled, that they were forced to retire, and to give up the attempt.

Upon this repulſe there followed a violent ſtorm and flood; and the governor, being very apprehenſive of the floods intercepting their retreat, and that thereby they would be expoſed to be cut off by the Engliſh army if they came up, determined therefore to make them repaſs the river; which they did with ſafety. At the ſame time, the Duke of Albany (the governor) had received intelligence, that the Engliſh army, under command of Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, was arrived at Anwick, and deſigned to attack the Scots army to relieve Werk-caſtle. Theſe conſiderations united, together with the ſuperior force of the Engliſh, who were 40000 ſtrong, made it prudent for the governor to retire; and accordingly, to pleaſe his diſcontented nobility, he retreated and encamped November 11, 1522, at the nunnery called Eccles, ſix miles from the place he came from: but, not thinking it proper to continue here with an army, in the night he ordered his tents to be ſtruck, and marched to Lauther town; which march proved very troubleſome to the ſoldiery; for there had been a great fall of ſnow, and the cold was ſo ſevere, as to make ſeveral of the officers and private men afterwards very ſickly. The Engliſh army found the ſame inconvenience from the great fall of ſnow, and therefore diſmiſſed their army into winter-quarters.

The governor returns to Scotland.

An armiſtice concluded.

After this, by deputies of each ſide, a ceſſation of all hoſtilities was agreed upon, and the articles for the ſettlement of it ſigned November 30, being St. Andrew's day.

During the winter ſeaſon, the nobility, having repoſe from all foreign attacks, employed their time caballing and projecting againſt the governor. They were wearied of him, and the eaſieſt and ſofteſt way to ſhake him off, was by taking part with the young King, and inſiſting, that, as he was now in the fourteenth year of his age, he ſhould take the government of the kingdom upon him.

This the nobility of Scotland promoted as an effectual meaſure to get rid of the French governor. In order to make this ſcheme the more effectual, and to accompliſh it with the greater velocity and accuracy, the nobility and gentry of Scotland had taken proper ways to engage the affections of all the people and of the army, in favour of the young King; and to diſengage the nation from the governor.

The governor ſoon found this out, and, finding nowhis intereſt and influence over the whole kingdom decayed, and like to vaniſh, he requeſted the parliament and council to allow him to return to France. The governor proteſted to them in the moſt ſolemn terms, that he had not been guilty of any wilful error in all his government; and if any miſtakes had happened, they were far from being deſigned or foreſeen; for his ſincere deſire ever had been to promote the honour and glory of Scotland, and to aſſert their rights and privileges. The governor having addreſſed the parliament and all in the politeſt manner, leave was given him to retire to France.

The regent reſigns his honours,

Before his departure, he went to wait of the young King at Stirling: here the governor waited ſome days with the young King, and converſed with him in the moſt affectionate and tender manner; gave him ſuch wiſe and juſt ſentiments of government, and ſuch inſtructions, as his tender years were capable of receiving; and did plainly indicate the wiſdom and great capacity of the governor.

and finally retires to France.

After giving the young King evident proofs of his tender concern and real affection for him, and taking leave of him with the greater reſpect, anxiety and concern, he ſet out for France, attended by numbers of Scots and French gentlemen of rank and diſtinction, on board the French fleet, which waited for him.

This judicious, polite, and well-concerted manner of departure, by the Duke of Albany, was a farther proof of his great abilities and ſagacity. As a wiſe and good man, he declined endangering his own happineſs and ſafety in over-ruling or managing the affairs of the kingdom, when ſo agitated, convulſed and hazardous, thro' the oppoſition, contention, contraſt and obſtinacy of the different factions now in Scotland; and, being tired with the turbulent ſpirit of ſome nobility, who cramped him in all his meaſures, he ſnatched the firſt opportunity to withdraw, and made ſuch a timely retreat as to ſave his honour and reputation. After this, he never returned to Scotland.

The governor was a perſon of great underſtanding, of uncommon vivacity in his apprehenſion, reſolute and bold, polite and eloquent, and always treated men according to their behaviour; but carried his reſentment too far for the murder of Sir Anthony Darcy: he was chequed from violent meaſures by the oppoſition of the Queen's faction: but as he had his honours and governorſhip conferred upon him without ſolliciting for his preferments, and as he had the offer of the regency made him without aſking; ſo he, in the genteeleſt manner, without being aſked or compelled, voluntarily reſigned his power and authority; finding he could make nothing effectual, thro' the preſent diſturbed and contentious ſpirit, which Henry VIII. and his ſiſter the Queen dowager, had kindled in the nation.

The

The Duke of Albany, at his departure, aſked of the Lords and others about the King, that the King might remain at Stirling, giving his friends ſome hopes of his return to Scotland, but he never did return.

Henry the VIIIth, and his Siſter the Queen dowager of Scotland, took the moſt effectual means to prevent the Duke of Albany's return; for the Queen, the moment ſhe had certain notice that the Duke regent was ſailed for France, got together all the nobility her friends, and held a council extraordinary; in which they came to a reſolution how to conduct the affairs of ſtate, ſo as to put the government in the young King's perſon, and ſo diſengage him from the tutelage of the governor.

The governor ſet ſail, according to Buchanan, May 14, 1523, and the young King James, by the advice and direction of his mother the Queen, and the Earls of Argyle, Lenox, Crawford, and Arran (who were of her cabinet) moved from Stirling caſtle to the palace of Holyrood-houſe at Edinburgh, July the 29th of this year.

Upon the King's arrival here, his Majeſty, by advice of his nobility and parliament, entered upon the government. Immediately after, orders were iſſued out for all the Lords, commons, clergy and others, to repair to Edinburgh, to take the oaths to his Majeſty, acknowleging his Majeſty now as their only ſuperior and governor. The young King aſſumes regal authority.

All in public offices, and all the officers of ſtate, had their patents or commiſſions called in, and they were renewed in the King's name: ſo that this effectually extinguiſhed the ſuperiority and power of the regent over the kingdom, and gave him no pretenſions for returning to Scotland in a public character to rule over them.

At the ſame time the Earl of Angus had ſent one Simon Penning, as his faithful, truſty agent, to England; ſecretly to deſire leave of his brother the King of England, to return by the way of London from France; and to have an audience of his Majeſty, to communicate ſome matters of importance.

The meſſenger was well received by Henry the VIIIth, and his Majeſty ſignified to him, that my Lord Angus would be well received and moſt agreeable to him.

Upon return of the meſſenger, the Earl of Angus went off ſecretly from the court of France, and came over to London. King Henry received him very graciouſly, and admitted him to a private audience, which continued for ſome hours.

In this audience, the King acquainted his brother the Earl of Angus, that the governor of Scotland had projected the total overthrow and extirpation of his family; and likewiſe to eſtabliſh himſelf in the ſole government of Scotland, ſo as to make the young King but a cypher, while the regent was to conduct and pilot all matters of ſtate.

The Earl of Angus having received all his inſtructions how to act, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip and ſupport from the King of England, perfectly ſatisfied with his reception at the court of London, returned to Scotland to the Queen, to concert and conduct matters ſo as to turn the government out of the former channel. The Earl of Angus returns to Scotland.

King Henry and the Earl of Angus had ſecretly agreed and concerted that there ſhould follow him directly to Scotland, an embaſſy extraordinary, to influence and alter the inclinations of the nobility and people of Scotland in favour of the Engliſh: therefore King Henry ſent two he thought the moſt artful, eloquent, and beſt turned for ſuch an undertaking, viz. one Magnus, a noted negociator, and of great fluency and art in ſpeaking, of abilities ſuperior to ſome modern negociators! To him was joined in this embaſſy Roger Ratcliff, (at that time of the day when corruption and venality had not over-powered and putrified whole commonwealths) eſteemed an excellent and an honeſt lawyer!

They ſet out without loſs of time for Scotland, and, at their arrival, ſoon promoted their ſyſtem with great ſucceſs. They took care in the firſt place, with all their addreſs and eloquence, to load the Duke of Albany and the French with all the calamities and miſeries which Scotland had endured, and now was ſubjected to: they made their relation ſtrong and plauſible to the minds of all ranks, ſo as to have the deſired effects upon their affections and inclinations: they likewiſe, in name of the King of England, gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the King and parliament of Scotland, that his Majeſty King Henry neither had, nor could have any ends, by propoſing to cultivate friendſhip and peace with Scotland, but the welfare and proſperity of his nephew their young King; and the concurring to eſtabliſh the commerce, repoſe, and happineſs of his kingdom of Scotland, which King Henry had commanded them to declare he was firmly determined to ſupport and abide by ſacredly: and to ſhew his Majeſty's pure and generous intentions, he was willing to enter into a treaty of laſting pacification with Scotland upon terms honourable and advantageous to them.

The parliament of Scotland was now ſitting; and having taken all the obliging and kind offers of King Henry into conſideration, and reflecting upon the lamentable reduced ſtate of the kingdom, by both civil and foreign wars, for a ſucceſſion of years, they treated the ambaſſadors with great regard and attention; and nominated commiſſioners to treat with them, not for a temporary truce of ſhort duration, but for a laſting and well-eſtabliſhed pacification, by a new treaty of marriage betwixt the young King and the Princeſs Mary of England.

The return of the Earl of Angus changed the face of affairs at the court of Scotland; the Queen's party, and that of the Earl of Arran's, began to decay and loſe ground: they had depreſſed the Earls of Argyle, Lenox, and the Humes, and made them unjuſtly dependent on them; The ſtate of affairs alter'd.

them; but the Earls of Argyle and Lenox, with the Humes, who had not been admitted to offices of high truſt, and had been only followers of the Queen's faction for prudent and convenient reaſons, and in oppoſition to the late governor; they now, by the Earl of Angus's return, received a new acceſſion of ſtrength and ſpirit; but yet both parties, jealous of his too great power and influence at the court of London, were afraid therefore that the Earl of Angus ſhould have the chief adminiſtration of all affairs, and be next to the King in the exerciſe of government: however, they at preſent diſſembled, and covered their uneaſineſs.

An embaſſy appointed for the court of London.

The univerſal ſmart and feeling of continual wars, for a ſucceſſion of years paſt, made the nation in general, at this time, pleaſed to be in friendſhip with England, and quite ſick of French alliance: therefore the parliament, with great chearfulneſs and diſpatch, appointed three of the moſt approved men for wiſdom and integrity their ambaſſadors extraordinary to the court of London, to aſſure the King of England, in name of the King and parliament of Scotland, that the whole kingdom was in the moſt hearty diſpoſition, and firmly reſolved, to maintain and ſupport a ſtrict friendſhip and good underſtanding with the King and people of England; and that, in order to eſtabliſh theſe their deſigns upon the more ſolid and laſting foundation, they demanded, that the bands of former alliance might be ſtrengthened by a new treaty of marriage betwixt his Majeſty King James, and the Princeſs Mary of England.

A treaty of marriage in agitation.

The ambaſſadors nominated were, Gilbert Earl of Caſſills, Robert Cockburn Biſhop of Dunkeld, and David Mill Abbot of Cambuſkenneth: they proceeded directly to London, and from London they went to his Majeſty's palace at Greenwich, where King Henry received them moſt graciouſly: and by the kind entertainment they received, both from the King and nobility of the Engliſh court, they might have thought that King Henry would have refuſed them no reaſonable and equal demand.

The Biſhop of Dunkeld was the chief orator in the embaſſy, and he opened his commiſſion to his Majeſty by the following ſpeech; which was ſtrong and nervous, not over-gilded with the ornaments of rhetoric, but directly to the point. He ſpoke thus:

"May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

"We come in the name of the King our maſter, and the parliament of Scotland, to give your Majeſty the moſt hearty aſſurances of their regard and concern for the welfare and happineſs of your Majeſty's perſon and government, and of our national and univerſal diſpoſition, with the greateſt ſincerity, to cultivate a laſting friendſhip and good underſtanding betwixt both kingdoms. Diſſention and hatred being once removed betwixt the two kingdoms, a faithful and laſting peace may be eſtabliſhed and confirmed: diſcords thus may be turned into union and concord, rancor into love, and oppoſition into perfect unanimity. The moſt apparent, immediate, probable, and effectual means, to us of the kingdom of Scotland, appears to be, that the Princeſs Mary ſhould be given in marriage to our young King James: this is but connecting relations by blood with redoubled bands of love, and will not fail to make both nations happy."

The ſpeech, tho' ſhort, was accurate, and delivered in preſence of the officers of ſtate. All the nobility, and others preſent, highly applauded the elegancy and conciſeneſs of the Biſhop. He appears to have been one of the plain, primitive, and downright gentlemen of the cloth, not cloaking deceit or darkneſs under a purple canopy.

Well received by Henry.

His Majeſty, Henry the VIIIth, was ſo pleaſed with the blunt candor of the Scots Biſhop, and the general ſatisfaction his ſpeech had given to the whole court, that he ordered commiſſioners to treat in private, directly with the Scots ambaſſadors; and that all marks of regard and cordial friendſhip ſhould be ſhewn to them.

The conditions, for ſettling the treaty of marriage betwixt the Princeſs of England, and her couſin the King of Scotland, propoſed by the Engliſh deputies in conference, according to their inſtructions from the King and his privy council, were:

Firſt, that the parliament of Scotland, by the King's approbation, ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation of all treaties, leagues, and confederacies with France; by ſuch renunciation for ever diſſolving and annulling the obligations of all former ſtipulations with the French, and for ever rejecting their alliance and friendſhip. In exchange for which, they ſhould enter into the ſame articles and ſtipulations with England, as had formerly ſubſiſted betwixt them and France.

Secondly, that untill King James of Scotland was of age for marriage, he ſhould remain, and be educated at the court of London.

Upon hearing of theſe articles, the Scots ambaſſadors made anſwer, that the propoſitions were of ſo nice a nature, that they could enter into no agreement upon them without advice and authority of the parliament and privy council of Scotland. This the King of England agreed to; and accordingly the Earl of Caſſills returned to Scotland to lay the articles before the parliament: in the mean time, the other two ambaſſadors remained at the court of London, till the mind of the court of Scotland ſhould be known.

Upon

Upon the Earl of Caſſill's report, concerning the terms offered by the King of England for ſettling all difference, and reſtoring a laſting friendſhip, the parliament of Scotland were ſummoned to meet to prepare a proper anſwer to the King of England: but the Queen and the Earl of Arran, who now were the chief managers of the ſtate, and acted always in concert, having the ſame intereſt, they were afraid of the parliament's meeting in the uſual place in the city of Edinburgh, leſt the Earl of Angus, who was a perſon of great judgment, deep penetration, and quick witted, ſhould out-wit them, by either influencing the members of parliament, with moſt of whom he had great intereſt; or if that did not ſucceed, he might fall upon a ſcheme to have ſo many of the contrary faction who oppoſed him committed, and ordered for trial upon ſome pretended impeachments; therefore the Queen, and the Earl of Arran her favourite, procured, by order of council, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued out in the King's name, ordering the three eſtates of parliament to meet only in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and not in the uſual place of the city: and, as reaſons given for it, that the King's perſon otherwiſe would be in danger; and next, that in the caſtle, matters might be ſettled and agreed upon with the greateſt ſecreſy and ſafety. But many of the nobility and perſons of diſtinction, eaſily foreſaw this was invidiouſly pointed againſt the Earl of Angus, whom they were afraid of, leſt he might interrupt, by his influence, the freedom of ſpeech, and the real inclinations of many members: and therefore, the Queen, with her nobility, and all of the parliament who took part with her, locked themſelves up in the caſtle.

The Queen calls a parliament to meet in the caſtle.

This ſo provoked the Earls of Angus, Argyle, Lenox, and the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and Glaſcow, that they, in conjunction with all who adhered to their meaſures, were determined to make an effectual attack to deſtroy any ſuch precedent, and to have his Majeſty freed from confinement.

Oppoſed by the Earl of Angus and his adherents.

The Lords and commons then, who would not enter the caſtle, ſent heralds in their own name, and in the name of the whole kingdom, requiring, that the parliament ſhould ſit and determine all matters in the uſual place in the city of Edinburgh: that his Majeſty might, with the uſual ſtate and proceſſion, proceed from his palace of Holyrood-houſe to the parliament-houſe, to be ſhewn in triumph to his people, in order to gain and to increaſe their affection to his royal perſon and government.

This demand was rejected by the Queen and all her faction in the caſtle; upon which, the Earls of Angus, Argyle, and Lenox, with the two Archbiſhops, and all their adherents, publicly proteſted againſt this manifeſt violation upon the conſtitution, the invaſion of the rights of the crown, and the detention of the King, as priſoner, in the caſtle.

After uſing this formality, they aſſembled in a body, joined by the principal citizens of Edinburgh; and by them being well provided, not only with ſmall arms, but likewiſe with ſome great guns, they ſurrounded and encloſed the caſtle; and, after exchanging ſome ſhot on both ſides, the caſtle made a diſcharge upon the city of all their great guns, to frighten the city into ſubmiſſion: but the beſiegers intercepting all proviſions, neceſſaries, and ſupports, from the Queen and the young King, they all in the caſtle muſt have been ſtarved, had they not compremiſed matters, and come to a ſpeedy agreement with the Earl of Angus and his adherents. By the mediation of the peaceful holy clergy, a thorough reconciliation was reſtored, rancor and malice vaniſhed, and it was agreed to ſet the meeting of parliament upon the former eſtabliſhment, and that the King ſhould go in ſtate to the parliament-houſe.

The caſtle beſieged.

Diſputes compremiſed.

The firſt thing they entered upon, after their ſettlement and reconciliation, was, to declare, by a parliamentary edict, the government of the regent void, and of no future force nor eſtabliſhment in this kingdom; ſo that there was no occaſion for his return to Scotland. Next, the parliament proceeded to nominate ſuch Lords as ſhould be ordered by turns to be in waiting, to attend upon his Majeſty's perſon; with whom he was to conſult in all matters of importance and danger; provided always, that his Majeſty, while under age (being now but 14) with the advice of his council, ſhould come to no final nor fixed reſolution to execute any meaſure of ſtate, nor any national affairs, without the advice and conſent of the Queen dowager. This was procured by the Earl of Arran, the Hamiltons, and their party: there was good reaſon to believe that, ſince the Queen had diſcovered ſo irreconcileable a hatred to her huſband the Earl of Angus, and was in ſuch ſtrict friendſhip and connection with the Earl of Arran, that this union of the Queen's with the Earl of Arran, was founded upon a ſecret familiarity and friendſhip, which this lady, from a taſte to variety, like her brother, had for her chief delight, and was not to be barred from the pleaſures and gaiety of her complexion and climate.

The Lords appointed to attend upon his Majeſty King James were eight, the Archbiſhops of St. Andrew's and Glaſcow, the Biſhops of Aberdeen and Dunkeld, the Earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lenox.

Theſe reſolutions being ſettled, the parliament next gave their inſtructions to the Lord Caſſills, with orders to return with all diſpatch to the court of London, to intimate their ſentiments and hearty inclinations for a marriage betwixt their King and the Princeſs Mary of England, and to conclude a peace with England upon a ſolid and laſting foundation: but, before the Lord Caſſills could arrive, King Henry by expreſs had received the news of the overthrow of the French army at Pavia by the Imperialiſts; and that the French King was taken priſoner.

This

King Henry deceives the Scots.

This event altered King Henry's mind; and he made anſwer, by an evaſion, to the Scots embaſſy, that now he could determine nor ſettle upon no particulars with the Scots nation, untill he had conſulted with his daughter's nigheſt kinſman the Emperor; and that, conſidering the preſent confuſion abroad in Italy, and the ſituation of affairs after this victory, he knew the Emperor would be ſo employed and wholly engaged, that he could not for ſometime propoſe to conſult with him, or have his ſentiments upon their propoſitions: this greatly diſconcerted and ſurprized the ambaſſadors. The chief ſubject of their embaſſy being laid aſide, all they could accompliſh was to have a ceſſation of all hoſtilities, and a preliminary treaty ſigned, to be in force for three years and three months. With this amuſement they were diſmiſſed, and returned to Scotland.

Domeſtic quarrels.

When the nobility of Scotland were now freed of apprehenſions from a foreign enemy, their private quarrels and parties began to appear, and to renew the flame of civil diſcord. The Queen was implacable againſt her huſband; for ſhe impeached him of keeping company with a daughter of the Earl of Traquair's, and therefore intimated that ſhe was determined to ſue for a divorce.

All this time, the Biſhopric of Dunkeld being vacant, the Abbot of Holyrood-houſe, George Creighton, was promoted to the ſee of Dunkeld; and the Earl of Angus, having the intire management and cuſtody of the young King, procured his own brother William to ſucceed as Abbot of Holyrood-houſe, by the King's mandate, without ever conſulting with the Queen. Thoſe about the Queen took opportunity, from this, to inflame the Queen's mind with indignation and reſentment againſt her huſband the Earl of Angus, for this evident contempt and neglect of her. The Queen therefore, in the height of her diſpleaſure, retired with all her confederated Lords and friends from Edinburgh to Stirling. This gave the Earl of Angus full power of doing with the young King, and of directing him, as he pleaſed, without controul.

The Earl, taking his opportunity, now acted as ſole monarch; he got the young King to prefer his brother Sir George to be Lord high chamberlain of Scotland, and his uncle Archibald Douglaſs was declared Lord treaſurer; William, the Earl of Angus's younger brother, was made Abbot of Holyrood-houſe and Coldingham, two of the richeſt abbies throughout the kingdom.

This monopoly of the chief employments and offices of the ſtate occaſioned great diſcontent, and excited the envy and ambition of the other nobility; even thoſe Lords who had formerly been of his party, now deſerted the Earl of Angus and went over to the Queen: the whole poſſe of the oppoſition had their general rendezvous at Stirling, where the Queen now reſided; and, after long conſultation, they at length reſolved to impeach the Earl of Angus of high treaſon. The principal nobility, to carry on this impeachment, were the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Murray, and the Primate of St. Andrew's.

Theſe Lords impeached the Earl of Angus of the following articles:

The Earl of Angus impeached.

1ſt, The ſecreting the King, and keeping him confined from the preſence and council of the other nobility, who, by parliamentary ſettlement, were equally intitled to the care and guardianſhip of the young King.

2dly, His uſurping the power, and interrupting the rights, of the other nobility; and arrogating to himſelf the ſovereignty, by taking a negative over the King, dictating to his Majeſty what he has to do, without either conſulting the Queen, or the other nobility appointed by parliament to be of his council.

The Earl of Angus was ſummoned to appear before the parliament, but did not; and ordered his brother Sir George to tranſmit his Majeſty's anſwer to the impeachment, which Sir George did, in the King's name, in the following words addreſſed to the Queen and parliament: that the King had ordered him to acquaint her Majeſty and the parliament, that they had no reaſon to be ſolicitous nor concerned about his Majeſty, nor in the leaſt uneaſy; for he could be happier in no company nor ſituation, than with the Earl of Angus. His Lordſhip's company was agreeable, and his councils moſt prudent and ſalutary; and that he highly valued the Lord Angus, his company, and converſation, and regarded him the more that he was in ſuch eſteem with his uncle King Henry, conſidering my Lord's eſteem was founded upon his real and extraordinary merit: but the artful Queen had her friends in pay among the King's domeſtics, who kept a ſecret correſpondence betwixt her and her ſon; and accordingly, upon this occaſion, her penſioners at the King's court brought ſome preſſing and engaging repreſentations from the mother Queen, which had ſuch effect upon the tender mind of the young King, that he conveyed, by theſe domeſtic ſpies of the Queen's, a Letter written with his own hand to his mother; wherein he ſtrongly inſiſts to be moved from the tyrannical and diſagreeable imperious inſtructions, and haughty encroachments, of the Earl of Angus; and if no other mean could anſwer, to uſe force to reſcue him out of his hands: that his former anſwer to her, his mother, and to the parliament, had been extorted and ſent by compulſion: that he, the King, expected from bowels of parental compaſſion, and from real concern for his welfare, that her Majeſty would take the moſt ſpeedy and affectual meaſures to ſeparate him from the Earl of Angus.

Upon

Upon receipt of this hint, the Queen, with her friends at Stirling caſtle, held a ſecret council, and agreed, with all ſecreſy and expedition, to gather what force they could, and to march to Edinburgh, ſurprize the palace, and carry the King off: but the Earl of Angus was apprized of the deſign; and, having prepared a body of men, with the citizens of Edinburgh who were his friends, and taking the young King in perſon, he marched againſt the Earl of Arran and the Queen's party, to repel them. The King loitered, and made ſeveral affected and wilful halts on the march; but the Earl was determined he ſhould advance, and therefore he marched forward.

The nobility, who were at the head of the Queen's forces, underſtanding the King was in the Lord Angus's army in perſon, out of regard to his Majeſty's perſon and his preſervation, would not therefore enter upon action. They likewiſe found the Earl of Angus well prepared to receive them, and ſuperior in numbers to his oppoſites. Upon which, they retired to Stirling, and diſmiſſed their army.

The Queen, upon this diſappointment, was forced to retire, with the Earl of Murray, to the county of Murray. The Earls of Arran and Argyle were forced to fly to the Weſt, and Beaton, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, to the abbey of Dumferling, for ſanctuary. The Queen's party overthrown.

The Earl of Angus had accompliſhed his ſyſtem by the flight and ſcattering of this confederacy; for he now had the ſole management of all national affairs without controul, and his enemies durſt not appear by open oppoſition to his meaſures. The Earl was ſtill in want of the great ſeal to give the neceſſary and legal ſanction to deeds, commiſſions and grants of the royal ſignature. Beaton, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, as Metropolitan, was keeper of the great ſeal by the conſtitution of Scotland; and now his Grace, being in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion, and very tame, readily complied to deliver up the great ſeal to the Earl of Angus, upon his writing him a civil letter.

The Archbiſhop, not liking his preſent depreſſed and yoked condition, and being naturally of a crafty, prieſtly, and incendiary ſpirit, always alert when in the atmoſphere of miſchief, and in the direct way to exalt himſelf, to eſtabliſh his power, and extend his influence; he therefore exerciſed his invention to ſet the Queen to work, to degrade the reputation and eſteem of the Earl of Angus. This was to be effected by ſetting the holy church to work to pull him down from his excellency; and to thunder at him with their denunciations, threatnings, and excommunications, if he did not ſubmit to their holy fraud, their ſpiritual pride, and their ſharpened and well-whetted malice.

The Archbiſhop Beaton then inſtigated the Queen to commence a ſuit for obtaining a divorce from her huſband, to have their marriage diſſolved, as that appeared the only expedient to the making way for another huſband. This lady would have been reckoned faſhionable and polite in the preſent refined age. She was branded with having a tincture of her brother, and therefore could not do without variation of huſbands, as he did by change of women. The Queen ſues for a divorce from her huſband.

By the pious inſtigation of this holy and miſchievous prelate, a proſecution was commenced, and a ſummons ordered out for the Earl of Arran to appear before the Primate of St. Andrew's.

According to the time fixed, the Earl appeared before the Archbiſhop in court; where the Queen attended in perſon to lodge her accuſation. The Queen offered to make appear, that her huſband, the Earl of Angus, had given ſolemn promiſe of marriage to a lady of the family of Traquair, and that before ever her Majeſty had received any addreſſes from him; therefore ſhe inferred, ſhe was not lawfully married to him; but inſiſted her marriage to the Earl of Angus might be declared void and null by the Archbiſhop, and, by the ſame ſentence, ſhe might be at liberty to marry any other.

The Earl of Angus honeſtly owned the fact: upon which, the pious Archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence of divorce, diſſolving their marriage; providing and reſerving, that the child, born of the Queen to the Earl of Angus, ſhould inherit her rights, as if born in the moſt lawful and unblemiſhed marriage. Granted.

This divorce highly diſpleaſed King Henry, and he never after retained that regard and eſteem for the Queen his ſiſter, which he formerly teſtified; for the King was a man of judgment, and he ſaid, ſuch things were tolerable and might be paſſed over in men, but were inconſiſtent with the ornamental modeſty of the ſex, and was looked upon as ſhameful and impudent in the eye of the world. The Queen was however determined upon a young huſband; and therefore, ſoon after her divorce, ſhe got married to Henry Stewart, eldeſt ſon to the Lord Annandale, whom King James, out of regard to his mother, promoted to be Earl of Meffan and general of his forces. But this did not remove nor diminiſh the grudge and diſcontent of Henry the VIIIth at his ſiſter's behaviour. Tho' he knew he was himſelf tinctured with the affection for variety, yet he could not excuſe it in his ſiſter: ſuch was the condemnation and judgment, which his own conſcience paſt againſt him. The Queen his ſiſter however from her paſſionate love for Henry Stewart, ſon to my Lord Annandale, was determined to have him for her huſband, regardleſs of all other conſiderations. She gave herſelf up intirely to pleaſure, in order to give the greater uneaſineſs and diſcontent to the Earl of Angus her former huſband. Henry diſpleaſed with his ſiſter's conduct.

The Earl of Angus had now the ſole management and direction of the young King; and having encircled his Majeſty, with ſuch of his dependents and creatures as he thought the moſt

truſty to his intereſts. The Queen mother, and all the other nobility of the court, had no acceſs to the King's perſon, nor any opportunity to interpoſe their ſeaſonable advice to his Majeſty againſt the arbitrary meaſures and the encroachments of the Earl of Angus, who in fact exerciſed the whole of the regal power; and made the King only a tool for promoting his ſyſtem for his eſtabliſhment of the Douglaſſes and all his other friends. The nobility therefore of the firſt rank all deſerted the court, deſpairing of ſucceſs in defeating the projections of the Earl of Angus. The only perſon, who remained and had acceſs to his Majeſty without ſuſpicion, was the Earl of Lenox, nephew to the Earl of Arran; who, being a nobleman of great judgment, quick wit, and ſufficiently ſecret and artful in all he executed, had ſo engaged the affections of the young King towards him, that his Majeſty diſcloſed his real and private ſentiments, without reſerve, to the Earl of Lenox, and to none elſe.

The King and the Earl of Lenox combine againſt Lord Angus.

To this nobleman the King diſcovered his diſſatisfaction at the dictating power which the Earl of Angus had uſurped over him, tho' his ſovereign; and his deſire to make his eſcape, and to diſengage himſelf from the Earl of Angus and all the Douglaſſes. The Earl of Lenox, by his familiarity with the King, came to be thoroughly acquainted with his Majeſty's inclinations; and had ſo operated upon his affections, that the King frequently ſignified his uneaſineſs and diſcontent at the aſſuming arrogance of the Earl of Angus, who dictated all the meaſures of ſtate to his Majeſty, as if he were a fool and entirely ignorant. Such encroaching and inſulting miniſters of ſtate, in all ages, deſerve good drubbing and keen reſentment from their Monarchs.

The Earl of Lenox repreſented the ſtate of the nation to King James in a moſt frightful picture, the miſeries and calamity of the people by the adminiſtration of the Earl of Angus, whoſe aim appeared to be chiefly to encloſe the throne with the Douglaſſes, and to arm them with ſuch offices of power and truſt, ſo to ſurround the King, as his Majeſty might be under an abſolute neceſſity to receive what directions and meaſures they were pleaſed to impoſe upon him.

It is monſtrous and barefaced impudence in any miniſtry to aſſume ſuch inſolence as to pretend or attempt to carry a negative over the King, or to over-rule his meaſures ſo (eſpecially in point of his prerogative) that he cannot be free to make choice of his own favourites or miniſtry, without endangering his own or the nation's repoſe and peace. This is unpardonable and unjuſtifiable behaviour; eſpecially, when the King is allowed and owned to have the moſt ſacred and paternal concern for the welfare of his people, and does attempt or project nothing but to promote the glory and happineſs of his kingdom. Combinations and caballing of miniſterial factions, under all free governments, are the moſt dangerous of all monopolies: therefore, in the firſt appearances of ſuch attempts and encroachments to engroſs power, it is the part of the Monarch, to have a watchful eye over ſuch gentry, to crop, abridge, or cut ſhort the power of ſuch enterprizing and factious ſpirits, in order to preſerve his regal authority, to maintain his regard, and to preſerve the peace, order, and welfare of the kingdom. Power without authority is unworthy of a crown'd head; but authority, rightly ſupported and aſſerted, maintains regal dignity, and gives little occaſion for the exerciſe of power; but the conducting this meaſure, to ſupport authority and regard, in it's utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence without the application or uſe of power, requires that nicety and fineſſe of genius and elevation of underſtanding which is the chief ornament of a Prince. But, leaving this digreſſion, King James begun to be very ſerious and earneſt with the Earl of Lenox about concerting his eſcape from the Earl of Angus.

My Lord Lenox, being in apparent friendſhip with the Earl of Angus, and not yet ſuſpected by him, was unwilling to undertake this important affair himſelf; but he acquainted his Majeſty with the expedient he judged moſt effectual for accompliſhing his deſign; and if this mean ſhould fail of ſucceſs, my Lord Lenox aſſured the King, that he in perſon would head a party to carry him off from the Earl of Angus.

The Earl of Lenox propoſed to King James to employ and entruſt the Lord Bucleugh, (Walter Scott) as the fitteſt perſon to be at the head of this enterprize; for Walter Scott was a man of opulent fortune at this time, of uncommon reſolution, and brave even to exceſs; of great ambition, hated by the Earl of Angus and all the Douglaſſes, and of ſuch inveterate and irreconcileable reſentment againſt all of the name of Douglaſs, becauſe of his extenſive influence and power, that my Lord Lenox judged him the fitteſt perſon of the kingdom to execute this undertaking.

Lord Bucleugh engaged in the party.

The King approved of the nomination, and the next thing the Earl of Lenox did, was to concert the manner in which the whole might be brought about and conducted: therefore, my Lord Lenox ſo ordered it, with impenetrable ſecreſy, that there ſhould be diſorders, troubles, commotions, and outrages, committed and ſupported by the ſecret inſtigation of the Scotts and their friends, as might put the whole frontier into ſuch ferment and convulſions, that the royal preſence and influence ſhould be judged neceſſary to interpoſe for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch dangerous appearances.

The borders ravaged.

Accordingly, the Earl of Angus and the privy-council were alarmed in a little time with repeated advices and expreſſes of ravaging and attacking the frontier of England by the Scots; and that great bodies of men, in different quarters on the frontier, had appeared in arms, committed

mitted great abuſes, and exerciſed great outrages and violence againſt even their neighbours, and paid no regard to public authority.

The repeated complaints of theſe proceedings occaſioned ſeveral meetings of the privy-council, to deliberate on the moſt direct and ſpeedy methods of ſuppreſſing ſuch dangerous beginnings. The King, with the Earl of Lenox, having thus laid their ſnare for the Earl of Angus, formed their confederacy in the privy-council to move, that, in regard of the importance and danger of theſe commotions, it might be voted, that his Majeſty, with ſo many of his nobility, attended by a ſufficient force, ſhould go to Jedburgh, and iſſue out their proclamation for all offenders, rioters, and ſuch as were in arms, to come in to ſurrender themſelves and their arms to his Majeſty, and to repreſent to the King and his council the reaſons of their behaviour.

The King had ſignified to the Earl of Angus his deſire and inclination to viſit the Southern parts and frontier of his kingdom; and that he ſhould in perſon go to Jedburgh, attended by my Lord Angus and the other nobility, who were of my Lord's friends. The Earl of Angus, having no apprehenſion of the ſcheme formed againſt him, nor of any deſigned attempt to withdraw the King, chearfully agreed to the King's propoſal, to gratify his Majeſty, and to engage his affection the more to the Douglaſſes. The Earl of Angus therefore, having, by the King's order, called a council-extraordinary, wherein were the Earls of Lenox and Argyle and other ſecret enemies to the Earl of Angus, it was carried by a great majority, that the King ſhould go eſcorted by ſtrong and ſufficient guards, and attended by the Earls of Angus and Lenox, the Lords Hume, Erſkine, Fleming, Ceſford, and Fernihariſt; and, upon his Majeſty's arrival at Jedburgh, the chiefs and heads of all the noble families, with their vaſſals, ſhould be ſummoned to meet to attend upon his Majeſty, in order to receive the King's inſtructions in what manner to proceed, in the apprehending and ſuppreſſing the ringleaders of theſe criminals, who committed ſuch outrages as to diſturb the peace of the country, and endanger the whole kingdom.

Lord Angus marches to the borders.

Upon their arrival at Jedburgh, the heads of the moſt ancient families did not obey the ſummons, nor come up to wait of the King: upon which, the Earl of Angus was employed by his Majeſty, to head a body of men, and to march againſt the robbers and banditti, to diſperſe them and reduce them to reaſon.

This expedition the Earl of Lenox had cooked up for the Earl of Angus, in order to give them time in his abſence to concert with the King in what manner he could be moſt ſecretly and ſafely carried off from the Earl of Angus. During the interval of his abſence, the Earl of Lenox, by the King's order, held a ſecret correſpondence with Walter Scott of Bucleugh, who had undertaken to make the deſign effectual. Accordingly, Walter Scott, having a very opulent fortune and large dependencies, collected all his vaſſals and men well-armed and prepared to go to meet the King.

The reaſon prepared to be given to the Earl of Angus and his aſſociates, upon the appearance of ſuch a body of armed men, was, that Scott Lord Bucleugh, being a perſon of great conſequence and of a very opulent eſtate, was come to wait of his Majeſty, and to offer his ſervices, yea, further to invite the King to his houſe.

The Earl of Angus however had ſecret intelligence ſome how conveyed to him of Bucleugh's deſigns; and, therefore finding nothing could be accompliſhed againſt the rebellious borderers, it was reſolved, that the King, and all the nobility of his retinue, ſhould return. Lord Bucleugh, having notice of this, prepared his men, and, having picked out a thouſand choice ſtout and deſperate fellows, he reſolved however to advance and to meet the King, and, if interrupted, to diſpute the matter by good hard blows.

Diſcovers the deſigns of his enemies.

The King, with all his retinue, returned to Melroſs; and, having halted a little in paſſing over the bridge upon the Tweed, they obſerved ſeveral parties of armed men advancing upon the declivity of Hellidon-hill: at which the Earl of Angus alarmed (when they came ſo nigh as to be known to be commanded by the Lord Bucleugh) he, in his Majeſty's name, ſent the heralds to demand of them the reaſon and meaning of their advancing toward the King's perſon with ſuch a body of men, and commanding them to retire under pain of high treaſon, and being uſed as rebels to their King and country.

The Lord Bucleugh received with great contempt and ſcorn this meſſage, and gave for anſwer in ſhort, that he was come as the King's friend, and not as an enemy: he had brought ſo many men, to ſhew his Majeſty what he was capable to do, if called upon to exert himſelf, in his Majeſty's ſervice: that he knew the King's real ſentiments and his inclinations as to him, and therefore he did not think himſelf bound to obey his threatening commands, but would proceed upon his march; which he accordingly did: the Earl of Angus therefore, upon receipt of this repulſe, in great ſurprize, ſtruck with amazement, prepared to make the beſt defence poſſible. He ordered the Earl of Lenox, Lords Maxwell and Erſkine, Sir George Douglaſs and Ninian Creighton ſhould attend the King, and keep at a diſtance on an eminence to view the engagement. The Earl of Angus then marched with his men, attended by the Lord Fleming and many of the nobility; and, having diſmounted upon his approach to the Lord Bucleugh, he formed his men and charged on foot.

The encounter was begun and continued with great fury for ſome time. Walter Scott, being a man of great bravery, maintained the diſpute very obſtinately, and had carried his point had not

Attacked by Lord Bucleugh

not the Lord Hume, with Ceſford and Fernihariſt, come up (upon expreſs ſent them) to reinforce the Earl of Angus. They had been but ſhort time gone from the King; but, upon their return, my Lord Angus charged with great rage; ſo that great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides: but my Lord Bucleugh being wounded, his men were put in ſuch confuſion, that they were ſoon routed and put to flight.

Bucleugh defeated.

This victory of the Douglaſſes was attended with the loſs of two of the firſt rank of the Kers, Ceſford and Fernihariſt, who were killed in the encounter; and the effect of their being killed, was an irreconcilable enmity and hatred for ever after betwixt the Scotts and Kers. This encounter happened in the year 1522; or, according to doctor Leſly, 1523, July 28th. I have, in this and the preceding relations, depended chiefly on Hautherdane and doctor Leſly, rather than Buchanan; becauſe Buchanan relates ſeveral facts in ſo low, trifling, and and minute a manner, as if he were to write hiſtory for old women and children; beſides, I have found ſome manifeſt abſurdities and inconſiſtencies in his relation of facts. If it be not the author's fault, it muſt be the editors.

This ſcuffle, betwixt the Earl of Angus and the Scotts of Bucleugh, made the Earl ſenſible, that ſome deſigns were forming by a powerful confederacy againſt him: therefore, he begun to fear the conſequences. The Earl of Lenox never appeared concerned, nor did he take any part in this quarrel; for he ſtood by the King, and never ſtruck a ſtroke; which laid the foundation of a laſting future enmity betwixt the Earl of Angus and his friends, and the Earl of Lenox.

After this, the King, for a few days, returned to Jedburgh with his nobility; and, after deliberating upon what was moſt proper to be done, they all returned to Edinburgh. The King in private diſcovered an utter averſion to the Douglaſſes, and teſtified his hearty ſorrow for the defeat of Lord Bucleugh; becauſe, after this, he found the Earl of Angus more tyrannical and haughty than he formerly had been: therefore the King diſcloſed to the Earl of Lenox great uneaſineſs at the defeat of this enterprize; upon which, the Earl of Lenox aſſured his Majeſty, that he would muſter up all the force he could without delay, and of himſelf make an attempt to cut off the dependence of his Majeſty on the Earl of Angus, and his confinement to the Douglaſſes.

Regretted by the King.

Colin Campbell Earl of Argyle, who was one of the triumvirate, or the three Lords, that had the guardianſhip of the King, had, ſome time before the action of Hellidon-hill, deſerted the Earl of Angus, retired from court, and publicly declared his intire diſſatisfaction and diſlike of the Earl of Angus's behaviour toward the King, and of his adminiſtration; and, now that the Earl of Lenox had publicly ſet himſelf in oppoſition to the Earl of Angus, the Earl began to dread a ſtorm, being deſerted by his former confederates: He therefore applied himſelf cloſe, and with the ſtrongeſt and moſt perſuading arguments of intereſt and future ſtrict faith and friendſhip, to reſtore a good underſtanding and ſtrict harmony with the Earl of Arran. The Earls of Arran and Angus held ſeveral conferences ſecretly upon this; and the Earl of Arran having received the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn aſſurances of ſharing equally with the Earl of Angus all the profits and honours in the adminiſtration of the government, they entered into the ſtricteſt alliance and friendſhip to ſupport each other, and to keep poſſeſſion of the power they had over his Majeſty.

Lord Angus attaches Lord Arran.

This new confederacy reached the King's ears, at which he was highly enraged, but, for prudential reaſons, concealed his indignation and hatred of the Earl of Angus; but the Earl of Lenox publicly acquainted the Earl of Angus, that he was firmly determined to oppoſe him in all his meaſures, and to exert himſelf for the delivery and liberty of his Majeſty from his encroaching uſurpation.

Having acquainted the King with his whole ſyſtem, the Earl of Lenox left the court, and went for Stirling caſtle. Here he iſſued out his circular letters to all his friends, and to the enemies of the Earl of Angus, acquainting them of the ſituation of affairs, and deſiring their immediate ſupport and aſſiſtance, by their united forces, to reſcue his Majeſty out of his confinement, that he might be at liberty to act in quality of a ſovereign, and not as a tool to the Douglaſſes. The Queen's faction, with the crafty Beaton, Primate of St. Andrew's, joined him with all their intereſt. He received ſupplies of men and money from the Highlanders and Iſlanders: they joined the Earl of Lenox with above a thouſand effective men. The Lord Caſſills, and the maſter of Kilmares, joined his ſtandard with two thouſand Weſt countrymen. All the Queeen's and the Archbiſhop's vaſſals were ordered to take the field well armed, and repair to the Earl of Lenox to act by his command. The general rendezvous being made, the Earl of Lenox marched, at the head of all his brigades, from Stirling for Linlithgow.

Lenox publicly declares oppoſition.

The Earl of Angus, finding himſelf in immediate danger, ſent for the Kers and Humes to join him, that he might be capable to repel the enemy. Next he diſpatched expreſſes to the Earl of Arran, and to all the gentlemen of the name of Hamilton, calling for their immediate ſupport to join him, and repreſenting to them, in ſtrong terms, the preſent danger of the common-wealth: that, therefore all private animoſities being laid aſide, and family-grudges buried, they ought to unite in the common defence of their liberty, and the peace and good order of the country. In order to make the Hamiltons the more expeditious, he repreſented the danger of delay; for if the Earl of Lenox carried his point, he would not reſt ſatisfied with making a ſacrifice of the Douglaſſes; but his next attempt would be to deſtroy, root and branch,

branch, the name of Hamilton; and that, as the Earl of Arran had no male iſſue of his own body, the Earl of Lenox if conqueror in his preſent undertaking and once maſter of the King, his influence and intereſt was ſuch with the King, that he would have himſelf declared ſucceſſor to the Earl of Arran, both as to honours and eſtate.

Theſe motives, and the ſtrong band of union and new friendſhip agreed upon betwixt the Earls of Arran and Angus, whereby they mutually and ſolemnly engaged to each other to ſhare betwixt them the government of the kingdom, and the profits ariſing from all the great offices of truſt and power: theſe connections, I ſay, ſo influenced the Earl of Arran, that he took the field with his ſon Sir James Hamilton, his vaſſals, and all the men he was capable to muſter; and having received intelligence of the approach of the Earl of Lenox his nephew, he marched directly for Linlithgow to interrupt his advancing to Edinburgh.

Upon the Earl of Arran's arrival at Linlithgow, ſeveral gentlemen, friends to both ſides, went out to meet the Earl of Lenox, and uſed all poſſible arguments, out of friendſhip and regard to my Lord Lenox, to perſuade him to deſiſt from ſo dangerous an enterprize, in which he might loſe his life and his family ſuffer. All the arguments poſſible were made uſe of to divert the Earl of Lenox, by ſhewing him, how uncertain the King's favour might be, and how in a little time the King would arrive at ſuch maturity as to take the whole weight of the government upon himſelf, and then it was very poſſible the King might forget all former favours, and even hate them who had been his chief favourites: yet all was of no effect. The Earl of Lenox anſwered them with great affection and politeneſs, that he thanked them heartily for their concern about his perſonal ſafety; but the ground of the quarrel and matter in diſpute, was of ſuch an important and public nature, that it was inconſiſtent with his honour and duty to his Sovereign, and to the welfare of his nation, to recede from his preſent undertaking: that he was determined to force his way if poſſible to the King, to reſtore him to the liberty and freedom of acting, which was the birthright of a King of Scotland; therefore, let the conſequence be never ſo fatal, he was determined to die rather than be aſhamed of his actions.

Lenox exhorted to quit his enterprize.

In vain.

The Earl of Lenox, having ſent a party to reconnoitre the roads and paſſes over the rivers Aven and Et, found that the Earl of Arran had taken poſſeſſion of the bridge over the river Aven, and was reſolved to diſpute the paſs; therefore the Earl of Lenox changed his rout, and paſſed over the ſmall river Et at the monaſtry of Immanuel near Linlithgow. Having got over here, and being in ſight of the Hamiltons, who appeared on the adjacent hills, he formed his army, which, ſome hiſtorians affirm, conſiſted of near ten thouſand men. The maſter of Killmair led on the van, with the Weſt-countrymen; the Earl of Lenox commanded the center, in which were the cavalry; the Earl of Caſſills the right, and the chiefs of the clans the left.

In this order, they came up and charged the Hamiltons with great bravery: tho' the Hamiltons had the advantage of ground, yet they bore upon them with ſuch fury, that the Hamiltons were ſeverely handled, put into confuſion, and had certainly been cut off, had not an aid de camp come up to the Earl of Arran from Douglaſs Earl of Angus, with orders to my my Lord to keep the Earl of Lenox in play, untill the Douglaſſes, Humes, Kers, and the men of Edinburgh, came up.

Attacks the Hamiltons.

The Earl of Angus having received an expreſs upon his march, that the Earl of Arran was warmly attacked by the Earl of Lenox, and in danger of being cut off, hurried his men with full ſpeed; and upon the very point of time when the fate of the day was inclining to the Earl of Lenox, and the Hamiltons quite defeated, the Douglaſſes, Kers and Humes, ruſhed in ſword in hand, and renewed the charge with ſuch violence againſt the clans and Weſt-countrymen, that they took to their heels; ſo that the Earl of Lenox was left with only his cavalry, and the Fife gentry, to ſtand the ſhock of the united force of his enemy; which he did with incredible bravery, untill he was taken priſoner in his wounds by Pardowie; and, in the moſt unfair, raſcally, and diſhonourable manner, in cold blood, when priſoner, killed by Sir James Hamilton the Earl of Arran's ſon; who, in the whole of this action, behaved with brutal inhumanity, and gave no quarter to any who came in his way.

Is killed.

The Earl of Arran, finding his ſon had killed his nephew Lord Lenox, came up to view his body; and in great agony, overpowered with ſorrow, burſt into tears at the appearance of the tragedy his ſon had baſely acted; and could not be removed from the body, but continued mourning and weeping over him. I will not ſay theſe were the tears of a crocadile; but, by the ties of blood (being his nephew) and by the ties of humanity, and from the regard to the loſs of ſo fine a gentleman as the Earl of Lenox was, the Earl of Arran had good reaſon to be deeply affected; becauſe that the manner of my Lord Lenox's death reflected diſgrace on the family of Hamilton.

The Earl of Lenox was a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments, of a fine and elegant wit; and, by his engaging behaviour, had ſo gained upon the King's affections, that his Majeſty had a greater perſonal reſpect, and more hearty affection, for him than all the other nobility. The King had ſent his letters to Gilbert Earl of Caſſills, and to ſeveral other nobility and heads of families, enjoining them to ſupport the Earl of Lenox in this fatal enterprize, in which my Lord was cut off in the abovementioned very unfair and dirty manner.

When Douglaſs Earl of Angus, in conjunction with the Humes and the Kers, had begun their march to join the Hamiltons for the execution of this enterprize, carrying the King along with them from the palace of Holyrood-houſe, his Majeſty, upon their firſt ſetting out, gave them a plain indication of his reluctancy and averſion to their undertaking; and his Majeſty upon the road, moved in ſo ſlow and lingering a manner, that he gave great offence to the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglaſs. Sir George behaved with great indeceny upon this occaſion to the King, and threatned his Majeſty, whipped up his horſe, and gave very inſolent language to the King for not advancing full ſpeed to ſupport the Hamiltons, who were engaged againſt the Earl of Lenox. But this indecent and inſulting treatment, of Sir George Douglaſs towards the King, made his Majeſty ever after meditate keen reſentment againſt him; the effects of which, Sir George and all his family felt heavily, from his Majeſty's power when he entered upon the government.

The King, though engaged, and upon the matter conſtrained to go upon this expedition againſt the Earl of Lenox, bore an utter diſlike to the Earl of Angus and his meaſures; and the reaſon of his Majeſty's advancing ſo ſlowly upon the march, was with deſign that the Earl of Lenox, being now engaged, and in cloſe fighting with the Hamiltons, (who were inferior in numbers) might have an opportunity of giving a total rout to the Earl of Arran and all his clan, before the Douglaſſes could come up to his relief and aſſiſtance.

When the King arrived at Coſtorphine, two miles Weſt of Edinburgh, he and the Douglaſſes were alarmed with the noiſe of the diſcharge of their cannon on both ſides. The King upon this diſcovered great concern and uneaſineſs for the Earl of Lenox; therefore he diſpatched Andrew Wood of Largo, with orders to him to make all poſſible haſte to the Earl of Lenox's army, to intimate his royal pleaſure, that they ſhould, at all events, provide for my Lord Lenox's ſafety to carry him ſafe out of the field; but before Andrew Wood could arrive in the field of action, the Earl of Lenox had been killed in the baſe and ungenerous manner I have already related. The advanced guards of the Douglaſſes, Kers, and Humes, had intercepted Andrew Wood, and ſtopped him on the road, until they had joined the Hamiltons, and put my Lord Lenox's army into confuſion.

The King's grief for the death of Lord Lenox.

Andrew Wood having returned, and brought the melancholy news, that the Earl of Lenox was ſlain, the young King could not conceal his anxiety and ſorrow for the loſs of his true friend. The Earl of Lenox was in all reſpects attached to the King's honour and intereſt; a man of great abilities, polite and elegant in his behaviour to the King, which had ſo engaged his Majeſty's regard and affection towards him, that he utterly abhorred and hated the Earl of Angus, becauſe of his haughty and uſurping behaviour toward his Sovereign.

The Earl of Angus now underſtood, that he had loſt the King's favour and affections; and therefore, that he was under a neceſſity, in order to ſupport his power, to act with open force and violence, to ſuppreſs all who attempted to oppoſe his influence and authority in the nation: ſo that he determined either to bring all his oppoſites into entire and ſervile ſubjection to him; or, if that did not take effect, to deſtroy them. In order the better to accompliſh this, the Earl of Arran and Angus entered into the moſt ſtrict confederacy to act in concert for the reduction of their enemies. The firſt thing however they did, after this action at Linlithgow, was to halt for ſome days, in order to have their wounded men taken care of, and their dead buried; then having ſettled their ſcheme and manner of procedure, they directed their march, with what force they had remaining, for Stirling caſtle. Upon their arrival here, having held a council of war, they deliberated upon what was neceſſary to be done in their preſent circumſtances.

The Earl of Angus perſuaded the council, and all his adherents, that the Queen, with Beaton Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, had been the chief promoters of theſe commotions and and inſurrections, headed by the late Earl of Lenox; but the perſon chiefly loaded with the crafty and artful conſtruction of the whole ſyſtem for the overthrow of the Earl of Angus, was Beaton the Primate of St. Andrew's. I ſhall not affirm, that he in fact was the real author of the whole; but, by the after-part of his life, it was evident, to a demonſtration, that he was ſo completely the prieſt as to be qualified and well-turned for cooking up any miſchievous enterprize.

The Earls of Arran and Angus marched their men directly for St. Andrew's, and ſent out parties to all quarters, to apprehend the Queen and her Archbiſhop. Their main body took poſſeſſion of the caſtle and town of St. Andrew's. They rifled the Archbiſhop's palace, ſtripped it of all his fine furniture and goods of value, ordered parties out to levy contributions upon his lands and eſtates, and put all his vaſſals and dependents to the greateſt diſtreſs. Next, they ordered out parties to go to Dumferling, to demoliſh and plunder the abbey of that place, which was a part of the Archbiſhop's patrimony.

The Queen ſecures herſelf in Edinburgh-caſtle.

The Queen, being cloſely purſued all over Fife, got privately over the Forth, with her huſband Henry Stewart and his brother James. They went directly to Edinburgh-caſtle, and ſhut themſelves up there, determined to ſtand a ſiege.

The cunning Archbiſhop, for fear of being taken in a trap, changed his cloathing; and, laying aſide his wolf's ſkin, put on the ſkin of a ſhepherd feeding his flock upon the hills and mountains. In this his ſtate of humiliation, he was contented to eſcape falling into the hands of the

Earls

Earls of Arran and Angus, who were determined to have put him in a ſtate of mortification for the many pranks they had detected in which he was concerned.

After the Lords had ſufficiently frightened the cunning prelate, they returned for Edinburgh to force the Queen and her huſband to ſurrender the caſtle. Upon their return to Edinburgh, they called a council-extraordinary, in which they carried it to ſummons all the Lords and gentlemen, who had been concerned in the late inſurrection againſt them, to anſwer for their conduct before the King and council at Edinburgh, for levying war and taking up arms againſt their lawful Sovereign the King.

In anſwer to theſe ſummons ſeveral appeared, and pleaded they had not levied war againſt the King; but had acted for the King's intereſt, and by his Majeſty's ſpecial order and approbation; for which they offered to produce the King's letters, to juſtify that what they had done was by royal command and authority.

The miniſtry moderate their meaſures.

Upon the hearing of this the Hamiltons and Douglaſſes were ſtunned with amazement and ſurprize. This gave check to their inſolence and tyranny; for they begun now to be afraid leſt the King ſhould openly declare againſt them, and ſo throw them off with diſgrace, to expoſe them to the fury and reſentment of almoſt the whole of the other nobility of the nation, whom they had uſed in the moſt arbitrary and provoking manner.

Gilbert Earl of Caſſills, with his couſin Hugh Kennedy, appeared on their ſummons; and, being brought before the Lords to make their defence, they endeavoured to perſuade them to ſubject themſelves to the protection and authority of the Earl of Arran for the preſervation of their perſons, honours and eſtate.

Hugh Kennedy, in open council, abſolutely refuſed this as diſhonourable, and acquainted the council, that what had been done was by royal command; for which they had the King's letters to ſhow.

Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Caſſils for himſelf made anſwer, that the chief of the family of Hamilton always held the ſecond place to his family: that he always was determined never to put himſelf under the patronage of one inferior both in birth and dignity; ſo to degenerate from the glory and dignity of his anceſtors: that, if he did comply with any ſuch ſervile conceſſion, he merited to be degraded to the degree next to perfect ſlavery.

Theſe manly and reſolute returns of the Earl of Caſſills, and his couſin Hugh Kennedy, filled the Earl of Angus and the Hamiltons with indignation and reſentment at the Kennedies; but they were afraid, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to ſhow their diſpleaſure openly; yet they meditated ſecretly nothing but blood and violence.

Sir James Hamilton's ſhocking inhumanity.

Sir James Hamilton, ſon to the Earl of Arran, teſtified inhuman cruelty in his diſpoſition, by ſeveral acts of violence at this time, which made his name hateful over the country. After this manly ſpeech and anſwer which Hugh Kennedy made, Sir James Hamilton meditated no leſs than to cut off Hugh Kennedy in a private and unfair manner. Accordingly, he employed Hugh Campbell, Sheriff of Aire, to lie in wait for the Earl of Caſſills and his kinſman in their return home, and to murder them ſecretly; which accordingly they executed in a moſt barbarous and ſhocking manner.

This encreaſed the hatred of the people in general, both at the Hamiltons and Douglaſſes. The Earl of Caſſill's family was now almoſt entirely cut off: the only one that remained of the family was the young orphan, the Earl of Caſſill's ſon; who, being deſtitute, ſheltered himſelf under the protection of Archibald Douglaſs Earl of Angus his nigh relation. My Lord Angus was ſenſible how far he had been acceſſary to his father's murder, and therefore very probably, from the biting ſtings of his guilty and bloody conſcience, his ſpirit might relent and melt into tender affection and concern, for the injury they had done this orphan.

Theſe things being over, the Earl of Angus ordered the caſtle of Edinburgh to be beſieged; but before the place was attacked in form, that the Queen ſhould be ſummoned to ſurrender, and give up the place. The Earl of Angus, with his partner the Earl of Arran, had prevailed upon the King to lead on the attack in perſon, attended by his nobility.

The Queen ſurrenders the caſtle.

The Queen having received intelligence that the King her ſon, was with the army before the caſtle, determined to make no defence, and abſolutely forbid any firing from the ramparts upon the beſiegers, for fear of hurting his Majeſty's perſon. Immediately after, ſhe ordered the gates of the caſtle to be opened for free admittance to his Majeſty; and having ſent her ſon the King a moſt obliging meſſage, the King by the ſecret advice of ſome about him, who were the Queen's friends, gave immediate orders to confine her Majeſty with Henry Stewart her huſband and his brother James, to the caſtle of Edinburgh during his Majeſty's pleaſure. By this means, the King had opportunity of ſecuring his mother the Queen from the ſecret reſentment of the Earl of Angus and the Earl of Arran, who if poſſible would have cut her off.

About this time (1523 and 1524) were the firſt dawnings and appearance of a reformation from popery in Scotland. The firſt who attempted to execute the bloody deſigns of Romiſh prieſthood, and who led the way to future perſecutions for conſcience ſake, by embruing his hands in innocent blood, was this Beaton I have already mentioned, Primate of St. Andrew's. The Primate was ſo compleatly a prieſt, that he could never forgive the Earls of Arran and Angus, for the damage they had done to his caſtles, abbies, and revenues; and if he could not be revenged in one way, he was reſolved to be in another. Therefore, as all well turned prieſts do,

do, making uſe of the cloak of religion with zeal for the mother church, the bloody-minded Primate, concerted with his tribe of prieſts, to frame an impeachment againſt Mr. Patrick Hamilton, nephew to the Earl of Arran, and his brother James, for certain articles and opinions in Theology, which ſome crafty prieſts pretended they had in private converſation diſcovered, to be the private ſentiments of the two gentlemen, and of very dangerous and pernicious conſequence if allowed of and propagated in the nation; having a direct tendency to overthrow the foundation-articles of their catholic and mother-church.

Beaton's execrable inquiſition.

In order then to remove theſe promoters of hereſy, as they called them, the bloody Primate, under colour of ſanctity, conſtituted an eccleſiaſtical court, wherein he preſided himſelf; and, aſſiſted and ſupported by a ſufficient number of his Romiſh eccleſiaſtics, they proceeded to judge of the doctrines and opinions of theſe two gentlemen, Mr. Patrick Hamilton and James his brother.

Theſe gentlemen were brought before their court, and, according to their enſnaring practices, they, in a ſmooth and pretended friendly manner, put ſo many queſtions to the two brothers who appeared before them; and they innocently being fully convinced aud ſatisfied of the truth and rectitude of their ſentiments, gave their direct and plain anſwers to the queſtions propoſed, from a good conſcience ſupported by the evidence of truth.

Theſe their anſwers were laid hold of, and judged to be criminal by this court of inquiſition; and accordingly their opinions and ſentiments were adjudged to be of the moſt dangerous nature againſt the church, and ſtrongly heretical: wherefore the authors, ſupporters, and promoters of theſe ſentiments, were deemed worthy of death; and therefore the court, with great ſpiritual mercy, but clouded with great iniquity and violence, ordered, that Mr. Patrick Hamilton ſhould be burnt at a ſtake, and his brother James baniſhed the kingdom.

Theſe were the beginnings of Romiſh bloodſhed, for the ſupport of their faith, and the ſuppreſſion of the proteſtant religion in it's infant ſtate. Whoever wants to be fully informed of the whole of this tragedy, and other tragical events relating to the proteſtants, in the beginning of their reformation in Scotland, need only look into Knox's hiſtory, Biſhop Spotſwood's, and Mr. Catherwood's. It is ſufficient for me to give this ſhort hint in my way by way of digreſſion, ſo far as the civil tranſactions of the ſtate are connected or entangled with the diabolical tranſactions of prieſtcraft.

Reconciles himſelf to Lord Angus,

After all theſe things were over, Beaton the crafty Primate wanted to be reconciled to the Earl of Angus, to be in appearance in ſtrict friendſhip with him, that ſo he might have an opportunity of doing him a miſchief ſlily; for this is the fineſſe and refinement of Romiſh policy, to ſmile and give a mortal ſtab. The cunning Primate knew very well how to gain the affections of the Earl of Angus by ſome genteel preſents and gifts beſtowed on him and his friends. Accordingly, the Primate made a preſent to the Earl of Angus of ſome rich livings and revenues belonging to the church, and gave to his brother Sir George Douglaſs ſeveral very profitable leaſes of tythes; the conſequence of which preſents were, the Chriſtmas following nothing but mutual regalings and feaſting, and ſo in appearance the ſtricteſt harmony now ſubſiſted between the Earl of Angus and the Primate; yet the artful primate only watched for his opportunity to give the finiſhing blow to the Earl of Angus and all his faction: and this ſoon appeared, when the Earl of Angus was moſt ſecure, and apprehended danger from no quarter: Beaton the Archbiſhop projected a final ſeparation of the King from the Earl of Douglaſs and his faction; and it was effected with the greateſt art, craft, and addreſs, to the overthrow both of the Douglaſſes and Hamiltons.

And meditates his ruin.

The Earl of Angus, believing himſelf in perfect friendſhip with the Primate of St. Andrew's, and having no oppoſition to his meaſures from any perſon of conſequence over the whole kingdom, thought himſelf very eaſy and ſafe. The power and riches of his friends and adherents exceeded that of any name in the whole kingdom. His friends and relations were poſſeſſed of all the offices of truſt and power throughout the realm: they garriſoned all the caſtles, forts and places of defence over the nation, except Stirling caſtle, which was the Queen's; ſo that the other nobility and gentry lived private and retired, having no concern in the management of the ſtate, becauſe of the King's confinement within the circle of the friends of the Earl of Angus. The Earl of Angus therefore, looking upon himſelf now as perfectly fortified on all hands, thought he might allow himſelf ſome relaxation and retirement to look into his own domeſtic affairs; therefore contrived to carry over the young King to his moſt retired palace in the county of Fife, to Faulkland. Having got the King hither, he commits the immediate care of the King's perſon in his abſence to his brother Sir George Douglaſs, appointing James Douglaſs of Park-head captain of the King's body-guards, with Archibald Douglaſs his uncle Lord-treaſurer, to manage all affairs about the King during his abſence.

Thinking now that his Majeſty was in ſafe cuſtody, the Lord Angus took his leave and croſſed the Forth; but no ſooner had he got on the other ſide the Forth, than of deſign they cut him out ſome work, to draw him at a greater diſtance from the King's perſon, and put him under a neceſſity of going to the South border of Scotland to quell the inſolence of the banditti, who were now encreaſed to formidable bodies, and ſeemed to govern the whole adjacent country, for fear of their outrages.

While thus the ſecret enemies of the Earl of Angus found employment for him on the frontier of Scotland, the Queen, with Beaton Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, had concerted a proper meaſure

meaſure to accompliſh by ſtratagem, what by open force and power they had found impracticable. Beaton the Primate ſent a very preſſing, inviting and obliging meſſage from his palace at St. Andrew's to Sir George Douglaſs, who was in waiting upon the King at Faulkland; deſiring he might repair directly to St. Andrew's, that he might receive the leaſes of the tithes, and the titles of other revenues, that he had made over to him.

Sir George immediately complied with the Primate's invitation, leaving the care and truſt of the young King to Archibald and James Douglaſs, the King's treaſurer and captain of the body guards. James Douglaſs would by no means, nor by no enticement, be induced to leave the King's perſon; but Archibald Douglaſs, by a ſtratagem of the Primate's, was prevailed on to leave his Majeſty and go to Dundee, by a letter wrote from a lady upon a pretended intrigue and amour, which letter was only a blind to draw him off from the King's preſence.

The King now, being left with only James Douglaſs alone, took the liberty to himſelf in the mornings (having ſome few of the guards within ſight of him) to walk for ſome conſiderable time, and meditate in his park; at which time his Majeſty, being of an alert and quick wit, meditated and concerted his own eſcape. In order to conceal his real intentions from the captain of his guards, he called for his game-keeper and the keeper of the park, gave them orders to acquaint the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood to attend his Majeſty next morning early, with their hounds; becauſe his Majeſty was to hunt in the park. His Majeſty likewiſe gave orders, to acquaint the captain of the guard with this his intention; that ſo many of his men might be in waiting for the King. The King meditates his eſcape.

The King, having thus amuſed the whole of his houſhold, went much earlier to ſupper than uſual. After ſupper the King, to avoid any ſuſpicion of his deſign, entertained James Douglaſs, captain of the guards, with more than common familiarity and politeneſs. He acquainted the captain of the hunting-match he had ſet for next morning early, and therefore begged leave to excuſe himſelf from ſitting up becauſe he was to be ſoon the next morning on horſeback, in expectation of good ſport. The captain took leave of his Majeſty, highly ſatisfied with the King's genteel behaviour to him, and in perfect ſecurity from any apprehenſion of the King's eſcape.

The King, being retired to his bed-chamber and the whole of the houſhold ordered for reſt, communicated his intentions to two of his moſt faithful and truſty ſervants in waiting, who attended on his perſon. He gave them ſtrict orders, on their peril, to have three or four of his beſt horſes ready by three of the clock next morning, and to be ready to attend his Majeſty. They accordingly awaked his Majeſty at the hour appointed; and the King, having got all things in readineſs, diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of one of his ſervants, and ſo got down from his apartments unobſerved to the ſtables.

When his Majeſty got into the ſtable, he put on one of his groom's livery-coats; and thus mounted his horſe with the other ſervants, pretending to have received orders to go before the King, to make ready for him; by which means the King, in the habit of his groom, paſſed the guards, without being obſerved or interrupted. And executes it.

When out of ſight, his Majeſty put ſpurs to his horſe, and rode poſt to Stirling-caſtle, which, as before-mentioned, was the only place not inhabited nor garriſoned with the Douglaſſes or their friends.

The Queen had immediate intelligence of the King her ſon's eſcape, before Douglaſs, captain of the guards, was well awaked; or any intelligence could be had where the King was gone, or what was become of him: upon which, her Majeſty, with Henry Stewart her huſband and all the men they could collect, repaired directly to Stirling-caſtle.

The King immediately, upon his arrival at Stirling-caſtle, by proclamation, ordered all his friends round the country to ſend in a ſufficient number of men, to reinforce his guards at Stirling-caſtle, to prevent any attempt of an attack from Douglaſs Earl of Angus. At the ſame time his Majeſty iſſued out his proclamation over the whole kingdom, forbidding and diſcharging the Earl of Angus to approach to Stirling-caſtle, under pain of high treaſon; and ordering all his friends, aſſociates and confederates, to deliver up their commiſſions and warrants for all their places of power and truſt. Angus diveſted of his power.

This well-concerted eſcape of the King's ſtruck the Earl of Angus, his brothers, and all their friends, with inconceivable conſternation, and run them into deſpair. They were put to ſuch a dilemma, they knew not which hand to turn to. The Earl of Angus came to Linlithgow, in his way to Stirling-caſtle; but the King, having timely notice of his approach, ſent the proper officers to ſtop him at Linlithgow, with orders to notify to him his royal pleaſure, that, upon his higheſt peril and on pain of being declared a traitor, he ſhould not approach nigher to his royal palace; but directly, in obedience to his Majeſty's command, retire beyond the river Spey, to the county of Murray, in the North; there to remain to wait his Majeſty's further pleaſure: and that his brother Sir George Douglaſs ſhould, under pain of high treaſon, ſurrender himſelf to be committed priſoner to Edinburgh-caſtle; there to wait, 'till his Majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known.

Upon this great event, the news of his Majeſty's deliverance and eſcape, ſpread with incredible celerity over the whole kingdom. The nobility from all corners, who had for a conſiderable time retired from court, becauſe of the Earl of Angus, now hurried away to Stir-

ling with their compliments of congratulation, and to eſcorte his Majeſty, from any future attempts of a reſcue from the Earl of Angus.

Among the firſt, who came to wait on the King, were the Earls of Argyle, Athol, Glencairn, Monteith and Huntley, with a ſufficient poſſe of their men for the King's ſervice. Next followed them, the Lords Graham, Drummond, Levingſton, Sinclair, Lindſey, Annandale, Maxwell, Ruthven, and Semple, with the Earls of Rothes and Eglinton. Laſt of all, came the cunning fox Beaton Primate of St. Andrew's, to compliment his Majeſty upon the ſucceſs of the ſtratagem, which he (the Archbiſhop) had ſo artfully framed for his Majeſty's eſcape.

A parliament called.

The Earl of Angus, with his brother and friends, refuſed to comply with his Majeſty's orders concerning their exile and confinement; upon which, the King and council declared them enemies to his Majeſty; and the parliament was ſummoned to meet in September 1529, at Edinburgh, in order to proceed againſt the Douglaſſes and all their adherents, who had invaded the rights of the crown during the King's minority.

Upon the meeting of the parliament, the Earl of Angus, with his brothers and friends were ſummoned to appear; but before the day aſſigned them to appear, the Earl of Angus had got together a body of his friends and followers, with deſign to enter the city of Edinburgh and take poſſeſſion of it, in order to intercept the King in his way to the parliament houſe: but the King, having timely intelligence of this deſign, ordered the Lords Maxwell and Lindores to ſurround and encloſe the city of Edinburgh with a ſufficient armed force; by which means, the Earl of Angus was diſappointed of his attempt.

Lord Angus impeached.

The King in perſon came up immediately after from Stirling caſtle, with two thouſand men, with deſign if poſſible to have ſeized upon the Earl of Angus and his party. Upon the King's approach, the Earl of Angus made off with great precipitation, and did not appear before the parliament at the day aſſigned him: upon which, the parliament paſſed the bill of attainder, forfeiture and outlawry, againſt Douglaſs Earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglaſs, Archibald Douglaſs his Uncle, with Alexander Drummond of Carnock, and ſeveral other adherents to the Earl of Angus.

The bill of impeachment conſiſted of three capital articles,

Firſt, the detainure of his Majeſty, contrary to his will and pleaſure; and engroſſing to himſelf, the rights and powers of the ſovereignty, excluding the other nobility, who had equal right by parliamentary eſtabliſhment, from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of government.

Secondly, that the Earl of Angus had aſſembled with his adherents, a formidable body of the King's ſubjects, in order to have laid hold of the King, and confined him with deſign to have his Majeſty ſubjected entirely to their arbitrary directions.

The third article was, that the King had declared he had often been put in fear and danger of his life, by the arts and practices of the Douglaſſes.

Therefore his Majeſty of himſelf had directly ordered, this bill of impeachment to be preſented to the parliament, requiring the parliament's immediate effectual and vigorous reſolutions upon it; which, in obedience to his Majeſty's royal command, the parliament faithfully executed.

The Douglaſſes drove to deſperation.

The Douglaſſes now were drove to the greateſt extremities, and forced to act as deſperate men; therefore, in ſuch perplexity, and terrible condition of their convulſed circumſtances, they collected all their friends and deſperate men, who were ready to join them; being fully reſolute to terminate the remainder of their unhappy days, in doing all the miſchief, and giving all the trouble poſſible, to their enemies and oppoſites.

The firſt act of hoſtilities they committed, was againſt the lands of Cranſton * and Cauland *, which they deſtroyed by fire and ſword, and penetrated even to the gates of Edinburgh without oppoſition; putting the country people all round in ſuch terror and confuſion, that they were afraid of being burnt in their houſes in the night time, and of going about their lawful affairs.

In this tumultuary and inſolent manner, the Douglaſſes, with ſome of their friends the Hamiltons, continued to ravage, plunder, and deſtroy the country who were in oppoſition to them, untill his Majeſty, by advice of his privy council, and by order of parliament, was under neceſſity to levy a conſiderable force, in order to have them ſuppreſſed and totally extirpated.

The calamities and miſeries which the Douglaſſes were reduced to, together with ſome of the Hamiltons, was ſuch a picture of diſtreſs as might have given warning and caution to all future miniſters of ſtate, to reſtrain the inſolence, tyranny, and iniquity of their uſurpation.

The Douglaſſes and Hamiltons behaved with ſuch a firm perſuaſion of the perpetuity of their power, that they regarded not, either the approbation of the people, nor the bounds of common decency and humanity in many inſtances. The manner in which Sir James Hamilton had murdered ſo fine a gentleman as the Earl of Lenox was, created a hatred at the whole faction over the kingdom. But this Sir James Hamilton (called by the populace James the baſtard) was by the regulation and ſuperintendency of providence, requited for his barbarity to this nobleman;

* Four miles South of Dalkeith in the ſhire of Lothian.

nobleman; for, after the murder of the Earl of Lenox, the domeſtics, and, in particular the under ſervants of his houſhold, were ſcattered abroad, and moſtly all reduced to deſperate circumſtances by the loſs of their valuable maſter.

There was particularly one under groom belonging to my Lord Lenox, who had ſuch a regard for his maſter's memory, and bore ſo ſtrong a love towards him, that, after his death, he was ſo ſunk with ſorrow, that he wandered about, uneaſy in mind and inconſolable with grief. At length he reſolved, if practicable any how, to lay hold of an opportunity to cut off Sir James Hamilton who had murdered his maſter. Of this he made no ſecret, and proceeded with all expedition to Edinburgh to get to the King's palace, where Sir James Hamilton was. When he came to the outer gate of the King's palace of Holyrood-houſe, where the guards were placed, he ruſhed in through the crouds and the numbers of armed men who ſurrounded and lined the court-yard, and paſſing unobſerved fixed his eye upon Sir James Hamilton, who was coming out (wrapt up in his ſcarlet cloak and unarmed) in the morning. This poor fellow, with uncommon reſolution and undaunted ſpirit, ruſhed in upon Sir James Hamilton, reproaching him with the murder of his good maſter the Earl of Lenox; and before he could be interrupted, gave Sir James ſix mortal wounds in his body, with a poignard which he had concealed under his coat for this purpoſe.

Lord Lenox's death avenged in Sir James Hamilton's aſſaſſination.

The clamour and noiſe ariſing upon this tragedy in the court, the fellow was apprehended, and being immediately brought before the judges, being taken in the fact, he was ordered directly to be put to the rack and torture. His right hand was cut off, his fleſh torn from his body with red hot irons, and afterwards his quarters fixed upon gibbets in the moſt public roads. The reſolution and compoſure of this fellow, under all the agonies and torture of his puniſhment, was ſo extraordinary, as to excite the admiration of all ranks. In his agonies he declared his entire ſatisfaction and his contentment, in ſuffering for executing vengeance on the murderer of his worthy maſter, and appeared quite eaſy and calm about his fate.

Another remarkable fact, which illuſtrates in part the ſpirit of the times, and the dangerous ſituation of a kingdom under the influence of popiſh maxims, conducted by the bloody arts of deſigning prieſts, was in the caſe of Mr. Patrick Hamilton whom I have already mentioned.

This valuable man was betrayed by his own intimate and familiar acquaintance, one Alexander Campbell a dominican fryar and prieſt (a diſgrace to all his clan). This fellow, in ſeveral private conferences with Patrick Hamilton concerning the ſupremacy of the Pope, the actual preſence of our Saviour in the Euchariſt, by the transformation of bread and wine into body and blood, with the doctrines of invocation of Saints and purgatory, having learned and underſtood the private opinion of Patrick Hamilton, at ſeveral of their private meetings, had ſignified to Hamilton his thorough approbation of his reaſonings and arguments againſt the falſities and impoſing tenets of the Romiſh faith; yet, renouncing all ties of private friendſhip, fidelity and honour, this Alexander Campbell, conducted only by the dictates of deceit and Romiſh prieſtcraft, lodged an accuſation of hereſy againſt this honeſt and innocent perſon (Patrick Hamilton) upon the articles I have mentioned, and was the only evidence by which he was condemned to the ſtake. But Buchanan, who relates this event in a hobbling manner, affirms to us, that this Campbell died an extraordinary and remarkable death; that his diſtemper begun with a delirium ariſing from his remorſe of conſcience; but it is generally thought and believed, that the order of Romiſh prieſthood are not much troubled with remorſes or contrition of mind, being of a more hardened and petrified nature, even to inſenſibility.

But leaving this digreſſion:—the King, with the advice of his parliament, proceeded to deliberate further concerning the moſt ſpeedy and effectual expedients for removing the laſt efforts and outrages of the Douglaſſes and their friends. They ordered that the forces which had been levied for this purpoſe, ſhould march directly againſt all the parties of the Douglaſſes, to cut them off and deſtroy them wherever they could lay hold of them.

The King ſignified to his council and parliament his reſolution to command this expedition in perſon, though it was in the beginning of the winter ſeaſon. But before his Majeſty's departure, he diſpoſed of the great employments and offices which the Douglaſſes had been poſſeſſed of. The Archbiſhop of Glaſcow, Garvin Dumbar, his Majeſty's tutor, was appointed Lord-chancellor of Scotland. One Carncroſs, a private gentleman, but of a very opulent eſtate, was appointed Lord-treaſurer, in the room of Archibald Douglaſs uncle to the Earl of Angus. A commiſſion was proffered to the Earl of Bothwell to be lord lieutenant of all the counties to the South of the Forth, appointing him to march directly, with fire and ſword, to lay waſte and deſtroy the eſtates of the Douglaſſes in every quarter. But my Lord Bothwell, through humanity and tenderneſs of mind, excuſed himſelf from accepting or executing the commiſſion. But the King fully determined to execute his higheſt reſentment againſt the Douglaſſes, made offer of the commiſſion to Collin Campbell Earl of Argyle and my Lord Hume, who accepted of it, and executed the whole to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction, by complete perſecution and total extirpation of the inhabitants.

The King in perſon with his forces having taken the field, the Earl of Angus, with his parties of horſe, retired to their ſtrong holds. The main body of the Douglaſſes had taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Tantallon in Eaſt Lothian, which they had ſo fortified as to be capable to make a ſtout defence: having put in a ſufficient quantity of ſtores and proviſions, they reſolved upon

The King marches to reduce the Douglaſſes.

upon making an obſtinate defence, and to ſtand all extremities rather than ſurrender to the King's mercy.

Theſe commotions and diſturbances ſtirred up by the Douglaſſes, had given encouragement to the thieves, robbers and plunderers, to form themſelves into conſiderable parties, and to exerciſe their employment of pilfering and robbing over all the adjacent counties. Theſe knots of thieves and robbers at this time of day, got the denomination of Tories: from whence it's evident, how great and wide the oppoſition is betwixt the ancient or original, and the modern ſignification annexed to the word Tory.

The King beſieges the caſtle of Tantallon,

The King marched upon the retreat of the Douglaſſes to beſiege them in the caſtle of Tantallon. The ſiege for ſome time was carried on with great warmth; but the beſiegers were put to great diſtreſs by the inclemency of the weather, and the warm reception they met with from the beſieged. The beſiegers had advanced, and made their approach too nigh the caſtle walls, in the neighbourhood of which the beſieged had prepared ſome mines, which they, watching their opportunity, at a convenient time, ſprung upon the aſſailants, and blew up many of the King's men. The King received his ſupplies of proviſions and military ſtores from the caſtle of Dunbar, which was but ſix miles diſtant from that of Tantallon; but finding the inconveniency and loſs attending the ſiege, he reſolved to deſiſt from the attack, and therefore raiſed the ſiege.

without ſucceſs.

Upon the departure of the King's army, one David Faulkner, his chief engineer, who had the care and truſt of all his ordinance, being in the rear of the royal army, was intercepted by a party of horſe properly detatched by the Earl of Angus, to harraſs the rear of the King's army in their retreat, and to pick up all ſtragglers from the main body. This party of horſe having taken David Faulkner priſoner, killed him in cold blood.

When the King received the news of this barbarity, he was ſo enraged and provoked at the Douglaſſes, that he made a ſolemn vow and oath, never to ſhew any clemency nor mercy to any of the Douglaſſes, but determined to exerciſe the ſeverity of the law againſt every one of them; and, for an immediate check upon the inſolence of the Douglaſſes, and in order to diſtreſs them, the King ſent orders to the Earl of Argyle and Lord Hume, to deſtroy the eſtates of the Douglaſſes wherever they came by fire and ſword, without the leaſt favour. The King likewiſe gave orders, that a ſtrong party ſhould be lodged at Coldingham, which is two miles from Aymouth, in the Mers, to be a check upon them to know all their motions, and to be capable to harraſs them.

Lord Angus flies to England.

The Earl of Angus with his friends and aſſociates, being ſore preſſed upon, harraſſed and chaſed from one place to another, did retire for ſanctuary to England; for the Earl of Argyle and the Lord Hume had kept ſo cloſe in purſuit of them, and made ſuch ſtrict ſearch of them, that it was impoſſible for them to remain in the country without being taken; and if they had been apprehended, the King was determined to make a ſacrifice of them.

Theſe exiles in diſtreſs, particularly the Earl of Angus, werere received by Henry the VIIIth, and entertained with great hoſpitality and tenderneſs. King Henry, at this time, was upon the point of declaring war againſt the Emperor Charles the Vth; and that he might the more readily engage in this enterprize, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into Scotland to treat of articles for a pacification, and to procure terms for the Douglaſſes and their friends.

Upon the arrival of the ambaſſadors from the court of London, King James appointed ſo many of his privy council to treat with them for a pacification; but when they met to deliberate upon the articles of the treaty, the Scots nobility were in their inclinations and ſecret affections averſe to an accommodation with England. They apprehended England would be involved in war, and therefore they were willing to watch their opportunity to fiſh in troubled water. The true reaſon for this their diſlike to a peace with England, in the preſent juncture, was their remembrance of the treatment which Henry the VIIIth had given them, when treating of a marriage for the preſent King James with the Princeſs Mary of England: but King James himſelf was of a pacific ſpirit, and diſpoſed to enter into treaty with England, yet was averſe to grant any terms to the Douglaſſes who were exiled, or any of their followers.

A truce concluded betwixt England and Scotland.

However, after much reaſoning and long debates, the Scots and Engliſh agreed upon a truce for five years; by which it was ſtipulated, that King James ſhould have the caſtle of Tantallon delivered up to him, and ſhew mercy to the Douglaſſes: but his Majeſty did not condeſcend that they ſhould be allowed to return home to their native country. Alexander Drummond was, by the interceſſion of Robert Britain, pardoned, and obtained leave to return to his native country. Robert Britain now became in great favour with King James; and the King, upon ſuſpicion that the Lord Colvill and Robert Carncroſs favoured the cauſe of the Douglaſſes, ordered them to depart the court, and beſtowed their employments upon Robert Britain his favourite.

The next year, which was 1530 in the month of March, King James ordered the Earl of Murray (who was now, by the King's commiſſion, appointed deputy governor of Scotland under his Majeſty) to repair to the frontier of England, to ſettle all matters yet remaining in diſpute with the Earl of Northumberland, who was Lord warden of the Engliſh frontier. His Majeſty King James enjoined the Earl of Murray likewiſe to make a juſt and exact eſtimate of the

the loſſes ſuſtained on both ſides, that mutual and equal ſatisfaction might be made to all parties injured.

Here ſome of the Scots nobility artfully threw in ſome ſeeds of contention, which had like to have broke up the conferences, and diſſolved the whole pacification into confuſion. This highly provoked King James; therefore, upon the 15th of April, 1530, he called a council extraordinary, to take their advice concerning what was moſt expedient in the preſent conjuncture, for preſerving the tranquility and peace of the kingdom.

After their deliberations and warm debates they agreed, that orders ſhould be ſent to the Earl of Murray the Lord-lieutenant, to come to a ſpeedy accommodation with the Earl of Northumberland if poſſible, and to ſettle matters upon eaſy terms, ſo as to prevent any rupture by ſtickling upon punctilios. The King likewiſe, having diſcovered that ſeveral of his own nobility were concerned in a ſecret oppoſition and traverſing his Majeſty's meaſures, by exciting and encouraging the parties of thieves and robbers to make incurſions upon the frontier of England, in order to increaſe the miſunderſtandings betwixt both kingdoms, and to prevent a ſpeedy accommodation, gave orders to take the Earl of Bothwell, Lord Maxwell, Lord Bucleugh, and Lord Mark Ker into cuſtody, and to commit them priſoners to Edinburgh caſtle. His Majeſty likewiſe commanded the proper officers to take into cuſtody the nobility and chiefs of the Mers and Tiviotdale, and carry them to other ſecure priſons to ſtand their trial for what they were accuſed of.

The King orders into cuſtody ſeveral of the nobility.

The King next raiſed a ſmall army of about eight or ten thouſand men, which he commanded in perſon, and with them his Majeſty marched to ſuppreſs the thieves, robbers, and banditti, who were now all over the border become very numerous and formidable. The King advanced with his army againſt them into Tiviotdale, and encamped upon the banks of the river Ewſe in Tiviotdale.

The news of his Majeſty's approach ſtruck the robbers with terror, and made them diſperſe into holes and corners. Two of their chief ringleaders, and the moſt notorious among the gangs, were Maxwell and John Armſtrong: Maxwell came in and ſurrendered himſelf to the King; and, upon promiſe of pardon, he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to his Majeſty of his future good behaviour; and that he would exert himſelf in his Majeſty's ſervice in a diſtinguiſhed manner, to clear the country of all robbers, thieves, and diſorderly perſons.

John Armſtrong, by the perſuaſion and craft of ſome of the officers of the King's army, was induced to lay down his arms, and to go towards the King's camp, with fifty more horſe of his party, upon encouragement given him of a pardon if he ſurrendered himſelf. He, with his fifty horſe, proceeded all unarmed to deliver themſelves up to his Majeſty: but the officers of the army who had perſuaded them to this meaſure outwitted them; for Armſtrong, with his company of horſe, having ventured without paſſports from the King to conduct them to the camp, the officers of the army who had laid the ſnare for them, ordered a ſtrong party of their men for an ambuſcade to intercept them on the road, which they accordingly executed; and, having ſurprized Armſtrong with the whole of his party, they carried them priſoners to the King's camp.

The officers immediately repaired to the King, to acquaint his Majeſty that they had apprehended the noted Armſtrong, with fifty of his men on horſeback; upon which, the King directly ordered Armſtrong and all his men to be tucked up. Thus Armſtrong was bit in his meaſures and out of his life; for the King's order was immediately executed upon all of them, at the nigheſt trees to the camp.

The King, having in great meaſure reduced the country to peace and order, by the examples he made, and the interpoſition of his immediate authority, returned with his army to Edinburgh. Soon after, by the advice of his privy-council, he pardoned all the Lords who were confined, and ſet them at liberty.

Reſtores order in the kingdom, and releaſes the confined Lords.

Walter Scott Lord Bucleugh, upon this event, to reconcile himſelf the more to the King, raiſed a party of his men againſt Johnſton and his gang of robbers, who were the chief now that infeſted the country. Bucleugh encountered Johnſton, cut him and his party all to pieces, and ſo compoſed the country.

King James, having now in ſome meaſure ſettled national affairs, and brought the kingdom to a ſtate of order and tranquility, inſtituted in this year (1530) what is called the college of juſtice in Scotland; that is, the high court of ſeſſion, for judging and determining finally all cauſes brought before them by the ſubjects. There had been before judges and juſticiaries, of the inſtitution and appointment of James the Iſt; but theſe were ambulatory, and acted by circuits over the different parts of the kingdom.

Inſtitutes the high court of ſeſſion.

The inſtitution of this new high court of judicature, which ſtill ſubſiſts in the kingdom of Scotland, was compoſed of fifteen ſenators or judges, men of rank and diſtinction, thoroughly acquainted, not only with the Roman or civil law, but with the municipal laws of Scotland. To theſe fifteen Lords, or judges ordinary, were joined four extraordinary Lords of the Peers of the kingdom, removable from that employment and office at the King's pleaſure; but the Lords ordinary, in number fifteen, held their employments as they do now, for life.

By this eſtabliſhment the Chancellor of the kingdom was authorized to ſit in judgment, and to take his place in court above the preſident. All great and remarkable cauſes, which were formerly judged and decided by the privy-council, were, by this new eſtabliſhment, ordered

to be brought before the college of juſtice, and finally determined by theſe fifteen judges; ſeveral of whom were likewiſe privy councillors: therefore it is, that to this day the judges of this court of ſeſſion in Scotland, retain the deſignation of the Lords of council and ſeſſion in all public deeds and acts. Six of theſe Lords are the chief judges of all crimes and capital offences. When theſe fifteen judges, the Lords of ſeſſion of Scotland, are ſeated in their purple robes in the parliament-houſe, they conſtitute a very auguſt and ſolemn court, and are compoſed of men of the moſt liberal education; who are not only thoroughly acquainted with the laws, ſtatutes, and conſtitution of their own country, but have ſtudied regularly the Roman or civil law, which is the baſis and foundation of the ancient laws and conſtitution of Scotland; for which reaſon, when any caſe or affair occurs or comes before them which is entirely new, for which they have no precedent nor any ſtatute law to direct them, they frame their deciſions in the beſt and moſt accurate manner immediately upon the Roman law, and there can be no appeal from their decree but to the King and parliament.

Their councillors and barriſters are regularly initiated likewiſe in the ſtudy of the civil law, having profeſſors in their univerſities purpoſely for that end: therefore the moſt eminent of their pleaders at the bar, and the moſt eloquent of them, are very inſtructing as well as entertaining, and ſhow the refinement and the elegancy of their genius, not only in their comments and obſervations on the ſtatute and common law, but likewiſe on the Roman and civil law, which affords them ſuch a rich ſubject of materials for their pleadings, that their orations and declamations at the bar plainly diſcover the regularity and true taſte in their education, and the proſecution of their ſtudy of the law before they come to the bar. Theſe councillors and barriſters there, are conſtituted and erected into a faculty, or body corporate, who have very great and extenſive privileges. They are a very numerous body, and moſtly all gentlemen of learning as well as fortune. They have a noble and valuable library belonging to their faculty, to which they make an annual addition from the rich and opulent funds they have for the ſupport of this library. Their collection of manuſcripts and medals is very large and curious; and they always take care to have one for their librarian, who is a man of learning and knowlege in books. They compoſe one of the genteeleſt and politeſt ſocieties in Europe, for men of true learning who have carried on the ſtudy of their profeſſion in a regular manner.

This inſtitution and appointment of King James the Vth for the adminiſtration of juſtice, was formed upon the plan of that eſtabliſhed at Paris, in 1286, by Philip the IVth the French King. Buchanan makes this inſtitution of the college of juſtice two years later than other Scots hiſtorians, who make it in the year 1530.

The intrigues of the nobility embroil the King in a quarrel with England.

Notwithſtanding King James was heartily diſpoſed for peace, and had reſtored the Lords who had been committed for promoting diſſention, and interrupting the ſettlement of a pacification betwixt both kingdoms; yet theſe very Lords, being now in full freedom, renewed their former practices; and, by keeping a ſecret correſpondence with Douglaſs Earl of Angus, and ſome of the Engliſh nobility, artfully diſturbed and diſconcerted the King's meaſures for ſettling affairs betwixt both kingdoms. The King therefore was under a neceſſity to put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, to be prepared againſt all events. He ordered the ſeveral governors of Edinburgh, Dunbarton, Stirling, and Blackneſs caſtles, to fortify their ſeveral garriſons, and put them in immediate repair, to lay in a ſufficient quantity of ſtores and proviſions, to be in readineſs againſt any attack or ſurprize; for his Majeſty perceived that the Engliſh were in a diſpoſition to evade and break off the truce lately agreed upon for five years, and to render fruitleſs the conferences and negociations which were ſo far advanced laſt year, betwixt the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Murray, the commiſſioners appointed on both ſides to ſettle all matters in diſpute; and this King James very well underſtood proceeded from the inſtigation of his own nobility.

The Earl of Angus had repreſented matters to Henry the VIIIth of England in ſuch a light, and had got ſo much into his favour, that he procured from him a commiſſion to Sir Edward Darcy to go ambaſſador extraordinary to Scotland, and to make a formal demand of fulfilling the article in the late truce concerning the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes; and next, that a ſmall, contemptible, and poor abbey called Cannaby, upon the border of England, ſhould be reſtored to the Engliſh, being their former property. Theſe two articles were of ſuch a trifling nature, and of no importance to the crown of England; that it was evident to King James, that Henry the VIIIth was purpoſely ſet upon this expedient, not ſo much for the ſake of his own intereſt, as to gratify the ſecret views of ſome of the nobility of Scotland, whoſe factious ſpirit could not be ſatisfied without war and confuſion, as the means by which they might make their fortune and raiſe their families.

This had been the caſe in former reigns, and had created ſo much bloodſhed betwixt both nations; and in all kingdoms who are diſturbed with a reſtleſs, factious, and caballing nobility, the Monarch muſt be greatly perplexed, and find difficulty to prevent ruin and confuſion to his people from civil diſcords. This entirely depends upon the manner of his eſtabliſhing his authority at firſt, at his entry upon the government; and, if the King's authority at firſt be well eſtabliſhed, then the ſame authority can be eaſily ſupported by a good underſtanding aud ſound judgment, without exerciſing any extremities or rigidity. The proper exerciſe of this

this part of regal power, ſhews the capacity and abilities of a Prince to be equal to his dignity and power.

Sir Edward Darcy made his demand of the two articles above mentioned, in ſuch a haughty manner, that he gave King James a great diſtaſte at his encroachment; therefore the King teſtified his diſpleaſure, and ſignified his averſion to comply with the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes. As for ſuch a little trifling abbey as Cannaby, King James was quite indifferent about that; but gave his anſwer to Sir Edward Darcy, in ſtrong and manly terms, making him underſtand, that it was incompatible with his honour and dignity to be bullied into any ſuch meaſure as the reſtoration of traitors, and his mortal enemies: but that he was willing to enter into any meaſures, reaſonable, equitable, and juſt, for ſettling a laſting peace with his uncle the King of England.

Sir Edward Darcy, without any heſitation, (offended at King James's anſwer) departed from the court of Scotland, and went directly for Berwick, where he ſtaid for ſome time, in order to aſſemble a body of men from Northumberland and Weſtmoreland: having raiſed ſome hundreds of the militia of theſe counties, he draughted the beſt men of the garriſon of Berwick caſtle to diſcipline his new levies; and, having united his whole force, he marched in directly upon Scotland, ſet fire to Coldingham and Douglaſs towns, and ravaged all the way to Dunce, laying the country waſte. The Engliſh ravage the borders.

King James, upon notice of this, ſent his heralds to Sir Edward Darcy, to know the meaning of ſuch unwarrantable proceedings, without a diſſolution of the ceſſation of arms which had been agreed upon. At the ſame time, King James ordered the Earl of Murray to aſſemble all his forces, and march againſt Sir Edward Darcy. However, Sir Edward Darcy, having received from time to time ſufficient ſupplies and reinforcements, became far ſuperior to the Earl of Murray in numbers; therefore, the Earl of Murray acquainted his Majeſty King James with the ſituation of both armies, and deſired to know his Majeſty's pleaſure, with particular inſtructions how to act, before he ſhould make any further progreſs.

Upon this, the King gave the whole power of levying a conſiderable army, to four of the chief nobility of Scotland, dividing the whole kingdom into four diſtricts, aſſigning to each of the Lords their particular diſtrict, with commiſſion to act as Lord-lieutenant to raiſe the militia of each county, and to collect all their forces together to aſſemble at the general place of rendezvous, which was appointed to be at Stirling. The King's vigorous preparations againſt England

King Henry of England, having advice that King James had taken ſuch vigorous reſolutions to put his kingdom in a condition to make full reprizals upon the Engliſh, begun to be afraid that the war with Scotland might break out, be of longer duration, and of more dangerous conſequences than he at firſt apprehended. Upon this account King Henry teſtified a very pacific and cool diſpoſition, but was unwilling to humble his ſpirit ſo far as to make any offers to the King of Scotland his nephew, yet he ſent private inſtructions to Sir Edward Darcy to be ſlow in his operations, and not to make much further progreſs into Scotland. In the mean time King James had employed his time with great diligence, and aſſembled a formidable army, with which he reſolved to march in perſon into England. Alarm King Henry,

King Henry of England, being now in peace and friendſhip with the French King, and knowing the old friendſhip ſubſiſting betwixt the French and Scots nations, applied to his French Majeſty, deſiring he might proffer his mediation to the King of Scotland to remove all differences with England. His Majeſty of France accordingly accepted of this office, and acted as mediator to remove the preſent quarrel betwixt Scotland and England. who deſires the mediation of the French.

Upon this event, the French King ſent one Stephen d'Aix his ambaſſador into Scotland. The firſt thing given this ambaſſador in charge was, to be fully informed and ſatisfied who had been the aggreſſor in this quarrel between the King of Scotland and Henry the VIIIth of England. Upon this head King James fully acquitted himſelf, and made it evident, to demonſtration, that King Henry of England was the aggreſſor.

This ambaſſador made but a ſhort ſtay in Scotland, having received his maſter's letters recalling him to the French court. Therefore King James, having treated him with great marks of diſtinction and regard, ſent letters with him to the King of France, ſignifying that he expected, upon the honour and faith of a King, and from the faith and obligation of ancient treaties ſubſiſting betwixt Scotland and France, which had been but lately renewed and confirmed by John Duke of Albany (at Roan) late regent of Scotland, that his Majeſty of France would pay a ſtrict regard to theſe treaties of mutual friendſhip, and look upon the obligation to fulfil theſe engagements to be of a ſacred nature. King James further ſubjoined, that he would ſend his ambaſſador, out of regard and reſpect to the court of France, in order to ſettle and adjuſt all particulars in an amicable and friendly manner: in conſequence of which, King James ſent David Beaton (a near relation of the Primate's) as ambaſſador to France, to counter-act the intrigues of the court of London, and to renew a firm treaty of alliance and friendſhip with the French court.

By this ambaſſador King James ſent letters likewiſe to the parliament of Paris, complaining bitterly concerning the tranſactions and negociations which paſſed betwixt Francis King of France, and the Duke of Albany late regent of Scotland. Beaton, the Scots ambaſſador, had private inſtructions from his Majeſty King James, to give ſtrict attention to the diſpoſition and behaviour of the French King and of the parliament of Paris; and to take particular notice how

how his letters and negociations were received and approved of at the French court; and if he found either the King or parliament of Paris cool upon him, and not pay due regard to his demands, to depart from the court of France, and retire into Flanders until further orders from his Majeſty.

In the mean time, the war went on betwixt Scotland and England, which ſo diſtreſſed both ſides, that they thought proper to nominate commiſſioners from each nation to meet at Newcaſtle, in order to ſettle all matters, if poſſible, in an amicable manner betwixt both kingdoms.

The commiſſioners met at Newcaſtle according to their orders, but could not ſettle or agree upon the terms; therefore the French King ſent over his ambaſſador extraordinary, monſieur d'Flowr, to give the greater weight and authority to his mediation. This monſieur d'Flowr was inſtructed to promote a reconciliation in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual manner betwixt Scotland and England.

French ambaſſadorarrives to mediate a peace.

Upon his arrival at the court of Scotland, he was immediately admitted to an audience with King James, and the King deſired him to aſſure his Majeſty of France his maſter, that he was in the moſt ſincere and hearty diſpoſition to enter into treaty with England, provided that King Henry of England was of the ſame mind. Monſieur d'Flowr being accepted of by the court of London as ſole mediator in this affair, King James heartily agreed to refer the matters in diſpute to him likewiſe. Upon this, monſieur d'Flowr gave it as his opinion and advice, that both kingdoms ſhould withdraw their forces, and then that they ſhould nominate commiſſioners or ambaſſadors to ſettle the articles for the eſtabliſhment of the peace, which was accordingly agreed to both by the Scots and Engliſh.

The congreſs held at Newcaſtle.

The place of meeting appointed was Newcaſtle. The chief of the ambaſſadors from England were, the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Edward Darcy; thoſe of Scotland were, James Colvil of Weyms, Adam Otterburn of Red-hall, William Stuart Biſhop of Aberdeen, with the Abbot of Kinloſs*.

Peace concluded.

After they had ſettled and agreed upon the preliminaries at Newcaſtle, and the articles had been ratified by King James of Scotland, the Scots ambaſſador went to the court of London, to have his Majeſty of England's ratification, which they obtained; and, having exchanged theſe ratifications of the treaty of peace, they returned to Scotland. The duration of this treaty as ſtipulated, was to be during the lives of both Kings, provided always, that the ſurviving King of the two, ſhould enjoy the benefit of this peace for one year after the deceaſe of the other. This thing, according to Buchanan, was tranſacted in the years 1532 and 1533; but it appears more probable, from what is aſſerted by other Scots hiſtorians, that Buchanan has erred in his chronology one year.

At this time the Earl of Bothwell, who had been committed priſoner to Edinburgh-caſtle for going privately into England, and holding ſecret and illicit correſpondence with the Earl of Northumberland when both nations were at war together, now petitioned King James to be ſet at liberty; but his Majeſty refuſed, reſolving to bring him to trial.

Buchanan tells us of a ſtory, which he calls a memorable affair, concerning one John Scott, who had hid himſelf in the monaſtery of Holyrood-houſe in the King's palace, and that he had lived there for ſeveral days without any food; that being detected and examined he was removed to the caſtle of Edinburgh, where he wilfully and of choice abſtained for two and thirty days from all manner of food; and that, being examined concerning the reaſons of his faſting ſo long, he ſhould tell them, that he was ſupported by the Virgin Mary to endure faſting as long as he would or thought fit; that, after this, he went over and proved his faſting quality by forty or fifty days abſtinence at Rome; by which means he was ſaid to have gained the approbation of the Pope, and to have received eccleſiaſtical preferments from the holy father: with a great many more oddities about his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, which I am ſurprized Buchanan ſhould inſert as an article of a national hiſtory, when it is only paying regard to the nonſenſe and impoſture of Romiſh ſuperſtition and foollery, which cannot have credit nor faith from any men of common underſtanding. How ridiculous is it for a public hiſtorian to trouble his readers with ſuch idle ſtuff, and to ſwell his narrative to folio pages. To narrate ſuch trumpery, as that this fellow ſhould have brought a bag of ſtones from the pillar to which our Saviour was tied when ſcourged, and that he had brought from Jeruſalem many leaves of palm-trees; that, after his return from Jeruſalem, being ſupported by the power of the Virgin Mary, his tutelar Saint, ſhe had enabled him not only to perform this wonderful journey to Jeruſalem, but to return, and, in conſequence of her powerful influence, he was now inveſted with a power of performing miracles: ſuch extravagant ſtuff was unworthy of Buchanan to take any notice of it, there being nothing remarkable nor memorable in the whole affair; and nothing more than what the crafty and deceitful prieſts practice every day, to amuſe the ignorant and bigotted part of the people.

But, paſſing this obſervation upon Buchanan, the reformation from popery, and the propagation of the Lutheran doctrine begun to encreaſe, the eccleſiaſtical doctrine and authority of the Romiſh church was now called in queſtion, and thus the political government of ſeveral kingdoms began to alter, thereby the wiſe ſuperintendency of Providence ſo conducted matters, as

* Kinloſs was an ancient abbey, founded by King David the Iſt of Scotland, about a mile below the town of Forreſs in the county of Murray, in a moſt delightful ſituation on a plain on the coaſt of Murray Firth.

as to make the licentiouſneſs and ambition of Kings and Princes, the means of introducing the light of knowlege and true religion amongſt the ignorant and deluded nations, who formerly had been ſubjected to all the falſities of an impoſing prieſthood, who took care to have the multitudes of the people of all nations, where their influence extended, clouded with ignorance, and attached with blind zeal to their chimerical opinions. Thus, by the moſt improbable and unforeſeen means, the greateſt and moſt happy events were accompliſhed: for, about this time, Henry the VIIIth of England, being a man of pleaſure, and wearied of his wife the Queen, wanted ſome pretext to ſend her off, in order to get the Lady who was the object of his affection, to wit, Anne Bullen. Lady Catharine his Queen was daughter to Ferdinand King of Spain, and aunt to the preſent Emperor Charles the Vth; for ſhe was ſiſter to the Emperor's mother.

Henry VIII. determines on a divorce from Queen Catharine,

This Lady Catharine, now Queen, had been firſt married to Prince Arthur, eldeſt ſon to Henry the VIIth. Upon the death of Prince Arthur, ſhe was married to the preſent Henry the VIIIth of England his younger brother, by diſpenſation from Pope Julius the IId. This Queen Catharine bore ſeveral children to King Henry, but they were ſo ſickly and weak that none of them enjoyed long life, or came to maturity, except his only daughter the Princeſs Mary.

and to marry Anne Bullen.

King Henry, who was a man of ſpirit and wit, and therefore deſpiſed the threatnings and denunciations of the uſurping clergy, was reſolved to diſſolve his preſent marriage, and to have Anne Bullen. What his ſecret and real reaſons were, cannot eaſily be determined. Our Scots hiſtorians aſſign two reaſons: firſt, the King's reſentment againſt her nephew, the preſent Emperor Charles the Vth; and next, his anxiety to have male iſſue to ſucceed him on the throne. But, it is highly probable, that the real and only reaſons of ſtate for the rejection of Queen Catharine, proceeded from the crafty Cardinal Wolſey, who was now in his higheſt ſplendor as prime miniſter to King Henry the VIIIth, and his Majeſty's chief favourite.

Cardinal Wolſey had firſt aſked of the Emperor Charles the Vth, the Archbiſhopric of Toledo, and next the Emperor's intereſt to promote him to the papal dignity. Wolſey being diſappointed of both theſe and baulked, was inflamed againſt the Emperor and all connected with him; therefore this deſigning and artful prieſt (the Cardinal) kindled ſcruples of conſcience in King Henry's mind, concerning the validity and lawfulneſs of Queen Catharine's marriage to his Majeſty.

Theſe ſcruples of conſcience were only coloured political maxims, to promote an adopted ſyſtem and laſcivious paſſions in the King. The Cardinal was of a cunning and ready wit, and, upon this occaſion, covering and counterfeiting his real motives, he pretended to admoniſh and to inform King Henry concerning the heinous nature of the crime he had committed, by an inceſtuous and illegal marriage with his brother's wife. Tho' this he frequently repeated to King Henry, the Cardinal's view was chiefly to encreaſe the King's diſtaſte at Queen Catharine, and to gratify the prevailing affections of the King for Anne Bullen.

The divorce favoured by the Engliſh clergy,

By the direction of Cardinal Wolſey, the King, to give his ſeparation from Queen Catharine the better face, and the colour of juſtice, conſulted with the clergy, and deſired to have their united ſentiments concerning his marriage with Queen Catharine. The clergy all, under his Majeſty's influence, gave it in favour of the King; and, by his Majeſty, they were perſuaded to uſe all their endeavours with the Queen to agree to a divorce, which her Majeſty abſolutely refuſed and made her appeal to the Pope, being ſupported by the Emperor her nephew.

but oppoſed by the Pope.

The Pope carried the cognizance of this affair out of the hands of all inferior clergy to himſelf, as his prerogative; and in order to be agreeable to his Imperial Majeſty, his Holineſs entered into joint meaſures to give uneaſineſs, and to procure delays to the execution of King Henry of England's ſyſtem of pleaſure. King Henry, not receiving a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory anſwer from his Holineſs, nor a favourable decree, throws off the authority of the Pope in the heat and fire of his love; and, having obtained a divorce from his own clergy, annulling and diſſolving his marriage with Queen Catharine, they marry his Majeſty to his favourite Anne Bullen.

Henry marries Anne Bullen, and denies papal ſupremacy.

Upon notice of this at Rome, from the Pope's nuncio now reſiding at the court of London, the Cardinal Campejus, who acted in London in ſupport of the Pope's authority; his Holineſs Clement the VIIth, with all his conclave of Cardinals, ordered their nuncio and plenipotentiary at London, the Cardinal Campejus, to vindicate the authority and ſupremacy of the holy ſee, and of the decree paſt, confirming the validity of Queen Catharine's marriage: but they inſtructed their nuncio to be very oily, yet ſtrong and nervous, in his remonſtrances upon this head. They did not think it proper nor prudent to raiſe and kindle the reſentment of Henry the VIIIth, knowing him to be a man of ſpirit; but reſerved their force, and the general fire of all their anathemas and excommunications to the laſt effort of their impotent power.

Such was the ignorance, the blind bigotry, and fooliſh zeal and attachment of many of the nobility and gentry of England at this time, to the pious frauds and holy impoſitions of the Romiſh fathers, that they were perſuaded in privy-council to draw a petition to ſupplicate to his Holineſs for averting the terrible blow, and the thundering bolt of the excommunications and threatning of the Pope, leſt the noxious and ſulphureous ſteams of the eruptions of this Mount

Veſuvius ſhould affect the conſtitution and repoſe of England. In this affair, the nobility and privy-councillors of the court of London, by their ignorant ſubmiſſions to the Pope, acted below character.

The Pope held the rod of his imaginary power over King Henry's head for about five years; but at length the Pope, attempting to execute his decrees, and to inflame the neighbouring powers againſt King Henry for not ſubmitting to the papal eſtabliſhment and confirmation of Queen Catharine's marriage, King Henry, being a man of great ſpirit and underſtanding, depiſed the ſummons ſent him from the Pope to appear at Rome to anſwer for his conduct; and, with becoming retaliation, at one blow, not only diſſolved his marriage with Queen Catharine, aſſerted the pre-eminence and dignity of his crown and the independency of his ſovereignty, deprived and diſgraced the Cardinal Wolſey, fin'd and confined the Biſhops, and, to compleat the whole, aboliſhed and ſhook off the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, conſtituting himſelf and his ſucceſſors upon the throne of England ſupreme heads of the church; diſmantling, and for ever ſeparating, England from it's dependency on Rome.

Theſe great events laid the foundation of a reformation, and opened a patent-gate for a free enquiry into the Romiſh doctrines. True liberty was the neceſſary conſequence of this great alteration; for, by a rational and unbiaſſed freedom of juſt reaſoning, now neceſſarily introduced to ſupport what King Henry had begun, all ranks were in a fair way, and had eaſy acceſs to diſcover the impoſition and craft of their former complicated and religious ſyſtem.

The Pope's endeavours to ſtir up ſedition in England ineffectual.

The Pope excited all the fire and reſentment he was capable of upon this great alteration. Sedition and ſecret arts he had applied with great diligence, by the hands and eloquence of ſome of his prelates and prieſts in England, to excite commotions over the kingdom againſt Henry the VIIIth; but all theſe Henry ſufficiently ballanced, by curbing the power of the clergy, and depriving them of the ſupport of their rich temporalities, he gradually cropt their wings and made them humble: but what chiefly ſtrengthened Henry the VIIIth againſt Rome and the Emperor too, was the alliance now ſubſiſting betwixt Francis the French King and him, and the war betwixt the Emperor and France.

The Emperor Charles and the Pope, upon this occaſion, united their councils and influence againſt the King of England; and, in order to fortify their intereſt againſt Henry the VIIIth, and to be avenged of him for the inſult and mortal wound given to the papal ſupremacy and infallibility, they firſt attempted to engage King James of Scotland into an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Emperor and the See of Rome, and thereby to diſengage and detach the King of Scotland intirely from King Henry, or the old alliance with France. The old friendſhip betwixt Scotland and France had been of late almoſt intirely interrupted, by the contraſt of ſo ſtrict an alliance as had been ſome years agone concluded betwixt England and France.

Henry the VIIIth of England had exerted himſelf with ſuch ſucceſs, and ſo heartily in relieving Francis the French King from the power of the Spaniſh monarchy, that Francis of France entered into the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Henry of England from obligations of gratitude, becauſe of the moſt ſeaſonable and uſeful friendſhip to the crown of France: by this the French King was diverted from any great attention to the alliance of Scotland.

King James ſollicitous for a wife.

King James at this time wanted to be allied by marriage to ſome of the great courts upon the continent. The firſt he applied to was the court of France as his oldeſt ally, having a ſtrong affection to confirm the old alliance by a new treaty of marriage with one of the daughters of France, but the connection of France now and her attachment to England, made King Francis receive this offer very coolly. The eldeſt daughter of France had been firſt demanded by King James, but ſhe being dead, King James, from a ſpirit of honour and true regard to the French family, demanded Magdalen, the French King's ſecond daughter, in marriage; but her father, King Francis, excuſed himſelf from hearkning to this propoſition, upon the pretended reaſon that his daughter was of a ſickly, weak, and infirm conſtitution, unfit for marriage, and no proſpect of her having any iſſue tho' married: but the real reaſon of rejecting King James's offer was, to gratify Henry the VIIIth of England, who directed his meaſures to make an effectual ſeparation and breach betwixt Scotland and France, and turn their political connections into a new channel.

The ſelfiſh views of the Hamiltons.

The family of Hamilton were likewiſe intereſted, and ſecretly active in diſconcerting King James in his marriage; for they were in great hopes, that if, thro' diſappointments in marriage, or living in licentious pleaſure, by his exceſſes, his Majeſty might, in the heat and fire of his youth, ſhorten his life; and, by his death, introduce them as the declared ſucceſſors to the throne. For this reaſon, the Earl of Arran, and all his friends, encouraged and promoted his Majeſty in all his pleaſures, purpoſely to divert his mind from thoughts or deſire to marriage: but King James was not to be ſo amuſed; he was fully reſolved, if poſſible, to have a ſucceſſion of his own body to inherit the crown; and therefore, being diſappointed at the court of France, he intimated his inclinations to be allied to the Imperial court, which, at this time, perfectly tallied with the Emperor's ſyſtem, and the Pope's deſigns; to form, on all hands poſſible, an oppoſition to Henry the VIIIth.

The Emperor and the Pope wanted to engage King James to declare war againſt England; and they, in the mean time, were to ſet all their ſecret engines to work to kindle a civil war againſt

againſt Henry the VIIIth in his own kingdom, from the alterations and innovations of religion, the eccleſiaſtics of the Romiſh faith having inflamed their votaries even to ſedition and open rebellion in many places.

The Emperor, the better to effect his deſign, and to engage King James to give trouble to his uncle Henry the VIIIth, ſent over (April 25, 1534) one Godſcall Errick, a Sicilian, as his ambaſſador to King James. This ambaſſador, Godſcall Errick, brought over to his Majeſty of Scotland the inveſtiture of the order of the Golden Fleece, as a preſent from his Imperial Majeſty, in teſtimony of his high eſteem, friendſhip, and affection for King James, with letters from the Emperor, full of the moſt cordial and ſtrong proteſtations of favour and regard for the kingdom of Scotland, and for the honour of his Majeſty's perſon and government, aſſuring King James, that he was ready to renew the former treaties ſubſiſting betwixt his predeceſſors and the kingdom of Scotland, and to eſtabliſh the moſt laſting future friendſhip betwixt the Empire and his Majeſty of Scotland.

The Emperor ſends an ambaſſador to intereſt King James againſt his uncle Henry.

The Emperor had given his ambaſſador three articles in charge, as the chief and moſt important ſubject of the embaſſy. The firſt was to make the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances againſt the barbarous and illegal behaviour of King Henry of England towards his Queen Catharine, the Emperor's aunt; and next, to uſe his utmoſt efforts to make King James concur with his Imperial Majeſty in procuring a general council of the clergy, from the ſeveral kingdoms and ſtates of Europe, to determine the controverſies, and novelty in opinions, which occaſioned ſuch warm diſputes, tumults, and numerous factions, in all quarters: the third article, in commiſſion and truſt to the ambaſſador was, to make offer of one of three Princeſſes in marriage to King James. The three Princeſſes offered by the Emperor to King James were, the Queen dowager of Hungary, the Emperor's own ſiſter Mary of Auſtria; the ſecond, was Mary his niece, by his ſiſter Eleonor Queen of Portugal; and the third, was Mary of England, King Henry's only daughter by Catharine, the Emperor's aunt.

The marriage with this laſt, the Emperor promiſed and engaged to make out, either by conſent or force, if it was moſt agreeable to King James. But this of the marriage was not the principal view of the embaſſy. The Emperor's capital deſign was to promote the convocation of a general council, by the authority of the different powers of Europe. The Emperor's ſcheme and projection in this propoſition, which he promoted and inſiſted upon with all his influence, was with deſign to procure the hereditary ſucceſſion in his family to the Imperial crown and dignity, to be ſecured to his heirs and ſucceſſors.

The Emperor was a Prince of judgment and great penetration; and, as he aimed at ſettling the hereditary ſucceſſion to the Imperial dignity in his own family, he very well knew it was not to be effected while the empire was calm and undiſturbed; nor could it be attempted, while there was an apparent tranquillity and unity of mind among the different ſtates of the empire, and the members of the Germanic body: therefore, the holding of a general council, call'd to meet by the Pope's authority, and ſupported by the commands of all the Romiſh powers of Europe, would be the moſt direct and effectual means to raiſe a flame in the empire, by the factious ſpirit and the oppoſition of the different ſects of religious opinions newly ſet up in Germany. The Emperor was very certain, that the Romiſh clergy of different nations would delegate ſuch to the general council, as would be obſtinately zealous in defending all their tenets in oppoſition to the Lutherans, and other heretics ſo called, and for the total ſuppreſſion of all the different ſects of Proteſtants, which now became powerful and formidable in Germany: therefore, he was very certain, that the flame which this general council would kindle, would make ſuch a diviſion and diſtraction in the Empire, that, thro' the animoſities, oppoſition, and diviſion excited thereby, among the different Princes and ſtates of the empire, he could be capable to defeat any oppoſition to his ſyſtem and meaſures. Self therefore, and the eſtabliſhing the grandeur of his family, was the mark to which the Emperor chiefly pointed, by his formation of new alliances, and his promoting of eccleſiaſtical councils; his Imperial Majeſty on the Continent paying no greater regard to the Romiſh church, than Henry the VIIIth of England did to the reformation and to the proteſtant faith, both acting from motives of ambition and ſelf-intereſt; making only religion the cloak, after the example of the deceitful prieſthood.

His views traverſed.

King James, upon receipt of the Emperor's obliging letters and meſſages, received his ambador with great politeneſs and marks of eſteem; and, having admitted him without loſs of time to a private audience, his Majeſty of Scotland anſwered the ambaſſador (Godſcall Errick) ſeparately and diſtinctly as to the different branches of the embaſſy.

As to this marriage, King James ſignified to the ambaſſador that, as he was the laſt of his family in the ſucceſſion, it was neceſſary for him to provide, by an early marriage, for the continuation of the ſucceſſion to the crown in the ſame line of his anceſtors, in which it had been preſerved for a ſucceſſion of ages: that, it was evident to him, the marrying of the Princeſs-royal of England would be moſt advantageous, and renew the bands of friendſhip betwixt both kingdoms by ſtronger ties; but, as matters were at preſent ſituated, and his uncle King Henry was a Prince directed only by his own maxims, and inflexible in his opinions, the accompliſhing this marriage was a matter of great uncertainty, and muſt be attended with delays, political intereſts and connections alone attaching and ruling the conduct of Henry the VIIIth: his Majeſty of Scotland therefore, intimated to the Imperial ambaſſador, that the

perſon

perſon moſt agreeable to him in all reſpects, and to whom he deſired to be married without delay, was his Imperial Majeſty's niece, the Princeſs of Denmark, by the Emperor's ſiſter Iſabella, now Queen of Denmark; of which he deſired the ambaſſador to acquaint his Imperial Majeſty.

But the Emperor, upon notice of this, excuſed himſelf from ſupporting or agreeing to this demand, and acquainted his Majeſty King James, that he was ſorry his Majeſty's requeſt could not be complied with, becauſe the Princeſs of Denmark (his niece) had been promiſed to another King, and the articles had been ſigned for ſometime before any notification of his Majeſty's inclinations.

Upon receipt of this repulſe by the Imperial ambaſſador, his Majeſty King James admitted the ambaſſador to a long and private audience, to declare to him his Majeſty's undiſguiſed ſentiments, as to the heads of his embaſſy.

King James ſees thro' and counter-acts the Emperor's project.

King James was a Prince of ready wit and quick apprehenſion, and very well underſtood, that the chief deſign of the Imperial embaſſy, was to ſolicit his Majeſty of Scotland to be a principal party to join the powers of the Romiſh faction, in promoting the intended general council for the total extirpation of what they call'd hereſy, and by this means the Emperor expected to reap a rich harveſt to his own family. But, tho' King James was warmly and zealouſly attached to the Romiſh faith, and had ſufficiently ſupported his own clergy, yea too much, to perſecute the proteſtants; yet he very well underſtood, that religion was not the meaning of his Imperial Majeſty; and therefore King James returned a complete and prince-like anſwer, to the deſigning Emperor, in the following manner:

That as to the general council propoſed, his Majeſty was always ready to agree to this as a proper expedient; provided this council was intended as a general council called by authority of powers diſintereſted, and having no political nor ſelfiſh projections, but pure and juſt motives: that the Emperor, and other Chriſtian Kings, ſhould authorize their ſuperior and moſt approved clergy to aſſemble in a general council, free, unbiaſſed and holy! as a convocation of true Chriſtians, of a diſpoſition full of love and charity, and of the moſt pacific ſpirit, reſtraining the fierceneſs and fiery nature of their own zealous ſpirit, and compoſed of men no way to be biaſſed by rewards or gifts. If this was to be the nature and conſtitution of the council intended, his Majeſty would give his hearty approbation, and join cordially in the meaſure; but if ſuch a true Chriſtian council could not be obtained, his Majeſty gave it as his plain opinion to his Imperial Majeſty, that he thought it moſt regular and agreeable to the ſovereignty of every King in his own dominions, to regulate and reform all errors and miſtakes both in doctrine and worſhip.

As to the behaviour of Henry the VIIIth of England, King James, in a very princely and decent manner, expreſſed his averſion to his uncle's treatment of Queen Catharine, and heartily regretted it: that his Majeſty's real ſentiments were, that he heartily deſired to ſee all the Kings and powers of Europe acting with true love, unity, and in perfect friendſhip; and that, among Chriſtian Princes, no enmity ought to ſubſiſt, but againſt the common enemy Mahomet and the infidels: therefore, his Majeſty King James, as a lover of peace, proffered his mediation to his Imperial Majeſty, to reſtore a good underſtanding betwixt him and his uncle the King of England.

In the whole of this embaſſy, King James counter-acted the Emperor with politeneſs and art. He, with a good grace, rejected the offer of the three Marys, projected and proffered to him by the Emperor; and though King James pitched upon the Princeſs of Denmark as his choice, yet this was only an evaſion of ſtate to get clear of all the Emperor's offers; for King James had ſecretly ſent over Sir Thomas Erſkine of Brechen his ſecretary of ſtate, with David Beaton Abbot of Arbrothock afterward Cardinal, to ſolicit and treat with his Majeſty of France concerning one of his daughters for his Queen. King James's choice was Magdalen, King Francis wanted to have his youngeſt Princeſs Margaret Queen of Scotland; but this did not take.

His Holineſs mortified.

When King James is thus more thoughtful about his marriage ſettlement, than the religious quarrels of the other Princes of Europe; the Pope, full of reſentment againſt Henry of England, but afraid of executing all his eccleſiaſtical bulls, having received full intelligence, that King Henry had for ever renounced his authority as Biſhop of Rome, and ſhaken off the yoke of Rome, and all it's pretended powers, his Holineſs determined to exert himſelf, and to uſe all his influence with the Princes of Europe, to excite them againſt the King of England; and, in his preſent ſituation, he thought it an immediate and direct mean to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſpirit up King James againſt his uncle Henry of England. For this purpoſe, his Holineſs ſent his nuncio the Cardinal John Antonio Campejus, who had formerly been employed at the court of London, and who was a very alert and cunning prieſt, well calculated for intriguing and inſinuating himſelf at all foreign courts.

Sends an ambaſſador charged with inſtructions ſtrengthening to the Emperor's embaſſy.

This Cardinal-ambaſſador from the Pope arrived in Scotland 1535, and proceeded directly to the King at the palace of Falkland. Upon the 22d of February the nuncio Campejus was preſented to his Majeſty King James; and, upon his admittance to his royal preſence, the Cardinal Campejus addreſſed his Majeſty with a moſt powerful emiſſion of apoſtolic benedictions from the chair of St. Peter; intimating, with all the eloquence he was capable of, the many benedictions he had in commiſſion to deliver from his Holineſs to King James, as a Prince of virtue and Chriſtian qualities excelling his neighbour Princes; and, in teſtimony of his Holi-

neſs's

neſs's ſupreme regard for his Majeſty, the Cardinal delivered to his Majeſty the preſents from his Holineſs, a cap and ſword: the cap as a badge of King James's virtues and true wiſdom, and the ſword well ſharpened to point and ſignify that the holy ſee was now forced to put well ſharpened ſwords into the hands of all their true friends, againſt the common enemy, who now was Henry of England, againſt whom the biſhop of Rome and all his aſſociates pointed their united force.

After delivery of theſe emblematical preſents to his Majeſty, King James took an opportunity to look into the letters brought by the Cardinal-legate from his Holineſs to his Majeſty: Upon reading them, King James ſeemed pleaſed with the ſubmiſſive and peaceable ſtile in which his Holineſs addreſſed him. The Pope, by his letters, complained bitterly of the ſeverity of Henry the VIIIth, againſt John Biſhop and Cardinal of Rocheſter; how this Doctor Fiſher was, without cauſe, only for his ſtrict integrity and his plain dealing toward Henry the VIIIth, in defence of his religion, cruelly put to death. His Holineſs further repreſented, that his Majeſty King Henry was now become quite a diſſolute man, who diſregarded the cenſures and authority of the church, and who was a criminal of the higheſt order, a murderer, a rebel, and a ſacrilegious perſon; and that, by all good laws, divine and humane, King Henry merited to be driven from his throne: his Holineſs therefore hoped and expected, that his Majeſty would, on ſuch an occaſion, when the rights of the true Chriſtian church were attacked, undertake ſomething worthy of a true Chriſtian King, to ſuppreſs hereſy, and to ſupport the true catholic and Chriſtian faith, which was ſo manifeſtly violated, and was in ſuch immediate danger by the wounds it had received of late from his uncle Henry of England.

King James's anſwer to the Pope.

King James heard all the nuncio's ſmooth and oily orations; and having likewiſe conſidered the Pope's ſubmiſſive and obliging letters, made anſwer to the Cardinal Campejus, that he heartily regretted the obſtinacy and oppoſition of King Henry's ſpirit to the ſee of Rome: that he had once and again made ſome attempts to gain upon the King his uncle, but in vain: that notwithſtanding his bad ſucceſs in his Majeſty's former endeavours, his Majeſty would yet make trial of all his power and intereſt to gain upon King Henry's affections to perſuade him to come to an accommodation; but, at the ſame time, the King recommended to his Holineſs not to exaſperate King Henry, by executing any denunciations nor excommunications, but rather to yield and paſs over many ſmall matters, for the ſake of repoſe and tranquillity in the church.

Has an Inclination to marry the Duke of Vendoſme's daughter,

King James was, at this time, in the humour of negociating a marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the Duke of Vendoſme's daughter, to whom King James was recommended by King Francis the French Monarch. King James therefore, having nominated his embaſſy for the court of France, took the opportunity to give inſtructions to the Lord Erſkine, one of the embaſſy, to go by land to the court of London, and to deliver his Majeſty's letters to the King of England his uncle, concerning the differences betwixt his Majeſty and the Biſhop of Rome; wherein his Majeſty of Scotland proffered his mediation and interpoſition to reconcile King Henry to his Holineſs, and to compoſe the oppoſition introduced into the church. But this embaſſy had no ſucceſs as to the Pope and the ſtate of religion; for King Henry had determined to perſiſt in his new ſyſtem: and, as he had totally aboliſhed the ſupremacy of Rome, and taſted the ſweet of the wealthy revenues of the church now annexed to the crown, King Henry was reſolute to depart from nothing he had engroſſed of the Pope's pretended juriſdiction.

By this bold and ſucceſsful attempt, King Henry opened the eyes and underſtanding of all the powers of Europe, and demonſtrated to them what they were capable to do in order to abridge the uſurped power of the ſee of Rome.

But tho' my Lord Erſkine had no ſucceſs in that branch of his embaſſy which related to a reconciliation of King Henry to the Pope; yet, as to King James and the national affairs, King Henry gave great attention and regard to the ambaſſador; and aſſured my Lord Erſkine of his hearty diſpoſition to maintain a ſtrict friendſhip with the King of Scotland his nephew.

The Lord Erſkine, after executing his commiſſion at the court of London, was ordered to repair to the court of France; there to join the other ambaſſadors whom King James had ſent over, and directly to treat of a marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the Duke of Vendoſme's daughter.

The ambaſſadors joined to Lord Erſkine, on this occaſion, were, the Earl of Murray, viceroy or deputy-governor of Scotland; William Stewart, Biſhop of Aberdeen; and Robert Reed, Eſq; the King's chief favourites; who, upon their arrival at the court of France, were received with great magnificence and ſplendor.

Is diſappointed.

The propoſal being made firſt by the ambaſſadors to have one of the daughters of France, this was not accepted; and the next, concerning Mary, the Duke of Vendoſme's daughter, being ſo embarraſſed with articles and terms mentioned by the French King, the projector of the marriage, the Lords and gentlemen of the embaſſy did not judge it prudent to ſettle or agree upon any points propoſed to them, untill they had acquainted his Majeſty King James,

and had received proper and full powers and inſtructions concerning theſe propoſals made by the court of France, in relation to the marriage-ſettlement of Mary of Burgundy.

The King makes a tour over Scotland.

This year (1535) King James thought proper to make a tour, or rather voyage, almoſt round Scotland. Firſt he, with ſome ſhips of force, viſited the Weſtern Iſlands, carrying with him a ſufficient eſcort. His Majeſty ſummoned all the chiefs to repair to take the oaths to his Majeſty, and to ſubmit to order and regularity. Such as did not voluntarily ſubmit were apprehended and confined, ſome in the caſtle of Edinburgh, others ſent to Dunbar caſtle, which now the Duke of Albany had reſtored to King James. The French garriſon having evacuated the place, ſuch as had been diſorderly, and had diſtreſſed the country by rapine and plunder, tho' they came in, were forced to grant hoſtages to be ſecurity for the taxes to be levied upon them. The King having finiſhed his buſineſs effectually in the Weſtern Iſlands, ſailed for the iſlands of Orkney and Zetland.

His Majeſty made this voyage in order to be fully acquainted with the ſtate of the fiſhery on theſe coaſts, and to enquire fully into the abuſes and violence committed by the Engliſh, eſpecially the merchants of London, who carried on a conſiderable fiſhery, at this time, on

The Engliſh encroach on the Scots fiſhery.

theſe coaſts, and in the other Northern parts of the German ocean. The Lubeckers, aided by the Engliſh, and ſupported by their ſhipping, carried on an illicit trade on the coaſts of Scotland at this time, encroaching upon the property of the Scots nation, by carrying on their fiſhing upon their coaſt without leave either aſked or given: therefore King James, to avoid quarrelling with Henry of England his uncle on this head, had ordered the Lord Erſkine, when at the court of London, to demand redreſs for ſuch encroachments, with a ſecurity againſt ſuch proceedings for the future.

King James, with great politeneſs, wrote to the King of England concerning this, deſiring the Duke of Holſtein might not be deprived of his right to the fiſhery on theſe coaſts by any future interloping of the Lubeckers; in regard that King James, with advice of his parliament, had granted his toleration only to the Duke of Holſtein to fiſh or trade in theſe ſeas.

King Henry was unwilling to break at this time with King James; he found the King diſpoſed, yea determined, to a foreign alliance; and thereby King Henry was apprehenſive that, if this were effected, it would rivet and eſtabliſh King James's affections, and his ſtrong zeal in favour of the Romiſh faith: therefore, King Henry meditated to traverſe and diſconcert King James's preſent ſyſtem, and to ſtop the torrent of perſecution for conſcience-ſake, now hurried on againſt the reformers or proteſtants in Scotland. In the month of Auguſt this year two were burnt, upon an impeachment of Lutheraniſm: but notwithſtanding one of them (David Straiton) was condemned to die, and accordingly ſuffered at the ſtake; yet this Straiton was innocent of the pretended hereſy, and nothing was found proved againſt him, but a deficiency in his payments of the tithes to the Romiſh clergy.

King James was a Prince of ſpirit and of good judgment, but too much enſlaved to the

Henry ſends an embaſſy to perſuade King James of the reaſonableneſs of Proteſtaniſm.

dictates of the artful and cruel Romiſh prieſthood. In order to draw off King James in a gentle eaſy manner to favour the Proteſtant intereſt, now ariſing and advancing to its zenith, King Henry ſent in November the Biſhop of St. David's to Scotland, as his ambaſſador to King James, with the preſent of ſome of the neweſt and beſt books written in ſupport of the Proteſtant faith, and in oppoſition to Popery.

With theſe the Biſhop, in the King of England's name, delivered many compliments and ſtrong expreſſions of warm regard for his Majeſty of Scotland; and deſired, in the name of King Henry, that his Majeſty King James would but read theſe books, ſent for his further information concerning the Proteſtant doctrine. But King James, compaſſed with a crafty prieſthood, was prevailed upon to put theſe heritical books and ſchiſmatical compoſitions (ſo called by the prieſts) into the hands of his clergy to read them over, which they did; but in ſuch a manner, as to put King James in high rage at them, and to increaſe his prejudice at the poor diſtreſſed Proteſtants. King Henry, upon this, was reſolved to make a ſecond and redoubled effort upon his nephew King James, to break off, if poſſible, his attachment to Rome: for which purpoſe his Majeſty of England ſent a ſecond embaſſy of the ſame Biſhop of St. David's, ſupported by the Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, who now was ſtrong and zealous in the intereſt of the reformers. They were ſent with ſuch hurry and ſecreſy from the court of London, that my Lord Howard, with the Biſhop, arrived at Stirling caſtle, before King James had notice of their approach.

The Lord Howard was a nobleman of great eloquence and abilities. He, upon his appearance to King James, addreſſed his Majeſty with ſuch warm and ſtrong expreſſions of regard and friendſhip, in the name of King Henry of England, and ſo pleaſed King James with his engaging eloquence and genteel manner of delivery, that the King was nigh perſuaded to grant whatever my Lord Howard had propoſed in the name of the King of England. My Lord Howard, by King Henry's order, deſired that both Kings might have a friendly interview at York: that, upon King James's complying with this reaſonable and friendly meaſure, King Henry had reſolved to create his nephew King James Duke of York: and next, my Lord repreſented to King James that, if his Majeſty would condeſcend to unite with his uncle the King of England, in promoting the honour and independency of his kingdom, by ſhaking off his low and mean attachment to the Biſhop of Rome and all his votaries; that, in this

this caſe, upon King James's agreeing to theſe, and ſome other reaſonable and advantageous propoſals, King Henry would directly declare King James viceroy of England and Prince ſucceſſor; and, to eſtabliſh his right of ſucceſſion, King James ſhould have the Princeſs Mary of England in marriage without loſs of time. Henry's advantageous offers to King James.

Theſe were all great and very encouraging offers to King James from his uncle the King of England; but, tho' King James was of himſelf ſtrongly inclined to accept of theſe favourable offers, yet he was ſo beſet with a double faction, that he had a difficult part to act.

The Hamiltons were afraid the King of Scotland ſhould marry, ſo as to deprive them of their right of ſucceſſion: therefore, they uſed all poſſible efforts to prevent his Majeſty King James from any thoughts of a marriage with the Princeſs-royal of England; which they apprehended, and juſtly, would for ever prevent their having acceſs to the throne. Their Acceptance ſtrongly oppoſed.

The next of the oppoſition to King Henry, were the clergy, who hated King Henry, and juſtly feared any familiarity or connection in ſentiments of the King of Scotland with his uncle, as the forerunner and immediate preſage of their overthrow, did it take place: therefore the clergy, from the Primate of St. Andrew's (old Beaton) to the meaneſt friar, in all aſſemblies, companies, and ſocieties, declaimed and remonſtrated powerfully againſt all ſubmiſſions, interviews, correſpondence, connection, or friendſhip, with the heretical, excommunicated, and dangerous Henry the VIIIth. In this light, the clergy of Scotland repreſented Henry of England to the people all over the kingdom, deterring the ignorant with frightful images and pictures of the danger to the nation and their religion, by any alliance, connection, or friendſhip with England.

The nobility and gentry of Scotland, who were zealous and hearty in the intereſt of Rome, made uſe of more artful and refined topics and weapons with the King, to diſengage his Majeſty, and to make him reject the offers of King Henry. Theſe were, firſt, the unfair and falſe detainure of James the Iſt: next, the deceit of Henry the IId, who had enticed two of the Kings of Scotland into England, and when he got Malcolm and William, the Kings of Scotland, he detained them priſoners, forced them to go over with him to France againſt their old ally, to fight there againſt the French King.

The body of the ſuperior clergy united, made the ſtrongeſt repreſentations to King James to divert his Majeſty from this interview with King Henry of England. They alarmed his Majeſty with the immediate danger, and the apparent overthrow of their religion, if King James did enter into any ſtrict and ſecret friendſhip with England in it's preſent ſituation. King James was ſuperſtitiouſly attached to the Romiſh faith; and therefore, thro' the importunity, noiſe, and clamour of the clergy, who had impreſſed the minds of the people with the immediate danger and overthrow of the kingdom, King James was forced to decline any interview with King Henry of England.

Henry had heaped preſents and compliments upon King James, being determined to be no way behind with the Emperor or Pope, who had ſent his Majeſty of Scotland the order of the Golden Fleece, with a ſword and cap: the firſt was the Emperor's preſent, as I mentioned, the latter was from his Holineſs of Rome. My Lord Howard had brought the enſigns and inveſtiture of the order of the Garter for King James from his uncle King Henry, with large preſents and budgets full of large promiſes. All which being ineffectual, thro' the influence of the Scottiſh clergy of the Romiſh faith, and King James, wearied with a ſingle life, was reſolute to be allied if poſſible to the French King. Upon which, he orders a number of the ſtouteſt ſhips to be well fitted up, and made ready to put to ſea with all expedition, concealing the deſign or deſtination of the fleet.

My Lord Howard and the Biſhop of St. David's, deſpairing of the ſucceſs of their negociations, were upon the point of their departure to the court of London, with accounts of the ſpirit and preſent temper of Scotland. The nobility and clergy of Scotland, being afraid to give a flat denial to the embaſſy from England, perſuaded King James to condeſcend upon a meeting with the King of England at Newcaſtle, upon certain conditions; at which my Lord Howard, being highly enraged, broke off all conferences; becauſe he pretended Henry the VIIIth, his maſter, had been at the expence of vaſt preparations to receive King James and his retinue with great ſplendor and magnificence; and therefore could not alter the appointed place of the city of York, where theſe preparations had been made. Upon which, the Engliſh ambaſſadors left the court of Scotland, highly offended, and fully determined to repreſent the conduct of King James, and the Scots miniſtry, in the blackeſt colours poſſible. and evaſively rejected.

King James, to prevent and take off the force of their repreſentations to the King of England, ſent immediately Sir Adam Otterburn of Red-hall, as his ambaſſador extraordinary, to complain of the inſolent and indecent behaviour of the Lord Howard to his Majeſty, and to all his nobility. His Majeſty of Scotland wrote to his uncle King Henry, that he was much ſurprized with the behaviour of the Lord Howard, to pretend to bully and inſult a free Prince and Sovereign at his own court, and in his own kingdom. His demand was not a point of fight, but of benevolence and free good-will: that an embaſſy which carried the face of friendſhip, ought to have been conducted in the friendly and genteel manner, without any threatning of compulſion or indecent menacing.

This being over (in the year 1536) the King with ſome of his nobility and officers went on board a yacht, with orders to ſail for the coaſt of France; but after being ſome days at ſea, The King ſets ſail for France.

ſea, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which endangered all the fleet. The King was afraid of being driven on the Engliſh ſhore, but he got clear of this; for, after they had been for ſeveral days toſſed and in great danger among the Weſtern iſlands on the coaſt of Scotland, they made at length the Galloway ſhore, and put in at St. Ninian's in this county, near Whitehorn.

A dangerous ſtorm drives him into Galloway.

The King, with his retinue, landed and ſent his expreſſes to Edinburgh, to learn if any commotions, inſurrections or outrages, had begun upon the frontier. His Majeſty was acquainted that the Humes, Scots, and Kers, had committed great diſorders: upon which the King, to ſecure the peace of the kingdom in his further abſence, ſent the proper officers with ſtrong parties and ſurpriſed Walter Lord Bucleugh, whom his Majeſty committed to the caſtle of Edinburgh: next, he ſent Lord Hume priſoner to Down-caſtle; Ker of Ferniharſt was confined in the caſtle of Falkland; Johnſton and Mark Ker were ſent to the caſtle of Dundee. Upon the 20th or 28th of July, his Majeſty put to ſea again, from the port of Leith; but concealed his deſigned port for landing.

Sails a ſecond time.

At this time Sir James Hamilton (who had baſely killed the Lord Lenox) officiouſly intruded himſelf as one of his Majeſty's retinue, to accompany him on his voyage, tho' his Majeſty bore him no cordial regard, and only, for decency ſake, ſhewed him civilities.

In this attempt they were no ſooner got out of the Forth, than a ſtorm aroſe which had very nigh drove them upon the coaſt of England. The pilot conſulted his Majeſty what ſhore he ſhould make for, in caſe they could not keep to ſea: the King anſwered, To any but the Engliſh! The King having been much frightened, diſturbed and fatigued, thro' the violence of the tempeſt; when it began to abate, his Majeſty compoſed himſelf for reſt. While he was aſleep the pilot ſteered the ſhip, and directed the courſe back, to the port of Leith.

Another ſtorm forces him back to Leith.

When the King awakened, and was told they were returned to Leith, he was in great wrath, and loaded Sir James Hamilton with the treachery of the affair; that he ſhould have bribed the maſter and pilot to return, in order to baulk and delay his Majeſty's projected marriage, and it was generally believed to be fact; for which reaſon Sir James was ever after hateful to the King, and he could not bear his approach to his royal preſence.

His Majeſty was not to be blamed for this; for it is the wiſdom, and it ſhews the magnanimity, ſpirit and judgment, of a King, to point his moſt acute reſentment againſt falſe and deceiving friends, and a treacherous miniſtry, to deter others from like practices. This is an encouragement of virtue and integrity, on which are founded the ſtability of government. Wiſdom, virtue, and ſtrict integrity, in the miniſters and ſervants of a Sovereign, fortify his government, and fix his crown, yea fortify him with an invincible wall; but no Sovereign nor Prince, who allows himſelf to be directed and bewildered out of the path of rectitude, and ſet upon all diſadvantageous and deſtructive meaſures, can expect the long duration and eſtabliſhment of his government, without the ſword and ſcourge of abſolute power and tyranny. Theſe early ages, and rude out-lines or firſt models of monarchy in this and other kingdoms, are proofs of what I have obſerved.

Sails a third time,

Notwithſtanding this repulſe by the winds, and the diſconcerting meaſures of the Hamiltons, King James prepares himſelf for a ſecond voyage, or rather a third. Having refitted all his ſhipping, and got all his proviſions and baggage on board, his Majeſty, in great hurry, got on board his yatch at Kirkaldy in Fife; having a ſufficient eſcort of armed veſſels and men of war to attend him. His Majeſty put to ſea the firſt of September 1536, attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes and Errol; with the Lords Fleming and Boyd.

The Earls of Murray, young Lenox, and Caſſills, with the Lord Erſkine and Beaton, Abbot of Arbrothock, were in waiting at Paris for his Majeſty's arrival: the King upon his landing at Diep in Normandy ordered no notice to be ſent nor intelligence of his coming, but ſurpriſed the whole court by his unexpected and ſudden arrival.

and lands in Normandy.

Inſtead of holding the road to Paris, King James, carrying with him only ſome few of his nobility and domeſticks, made directly to ſee his favourite Mary of Burgundy at Vendoſme, the Princeſs Mary diſcovered at firſt ſight of his Majeſty that it was King James, as is moſt probable from his Majeſty's picture, which ſhe had ſent to her and had often viewed.

The King was highly pleaſed and delighted with the beauty and elegant perſon of this Princeſs; but was ſo far maſter of himſelf, as not to come under any immediate nor direct engagements to this lady at the firſt interview: he judged it prudent to deliberate, and to view the other royal ladies proffered; ſo, having ſtayed ſome days with the Princeſs at the court of Vendoſme, he returned whence he came by the way of Roan.

Upon the road, his Majeſty King James received advice, that King Francis was in Provence at the head of his army, expecting every day to attack the Emperor, and riſque a general action. King James directly took poſt, and went to the French King. King James was met by the Dauphin at the Chapel betwixt Tarrey and St. Sopharin, in the province or country of Lyons.

Francis, the French King, received King James in the moſt tender and affectionate manner; and the Emperor, having declined an engagement and decamped, King Francis returned to Paris to accompany King James, whom he honoured with ſuch marks of diſtinguiſhed regard, that all the Princes of the blood and nobility of France paid the greateſt honours to his Majeſty of Scotland.

King

King James had gained the affections of Princeſs Magdalen the Princeſs-royal of France, by the interchange of letters and meſſages, and by ſeeing his Majeſty's picture. The court of France on this occaſion was very brilliant and magnificent, and nothing was to be ſeen but gaiety, ſplendor, and a ſmiling grandeur over the whole court. Francis, the French King, would have perſuaded King James to accept of Margaret his ſecond daughter, who afterward was married to the Duke of Savoy; but King James found the Princeſs Magdalen enamoured with him, and ſo catched with the comelineſs and elegancy of his preſence and princely ſtature, that he was reſolved to have none elſe but her, his firſt love. Therefore, King Francis condeſcended to his Majeſty of Scotland: the marriage-contract was agreed upon directly, and mutually ſigned.

By this ſettlement King Francis gave his daughter a hundred thouſand crowns of the Sun, beſides thirty thouſand franks to be paid annually to his Majeſty of Scotland during his life. The Queen, for her jointure, was to enjoy the palace of Falkland for her manſion-houſe, with all the lands and eſtates formerly in the poſſeſſion of any Queen of Scotland, beſides the Earldoms of Strathern * and Fife, and other lands whoſe revenues were moſt opulent and certain.

The King marries a daughter of France,

The whole treaty of marriage being agreed upon, the ceremony and ſolemnity of the marriage was performed the 1ſt of January, in the year 1537, in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, the Queen was delivered ſolemnly by her father the King of France to King James, in preſence of ſeven cardinals, the King of Navarre, and all the great Princes of the blood, officers of ſtate, and Barons.

The royal marriage, and all the ſolemnity and grandeur conſequent upon it, being over, the French King's ſituation with the Emperor put King Francis under neceſſity to repair to the camp to head his army; for the Emperor had over-run all Piccardy and Piedmont, and was penetrating into the heart of France. King James was likewiſe under ſtrong apprehenſions of a viſit from the King of England, in reſentment for not complying with the propoſal of the interview at York. The circumſtances then of both Kings requiring their immediate preſence and influence with their own people, King James prepared likewiſe to depart for Scotland with his Queen: therefore, after mutual and moſt hearty intimations of ſincere attachment to one another, and having taken leave in the moſt affectionate and tender manner, King James, with his young Queen, and all the nobility and gentry of both kingdoms, who were appointed to attend upon them, the end of April, embarked for Scotland, with a ſtrong fleet to eſcort them. The firſt port they touched at was Newhaven; from Newhaven they ſailed for Leith harbour, where they arrived the 29th of May.

and brings her to Scotland.

Queen Magdalen had ſuch a value for the Scots people and their country that, upon her knees at her firſt landing on the Scottiſh ſhore, ſhe kiſſed the ground, and prayed fervently for a bleſſing to the people and to the kingdom. Her preſence and arrival in Scotland diffuſed univerſal joy and ſatisfaction over all ranks in the nation. Her affability, good nature, her eſteem for Scotland, and her generous ſpirit, made her the darling of the people.

The Queen univerſally beloved.

But this amiable perſon was of ſhort duration; for in the month of June ſhe was taken ill of a fever, and died in July; which great and irreparable loſs damped the ſpirits of the whole nation. The firſt mourning habits that ever were uſed in Scotland, were for the death of this Queen. The King was in the deepeſt ſorrow, and all the court were ſo affected, as to preſent a mournful ſcene. She was buried with the greateſt pomp, and with the moſt univerſal lamentation of all ranks, in the abbey church, juſt by the remains of James the Second.

Taken ill and dies.

Mourning habits firſt introduced into Scotland on her death.

The King, by this ſudden and unforeſeen death, was diſappointed of the ſucceſſion he expected in his own family; and therefore, in order to have the ſucceſſion continued in his family, he reſolved to get ſoon married. His Majeſty directed his eye to a former favourite, Mary of Lorrain, ſiſter to the French King, daughter to Rhene Duke of Guiſe, and widow of the Duke of Longuevill. This Princeſs had been a mother, was now in her prime, and had all the appearances of being fruitful. This Princeſs was likewiſe a Lady of great beauty and judgment, and of the moſt agreeable temper. The King was determined to have her, and therefore his Majeſty ſent David Beaton Abbot of Aberbrothock, with my Lord Maxwell, to negociate and finiſh this affair. While they were engaged in it, a great many deſigns and plots were inſtigated, and promoted chiefly, as it is believed, by the Hamiltons, either to diſturb the King, or any how ſlily to cut him off.

Some of theſe plots were fictitious, and trumped up by the deſigning officers of ſtate at this time; as in all reigns there are ſome vile mortals exalted to honours and preferments, whoſe merit entitles them to the marks of the moſt diſtinguiſhed infamy; who conceive no higher notions of power and promotion, than to be in capacity, and to have power, to do miſchief, and to act in a ſphere even below chimney-ſweeps: ſo it happened in the preſent caſe; but the higher every perſon's degree of life is, the ſtronger and more apparent his obligations are to act with ſtrict honour, with decency, and with high regard to virtue and integrity. But this mode is not always a faſhion at all the courts of Kings and Princes in Europe. Whether the higheſt examples corrupt the body of the people or not, I will not affirm: yet it is evident, from the view of the paſt fate of all nations, that a corrupted, profligate, and abandoned crew of officers of ſtate,



* Strathern is the land along the banks of the river Ern in Perthſhire.

are the moſt noxious and deſtructive plague of all commonwealths, deſtructive to the vitals and foundation of any free and well-modelled conſtitution.

Among many other plots, I ſhall relate a few of the moſt remarkable at this time. The firſt was a pretended plot, by which the maſter of Forbes was cut off. This young nobleman, ſon to the Lord Forbes, was of an ungovernable and vicious ſpirit, had committed many outrages, and even ſhed innocent blood in the caſe of the murder of Irvin of Drum in the county of Aberdeen. His education (and therefore the Lord Forbes his father) was juſtly loaded with his irregularities of life, and the extravagancies of his conduct.

This young Lord had a favourite ſervant, who was his chief attendant and the companion of all his pleaſures, who was in the higheſt rank among all his domeſtics, being in quality of a modern pimp to the dignified order. This favourite ſervant had aſked ſome favours of his maſter, encroaching from his over-familiarity with his young Lord. The favours he demanded his maſter thought proper to refuſe; at which being enraged, he meditated his reſentment; yet concealed his diſpleaſure with art and cunning, untill he was diſengaged of the maſter of Forbes: and, being in the ſecret of this young Lord's intrigues, he was determined, if poſſible, to ruin his maſter. Having left his Lord's ſervice, he applied himſelf directly to the Earl of Huntley to be entered into his ſervice. The Earl of Huntley was a declared and dangerous enemy to the family of Forbes; and therefore, receiving hints that this ſervant, the young Lord's favourite and chief confident, had come off in diſguſt, he thought proper to engage him in his ſervice.

This fellow was no ſooner got into the Earl of Huntley's ſervice, than he made a full diſcovery of all the ſecrets of the young Lord Forbes's intrigues and projections intruſted to him; in order, by the diſcloſure of the whole, to render himſelf the more acceptable to, and in favour with, his new maſter my Lord Huntley. This treachery, falſhood, and deceit of the ſervant, was much to be condemned and blamed; but the Earl of Huntley ſhewed a mind ungenerous and low, to make uſe of or to receive ſuch a tool as the inſtrument of his former maſter's overthrow.

My Lord Huntley's reſentment and malicious propenſity overcame his reaſon in this, and therefore he formed a plot from the materials which this Strahan (the ſervant) had either forged or afforded him, or both; and, with this plot, the Earl of Huntley repaired directly to his Majeſty, laid the whole ſcheme before the King, as his Lordſhip with his ſervant pretended had been cooked up, and intended to have been executed by aſſaſſinating his Majeſty, ſo to pave the way for the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes and all their faction.

Strahan, the informer and Knight of the poſt, had a very pliable and ductile conſcience. He not only had ſworn to what he knew, but to whatever ſerved for the Earl of Huntley's purpoſe, which was to deſtroy the young Lord Forbes, and to give a fatal blow to their family, as the chief and head of the name. This well-moulded witneſs was qualified to be employed, had he been of the preſent age, by ſome lawyers; and was a perſon infamous enough to ſwear any thing.

Young Forbes deſtroyed by the treachery of a ſervant

Upon this fellow's information and evidence in court, the Lord Forbes's ſon and heir-apparent was caſt and condemned. He received ſentence of death; and, in a few days after, was beheaded. Afterwards, by order of the King and privy-council, his quarters were hung up upon the moſt patent and public places of the city of Edinburgh.

Thus one nobleman, from premeditated malice and rancour, was the overthrow of another. Envy, malice, deceit, and undermining falſhood, were, in former ages, the cauſe of the ruin of the beſt families of Scotland. Contention was, and is, too much their darling paſſion! but did they all unite in promoting the common ſyſtem, the welfare and glory of their kingdom, and the proſperity and happineſs of one another, how great and flouriſhing a people might they be? but they cannot bear to ſee one another proſper and flouriſh. There cannot be a greater abſurdity, nor a ſtronger indication of a low and bad mind, than to interrupt and envy the happineſs of another; provided they do not promote their welfare and happineſs upon the ruins, and to the hurt of others. This was an old and ſad foible of the Scots nation. I wiſh I could affirm, that it was totally vaniſhed, and did not now prevail. I do not pretend to vindicate the Forbes's family; for they in part might have been guilty, and they are I am afraid too juſtly branded with looking one way, and directing their meaſures in the reverſe path. As in paſt ages, their playing of double game brought them to loſs and diſgrace, I ſhould be glad I were not forced, in the ſequel of this hiſtory, to relate their proceedings in this deceitful ſyſtem, which rendered their tranſactions of a more modern date liable to reproach.

Old Lord Forbes impriſoned.

Upon this fatal event to the family of Forbes, the old Lord Forbes was committed priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and there remained for ſome conſiderable time. King James was ſenſible that the vile fellow (Strahan) had acted beyond truth, and was fit to be a tool for any future wicked enterprize or deſign; and therefore, having no full proof to cut him off, he baniſhed him the kingdom for ever. But his Majeſty ſore repented the execution of the young Lord Forbes, and therefore he replaced his ſecond brother in the poſſeſſion of the honours and eſtate which had been forfeited.

Soon after this, there was diſcovered another plot againſt his Majeſty, given out to be hatched in favour of the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes. Upon this information ſent to the King

King, Jean Douglaſs, ſiſter to Douglaſs Earl of Angus and widow to the late Lyon Lord Glames, with her preſent huſband Archibald Campbell of Skipneſs, and an old prieſt, were taken into cuſtody, and committed to cloſe priſon for trial: but what was moſt ſhocking, was the confinement of the Lord Glames, an innocent and hopeful young nobleman, who could have no ſhare in the plot, nor in any ſuch villainous deſign. The whole of theſe pretended conſpirators lived at a conſiderable diſtance from court, retired at their country-ſeats; and it appeared to all, the moſt incredible and ſurprizing accuſation to lodge an impeachment of treaſon, of no leſs than a premiditated and concerted deſign to poiſon the King, againſt theſe perſons, who did not come nigh the court, and had no connections nor concern with any of the King's miniſtry or houſhold-ſervants. However, ſuch was the influence of William Lyon, kinſman to the late Lord Glames, with his Majeſty, that he procured an order from the King to the judges, to bring on, with all ſpeed, the trial of theſe conſpirators. William Lyon, who had done this job, took care to find witneſſes enough; and he inſtilled ſuch prejudices and falſe repreſentations into the King's mind, that his Majeſty was implacable againſt them. The topics, by which William Lyon inflamed his Majeſty's mind, were,

The infidious arts of William Lyon with the King,

Firſt, the injuries, inſults, and abuſes, committed by the Douglaſſes againſt the King's anceſtors.

Secondly, their ambitious attempts to reſtore themſelves to eſtate and honours; and their treacherous correſpondence with the Engliſh nation. And

Thirdly, That it was moſt probable the Douglaſſes had formed the preſent plot upon this account, and, for the ſake of ſecreſy, did not judge it ſafe in ſo important an affair, to commit the execution of the deſign to any but the neareſt relations of their family.

Notwithſtanding the King's fixed reſolution, and the powerful yet wicked arts of this William Lyon, there was a great diſcontent and clamour at court, upon the juſt ſuſpicion of the fraud of this conſpiracy; but the ſuperior influence of this William Lyon, and his aſſociates, overpowered all; and engaged his Majeſty's affections ſo that there was no diverting the trial. The King was not made to underſtand, that this William Lyon had conceived his hatred and vile deſign againſt Lady Jean Douglaſs only becauſe ſhe refuſed to marry him.

The trial of theſe innocent perſons was brought on; but, at the commencement of it, ſuch cloudy and vile arts appeared, even to the judges, that it was moved by ſeveral of them to put off the trial for ſome time; yet it was over-ruled by a majority, and ſo the Lady and her huſband were ſubjected to a jury! ſuch a jury as they had ſufficiently weeded, and made capable of any dirty work. The jury, after receiving the proof, incloſed; and, after warm debates, the faction of the jury, who were prepared and determined upon the meaſure by their majority, voted the poor Lady guilty of the treaſon for which ſhe was impeached: upon which ſhe received ſentence to be burnt alive at the ſtake, which ſhe accordingly ſuffered, the fifth day after the execution of the maſter of Forbes. The Lady was burnt on the Caſtle-hill of Edinburgh; and to make the ſcene the more barbarous, her huſband was carried out priſoner from the caſtle, and brought to the place of execution, there detained to witneſs the terrible execution of his own Lady in flames, who died in full and bold aſſertion of her innocence, and the cruelty of her uſage.

occaſion the execution of Lady Jean Douglaſs, for pretended treaſon.

Her huſband, ſhocked at the barbarity of his Lady's execution, meditated his eſcape by all poſſible means; which he had effected and accompliſhed with great ſecreſy in a little time after, had he not made the rope, by which he was let down from the caſtle-wall, too ſhort: for, by this means, he fell upon the rocks and ragged parts of the hill upon which the caſtle of Edinburgh ſtands, and was ſo cruſh'd and lam'd, that in a few hours he died, and was found dead by the garriſon. The young Lord Glames remained priſoner in the caſtle 'till the King's death.

His Majeſty, ſoon after theſe executions and tragical murders of innocent perſons, was made thoroughly ſenſible of the male-practices of William Lyon; how that he had impoſed upon his Majeſty, and made him but a tool to execute his private reſentment againſt theſe innocent perſons. The King, juſtly inflamed with indignation at this vile fellow, ordered him and all his family to be for ever baniſhed the kingdom. Thus this vile informer had but a ſoft chaſtiſement compared with the puniſhment which his premeditated villany merited. The old prieſt, John Lyon, had been put to the torture to force him to confeſſion; but, amidſt all his agonies, he perſiſted reſolute in the ſupport of his innocence and integrity. Upon which the King ordered him to be diſmiſſed.

He is detected and baniſhed.

It is a failure and imperfection in all monarchies, that Sovereigns are liable to be impoſed upon by ſuch as compaſs the throne, and have acceſs to the royal preſence; and none ſo capable to make a bad uſe of acceſs to a King, as wicked, baſe, and ill-deſigning officers of ſtate! but if all Monarchs were of the happy mind and diſpoſition of a Solomon, whoſe chief requeſt from Almighty God was to have a wiſe and underſtanding heart to rule his people; in ſuch happy circumſtances, Monarchs, endow'd with wiſdom and diſcerning, would not be in danger of being miſled by corrupt and vile men, nor would they receive any directions, or be ſubjected to perſuaſion, otherwiſe than from the conviction and thorough knowlege of their own judgment and penetration. A King who ſees with his own eyes, who judges and acts from the

the rectitude of his own ſound judgment and good underſtanding, is a Monarch fit to make his kingdom glorious and his people happy; and in this ſituation there is no reaſon to apprehend danger of taking off innocent lives, or cutting off uſeful ſubjects, to gratify the brutal appetite and rancour of a piece of exalted and lumpiſh matter.

King James, after theſe bloody events, thought proper to enquire more particularly into the ſtate of affairs, and to be more nice in his examination of characters before he proceeded to any rigour or ſeverities for the future. There had been, at this time, ſuſpicions induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the Lord Drumlanrick, by means of Lord Hempsfield. The King was determined not to liſten to the accuſation of the one againſt the other, knowing the deſign was malicious and bore no good aſpect: therefore he ſent for the Lord Drumlanrick to court, and made him ſenſible by whom he was impeached; the King then acquainted both the Lords, that he found the impeachment of the one againſt the other aroſe from their private quarrels: therefore his Majeſty did command them both, to decide their quarrel by a pitch'd combat in their compleat armour. They were appointed to fight it out, in the outer court at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, in preſence of his Majeſty and all his nobility, which they accordingly executed. The one Lord, being ſhort or nigh-ſighted, broke his ſword on the other's armour; and, after they had pretty well tired one another, and became broken-winded by the heat of their fighting, the weight of their armour, and the exchange of blows, his majeſty ſent the heralds to ſeparate them, ordering them, and all others of the nobility, not to trouble his Majeſty with any ſham future plots, hatched only to gratify their private reſentments.

Theſe diſſentions and broils being compoſed, the King haſtened his marriage with all poſſible ſpeed. The ambaſſadors, ſent over to treat with Mary of Guiſe, had engaged this Princeſs for King James. The articles were agreed and ſigned at the court of Paris, to the great joy of the French: the Lord Maxwell, and Beaton Abbot of Aberbrothock, ſigned the marriage-contract, in name of the King of Scotland their maſter, in preſence of the King of France and the Princes of the blood. This ceremony was performed with great ſplendor and magnificence; great honours were pay'd to the ambaſſadors from Scotland, and great rejoicings over the kingdom of France on this event. The marriage was, by proxy, ſolemnized after the ſignature of the marriage articles; my Lord Maxwell repreſenting the King of Scotland, and the French King the Princeſs Mary of Lorrain of the Houſe of Guiſe.

The King marries by proxy a Princeſs of Lorrain.

The ſolemnity of the marriage being over, Monſieur d'Annhault, the French admiral, received orders to get ready his fleet to carry over the Queen of Scotland; and, upon the 28th of May, Queen Mary embarked with all her retinue, which was very ſplendid, conſiſting of ſeveral nobility and ladies of the court of France, with ſuch of the nobility of Scotland as were then in France, or at the court of Paris. The fleet met with a ſtorm at ſea, which made their voyage tedious, and very diſagreeable: however they all arrived ſafe, upon the 12th of June 1538, upon the coaſt of Fife and landed at Creil.

The Queen, with her grand and ſplendid retinue, being all ſafely debarked, proceeded directly for St. Andrew's. King James, with the chief of his nobility, in great rapture and extaſy of joy, attended the Princeſs from Creil to St. Andrew's; and, upon her arrival at this metropolis, the marriage was ſolemnized in the cathedral church of this city with great pomp; and, after the ceremony was over, the King conſummated his marriage at St. Andrew's.

The marriage re-ſolemnized at St. Andrew's.

Upon this event, the rejoicings over the nation were very great and extraordinary; particularly among the Romiſh clergy, who expected a ſtrong acceſſion to their intereſt and influence by this marriage, to ſupport their tottering and ruinous ſituation. The King, tho' attached to the Romiſh faith even to bigottry, begun now to be very cautious and fearful how to proceed againſt the reformers or Lutherans; for they were become ſo formidable and numerous over the whole kingdom, that the Biſhops and dignified clergy begun to ſeek the decline and decay of their power, and the univerſal contempt pour'd upon them and all their ſuperſtitious rites. This gave them an immediate indication and preſage of the approaching downfal of their impoſing hierarchy and deluding ſyſtem. The reformers were at this time ſo increaſed and ſo united in reſolution, that they only wanted a head or leader, to begin an open rebellion and revolt againſt the preſent eſtabliſhed model of government in church and ſtate.

This being evident to the conviction of all the Romiſh clergy, they inflamed his Majeſty ſo as to force the King to violent meaſures, to perſecute and cut off the Lutherans. As clergy of all denominations are of the moſt virulent and hot diſpoſitions in promoting their meaſures and views, ſo no ſect can be out-done by the Romiſh tribe; for they excel in the arts and means to promote blood and violence againſt all who oppoſe them: this is manifeſt by the the hiſtory and progreſs of their bloody religion through all the different periods of time and kingdoms in Europe, where their arts have had ſucceſs. This year (1539) five were, by the court of inquiſition in Scotland, condemned to be burnt, and accordingly ſuffered in the month of February, for their religion. Nine, at this time, recanted and returned to the Romiſh profeſſion of faith. Many were exiled for life, and the clergy, as deſperate and drowning men, excited the government to deſperate meaſures, to rigidity, cruelty unheard of, and groſs oppreſſion of the reformers, who grew and increaſed their numbers with incredible velocity and ſucceſs. Violence and ſeverity in all governments is an immediate indication of it's weak and falling ſtate, and of the near approach of it's total overthrow, which, in this inſtance, in a little time was fully accompliſhed.

The Lutherans cruelly perſecuted by the Papiſts.

This

This year his Majeſty and the whole kingdom were in great joy and in high ſpirits, by the birth of the young Prince ſucceſſor and heir apparent to the crown. The young Prince was born in February 1539, and baptized directly by the name of James Prince of Scotland, Duke of Rothſey and Lord of the Iſles; the Primate of St. Andrew's James Beaton, (now of a very advanced age) with the Earl of Arran, ſtanding god-fathers, and the Queen dowager god-mother. The Prince ſucceſſor born.

After the Queen's recovery, her Majeſty was crowned with great pomp and magnificence, in the abbey-church in the palace of Holyrood-houſe at Edinburgh, by the Abbot of Aberbrothock David Beaton, who afterwards was Cardinal Primate.

The Queen dowager ſoon after this died of a ſhort illneſs, and was buried with the greateſt pomp, ſolemnity and ſplendor, in the Charter-houſe in Perth, depoſited in a vault or tomb juſt by the remains of James the Iſt. The King in perſon, with all his nobility, attended the funeral, and witneſſed the depoſiting her remains in the tomb juſt mentioned. The Queen dowager

The Queen's death was immediately followed by the death of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. Upon his death David Beaton Abbot of Aberbrothock, kinſman to the deceaſed Primate, ſucceeded to the See of St. Andrew's; being the perſon moſt approved of by the King and Queen. and Archbiſhop Beaton die.

After this, his Majeſty became greatly perplexed and much entangled with the commotions which threatened the peace of the whole kingdom, from ſuch a powerful oppoſition as now preſented itſelf to overthrow the Popiſh religion. Thro' knowlege and an allow'd freedom of ſpeech, the foolery of the Romiſh faith came to be the object, not only of the ſcorn and ridicule of the multitudes, but likewiſe the mark to which they pointed their united hatred and indignation. The Romiſh clergy had procured the impriſonment and baniſhment of great numbers. Among the confined at this time were George Buchanan, author of the old Chronicle of Scotland; but Buchanan was ſo nimble as to contrive and execute his eſcape out of goal; taking the opportunity to make his way thorough a window, while the turnkey was faſt aſleep. The multitudes, over the whole kingdom, begun now to be riotous and tumultuous, inſulting the Popiſh clergy in all quarters, and ready to ſhake off the yoke of their ignorance. The nation divided by religious factions.

The reformed preachers (particularly John Knox) were very zealous, and an univerſal ſpirit of rejecting the yoke of Romiſh impoſture prevailed every where; ſo that his Majeſty King James was unwilling to execute the inclinations and the ſolicitations of his clergy, to proceed to the taking more lives to glut the reſentment of the bloody prieſts, the immediate and apparent danger being a revolt from his government in church and ſtate, or a total revolution.

Kings and Princes, in all ages, are juſtly to be cautious and afraid of an outrageous and injured people, eſpecially in ſuch circumſtances, when they have to do with a warlike, a bold, and obſtinately reſolute people, as is well known to be the caſe of the Scots nation. It will be found a juſt maxim for all Kings and Princes, in every age, to uſe Scotland with decency, and to refrain barbarity; for all their ſuperiors, who have practiced ſeverity, cruelty, and ſuch encroachments as a nation and kingdom of ſpirit are not to be ſerved with, muſt expect, in return, the united, certain, and heavy reſentment of the genius of that nation who are not ſo much of the hoggiſh nature as to put up with the name of liberty and property, when the eſſence and reality of liberty are removed beyond the point of ſight. It is the old characteriſtic of Scotland, That they never could bear with abſolute or tyranical meaſures from their ſovereigns; and that ſuch practices were the overthrow of many of their Kings. They have bore for ſome time; but their repulſe, in the event, has been with ſuch a ſhock as to make the throne ſhake and ready to crumble to pieces, and the crown in danger of falling. It is remarkable, in the antient hiſtory of Scotland, that riot-acts or penal laws were underſtood and explained, by the people of Scotland, as the ſevereſt caſtigations, and the moſt barefaced entrapping and enſnaring the life and liberty of the ſubject; and therefore thoſe of their antient kings, who preferred and promoted penal and cruel laws and ſtigmatizing, baſtile and inquiſition, riot-acts or ſtatutes, received from their people of Scotland the reward of a removal, or kick, from the throne! and uſhered themſelves out of the King's palace to an inferior dignity below ſtairs. Theſe are warning-pieces and pictures in hiſtory for ſucceeding ages. But paſſing theſe uſeful and timely notes, I proceed upon the hiſtory of the infant reformation in Scotland.

It muſt be owned, that his Majeſty King James the Vth allowed acceſs to his ſubjects, and admitted the oppreſſed and abuſed to his royal preſence, to lodge their complaints and to repreſent grievances; and, in the preſent great criſis of the kingdom, when the Romiſh faith was made to ſtagger, and it's credit upon the point of a total downfall, then his Majeſty King James thought it prudent and expedient to hearken to the reformers and papiſts, and to give them liberty to ſpeak their mind in his royal preſence. One of the moſt noted and underſtanding men of the Romiſh faction, (though but a private gentleman) which was now become the failing party, addreſs'd his Majeſty in the following ſtrong and manly remonſtrance; being admitted to an audience:

" May it pleaſe you, my King and Sovereign,

" I, with great ſubmiſſion and ſincere affection, approach your Majeſty's throne and preſence to diſcloſe my ſentiments; hoping they won't be diſagreeable to your Majeſty's ſuperior and penetrating underſtanding. The ſpeech of an honeſt Catholic to his Majeſty.

" It is the happineſs your ſubjects enjoy under your government, and it is for the welfare and ſafety of your Majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon, and for the univerſal good of the whole kingdom, that even the meaneſt of your ſubjects may with freedom, and without dread of puniſhment, approach your royal preſence, to declare his mind and to deliver his opinion in any national and public affair, in which the ſafety and happineſs of every individual is concerned. Your Majeſty's eſtabliſhment is in the affections of your people, and their freedom is the mean to ſecure their love. The model of your Majeſty's government is derived from a higher and more noble original, than that of any narrow or contracted little tyrannical Prince, or Potentate, upon the continent: to wit; your Majeſty's government or conſtitution is derived, with improvement, from the ancient Grecian and Roman pattern, founded on the ſame noble and generous principles, and every way calculated to encourage that ſpirit of liberty, which makes a brave, generous and faithful people. The preſent conjuncture is a dangerous and critical time for your Majeſty to conduct, betwixt two powerful and inflamed factions that threaten confuſion to the kingdom. Wiſe, cool and moderate meaſures, with the moſt deliberate councils, are now moſt neceſſary for your Majeſty if ever: But it is the caſe of all courts, that they never have recourſe to the wiſeſt and ableſt expedients, untill drove by neceſſity and in immediate danger.

" The preſent ſtate of your Majeſty's dominions is much diſtracted by an oppoſition of religions, and an intended reform into a new model of worſhip from what has long prevailed in this nation. It were to be wiſhed that there were, in this kingdom, none but the only true and undefiled pure religion of Jeſus; no diverſity nor oppoſition of opinions; no ſectaries; no bigotted and fiery zealots, nor deſigning artful prieſts or clergy of any denomination: then no diverſity of opinions would create malice, rancor, ſtrife, and dangerous diſcord; partiality, faction, or tumults. Theſe are no fruits, no natural productions of religion; for true religion, which of itſelf is good, can produce no evil: it is harmleſs, innocent, beneficent, merciful and inoffenſive; but theſe animoſities, quarrels and factions from religion, which have diſturbed kingdoms and empires, yea brought them to deſolation, are the arts and abuſes of baſe ſpirits, and ought not to be encouraged. I diſſemble not my thoughts and my real ſentiments from your Majeſty. Your Majeſty will find it an invariable and moſt certain maxim, evident and ſtrong to demonſtration, and which never will fail you: Make the welfare, the preſervation and happineſs of your people, your uniform, chief and conſtant care; then you ſhall preſerve and ſupport the glory, the ſafety and dignity of your reign, beyond all oppoſition; for the great God, by whom Kings and Princes do rule, has ordained ſovereignty and monarchy for no end nor purpoſe, but the preſervation and happineſs of the people. I do affirm it to your Majeſty, with moſt humble ſubmiſſion, that, tho' I be of the Romiſh and eſtabliſhed religion, I do think it more expedient and wiſe, even to tolerate, and not to puniſh theſe heretics, rather than to embroil the kingdom. They are very numerous and formidable, and your Majeſty can't, without violence, either by death or baniſhment, clear the nation of them: but cruelty and bloodſhed is no dictate of the true religion, which is peaceable and innocent. When Kings and Princes begin to gratify parties and factions, by cutting off innocent and uſeful lives; when they baniſh, butcher, kill, burn or deſtroy their ſubjects, eſpecially in matters of conſcience, and for freedom of ſpeech, then they become a plague and a ſcourge to the people whom they govern. It is an abſurdity and incongruity in government, to condemn to death for a mere difference or oppoſition in opinions in matters of religion. Executions and deaths diminiſh a people, and excite a diſaffection. Baniſhments create and form new enemies to a ſtate abroad; and theſe are, upon all occaſions, ready to invade their native country, and to recover their native liberty. If in the preſent ſituation your Majeſty do engage to make it a national quarrel, to take arms to ſuppreſs theſe new ſectaries and heretics, it will be a dangerous undertaking: religion is not to be preached nor taught by the ſword nor ſlaughter; compulſion will produce hypocrites. Fire and iron can't operate on the mind, nor mould the affections. If we have heretics among us, this wound dwells in the ſoul; it is abſurd, and oppoſite to all reaſon, to lay a neceſſity upon a man to believe that which he will not believe! no King nor Sovereign can claim ſuch power: your Majeſty's power is over their bodies; be therefore contented to retain and preſerve that which you may, tho' you can't that which you would: for, if you ruin and extirpate families, kill, burn and execute numbers of theſe called heretics and ſectaries, you weaken and diſmember your kingdom; and the more you deſtroy, the more they will increaſe.

" It is a falſe and ill-founded, imaginary and conceited ſyſtem, in any Sovereign or Power to ſuppoſe, that two religions or more can't ſubſiſt in any commonwealth or kingdom without confuſion: the contrary has been apparent in different places of Europe. The decay and decline of true, pure, and undefiled religion always originally comes from the roguery and malpractices of the clergy, who convert their religion to a trade to their private advantages; but where different religions are tolerated, there thoſe who differ in opinions may have opportunity of ſociety, and ſociety is an opportunity to introduce a reconciliation and harmony in ſentiments. The firſt and pure inſtitutions of Chriſtianity were full of peace, love and innocence: let not then our religion, which we contend to be the pure and only true tranſcript of primitive Chriſtianity, be branded with the juſt infamy of cruelty and blood. Murders, maſſacres, battles and violence, are not the native productions of religion, but the artifice and devices of evil and wicked

men,

men, who cloak their villainy by a ſpiritual diſguiſe: and theſe, with ſuch like practices, are greater marks of groſs impiety, than the difference or oppoſition of opinions in religion. As men are born with different features in countenance, a diverſity in the mode of thinking is by no means criminal, nor in reaſon to be conſtrued a fault, as no way voluntary nor premeditated. Theſe men (may it pleaſe your Majeſty) who differ from our catholic religion, and who are for uſing their own particular inſtitutions of religion, want only to ſerve God in their own way, without diſturbing of the public peace in any ſhape; and therefore their liberty in a diverſity of religion can't in reaſon be conſtrued unjuſt. The maxim in our churchmen, ſo much urged at this preſent time of chaſing and hunting of heretics, as more uſeful than the extirpating of infidels, is not to be approved of; for all that our church of Rome can attain to by ſuch barbarities, is only the enlargement of the revenues and dominions of his Holineſs, and the extending the Power of the Romiſh church, which is different from the enlargement or eſtabliſhment of primitive Chriſtianity.

" It is moſt for the intereſt and honour of our religion to gain upon theſe ſectaries, and to overcome them by reaſon, by gentle and eaſy means: let a free and unbyaſſed counſel determine who are heretics; for theſe men are of the ſame nature with ourſelves, they worſhip God, and the ſame God we do: they believe in the ſame ſacred records: we both aim at ſalvation and eternal happineſs; but they take a different road to the ſame end and place with us. They have found out abuſes in our church;— who then are to blame?— none but your Majeſty's clergy, who have forced a reformation upon the ruins of their own church. The ſupreme being wont avouch nor countenance bloody meaſures to gratify their enraged ſpirits, and the more wicked, profligate and bloody our clergy be, the more they promote the increaſing reformation of the heretics. If any wander from the path of truth, we ought to ſet him in the right road; if he is in the dark, we ought not to blind him; but give him light, and to uſe our oppoſites in religion with the breathings of peace and concord, but not to increaſe the raging and devouring flames of ſedition. The Jews, your Majeſty knows, have their ſynagogues at Rome: theſe heretics are not ſo oppoſite to us as the Jews; they believe not what is evil. Let then your Majeſty's council and officers of ſtate make trial of rational and perſwaſive means to gain them if poſſible: let no other weapons be applied, where nothing but reaſon can be effectual.

" Theſe, my hints, I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty's great judgement and moſt equitable ſpirit; hoping I have not offended your majeſty with ſo long a ſpeech."

King James heard this ſpeech with great patience and ſeeming ſatisfaction; but how ſoon the perſon was diſmiſſed and left the court, his majeſty was compleatly at the direction of the Romiſh clergy; particularly the new Primate David Beaton Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the other bigotted ſuperior clergy. They inſiſted with the King, that his abſolute command and authority ought to interpoſe directly, to ſtifle and to ſtop all further licentiouſneſs; and that, if this had not the proper and wiſh'd-for effect, the kingdom would be embroil'd, and the religion of the mother-church ſacrificed to an ignorant and deluded mob, and to the ambition of ſome nobility and gentry. The Romiſh clergy and the bloody-minded prieſts were highly enraged at the ſtrong remonſtrance of this worthy perſon, who had affected his Majeſty's mind with ſuch tender ſentiments and mild impreſſions toward the reformers; and therefore they united their force to importune his Majeſty, and ſo to pour in their applications and arguments upon the King, as to force him into a compliance with all their ſyſtem, which breathed only blood and cruelty.

Let me appeal to my candid and honeſt reader, if the ſpeech made to his Majeſty, by the honeſt catholic, tho' of the Romiſh church! was not an elegant, excellent, and rational oration? He was clothed with none of the diſguiſe of the modern Papiſts; religion appear'd joined to humanity, in a perſon of primitive integrity, who expreſſed himſelf in ſo decent, moving and nervous a ſtile. According to the modern conſtitution, or rather diſlocation of common ſenſe and reaſon, it would have been thought monſtrous impudence in a private gentleman to have ventur'd to addreſs himſelf to ſome modern Kings or Princes, who, from confirmed ignorance and eſtabliſh'd contempt of ſtrong reaſon and good ſenſe, do hold themſelves as Demi-gods; and the lives, properties, and families of underlings, but ſacrifices for their diverſion and pleaſure.

Another Prince born.

This year (1540) the Queen was ſafely delivered of another ſon, at Stirling-Caſtle, who was immediately baptized by the name of Arthur, by the Primate of St. Andrew's.

Henry VIII. invites King James to a meeting.

This year likewiſe the King of England, apprehenſive of the arts and utmoſt efforts of the Pope to diſturb the new form of government in church and ſtate now eſtabliſhed in England, was willing to have an interview, in a friendly manner, with the King of Scotland his nephew. King Henry dreaded the conſequences of the peace lately concluded, betwixt the Emperor and France, by the mediation of his Holineſs; and likewiſe, the ſecret interview betwixt theſe Monarchs and the Pope at Nice in Provence, which King Henry ſuſpected to have ſome reſpect to a confederacy forming againſt England: therefore, King Henry ſent his ambaſſador extraordinary to King James, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of friendſhip and cordial regard for the King of Scotland and the Kingdom; deſiring they might have a friendly interview and meeting at York, to ſettle all matters, and to enter into a treaty of the ſtricteſt friendſhip and peace betwixt both kingdoms, to be both offenſive and defenſive.

King

King James received the embaſſy with great marks of regard, and expreſſed his readineſs and inclinations to comply with the offers of the King of England his uncle. Upon this, the ſuſpicious and artful tribe of Romiſh prieſthood were all alarmed: they raiſed the clamour, the church was in danger! and therefore the Biſhops, with ſuch of their friends of the nobility of Scotland, who had acceſs to court, poſted and hurried to his Majeſty with all their petitions, arguments and conjuring repreſentations, to perſwade King James of his danger, if he complied with the propoſal of Henry the VIIIth. They poſſeſſed the King ſtrongly with an impreſſion of a deſign upon his Majeſty's life, and the total overthrow of the Romiſh faith in Scotland. They repreſented the deſign in ſuch a frightful dreſs, as to create fear and uneaſineſs, in the Queen's mind, and thereby to divert his Majeſty from the projected meeting: but the nobility and gentry of the court, who were in the higheſt offices of truſt and power, ſecretly favoured the reformed religion; and therefore uſed all their influence to ſhew his Majeſty the reaſonableneſs and advantage of a good underſtanding and ſettled peace with the King of England, eſpecially at this juncture, when threatned with commotions and civil war. The nobility who favoured the reformation were very preſſing with the King to embrace this opportunity and not to liſten to the wrong-intended ſuſpicions of his clergy, who meant no further than their own paultry ends: the clergy however operated ſo powerfully by their inſinuations upon the King, that he declined meeting with his uncle King Henry at York; but, as an evaſion, and not to give a flat refuſal, they prevailed upon King James to agree to an interview at Newcaſtle, and provided that each King ſhould not exceed a thouſand men in their retinue; and that the time of the congreſs of both Princes in perſon ſhould be in the month of September, upon the feſtival of St. Michael the Archangel.

King James declines the meeting.

This being notified to King Henry, he was highly diſſatisfied, yet did not ſhew his diſpleaſure, becauſe of his preſent ſituation, and he was determined to make trial of all friendly methods to engage and to unite King James to theſe meaſures, to detach his nephew from the Pope's authority, and to aſſert his own royal authority and prerogative: but King James, by the influence of his Queen, and the craft of Beaton the Primate, was over perſuaded not to fall in with Henry of England's ſyſtem: however, as the contending parties in Scotland were now very powerful, great debates aroſe in the privy-council upon the propoſition of an interview with Henry: King James therefore was in great perplexity how to conduct himſelf.

King Henry, finding his firſt propoſal and offer evaded, made offer of fixing the time of their meeting in Auguſt; but an incident fell out which furniſhed King James with a ſufficient excuſe for declining any interview, and ſignifying his apprehenſion of danger. The Engliſh, upon the frontier next to Teviotdale and Liddſdale, got together ſome hundreds of men, and entered Liddſdale with fire and Sword. Upon notice of this, King James declared to the Engliſh ambaſſador his fixed reſolution at this time not to venture into England, which perfectly gratified the ſpirit of the Romiſh clergy.

This point being ſettled, or rather laid aſide, the clergy were in triumph, and had ſo far the aſcendant over King James, as to be allowed to proceed to great rigor and extremities, in perſecution and putting to death many of the reformers. The Biſhops, and other of the higher clergy, intereſted themſelves warmly with the King to have Sir James Hamilton appointed judge ſupreme of the court of inquiſition, to judge of all even ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm. Sir James Hamilton was accordingly declared by the King, and received his commiſſion for this end; but Sir James was a fiery-hot zealot, and a fit tool for executing the bloodthirſty deſigns of a Romiſh crew: therefore, he began with ſuch ſcenes of cruelty, torture, executions, baniſhments, confinements, and ſuch like barbarities, that he became ſoon hateful and moſt abominable. He cut off all called heretics, if they came before him, even upon the moſt doubtful or falſe evidence. By this means, he was the ſcourge, the terror and dread of all his countrymen. His couſin James Hamilton, ſheriff of Linlithgow, had been for ſome years baniſhed from Scotland for his profeſſion of the Lutheran faith; but at this time, by a permiſſion and grant from his Majeſty King James, this James Hamilton the ſheriff had been allowed to come from England to Scotland, to ſettle ſome of his affairs. This Hamilton had a pretty young gentleman for his ſon, who attended his father. This James Hamilton had formerly been very intimate with Sir James Hamilton, now judge of the inquiſition, and thereby was in the ſecret of many of his illicit and unwarrantable private practices. Sir James, not regarding his couſin James Hamilton the ſheriff, and forgetting their former familiarity, yea their connection by blood, was determined to gratify the Biſhops, and the other Romiſh clergy, by a violent proſecution of all heretics: and, to ſhew his zealous and diſintereſted ſpirit, he was determined to ſacrifice his own relation firſt, by a proſecution againſt him.

Sir James Hamilton appointed judge of the inquiſition.

Is univerſally deteſted.

James Hamilton being acquainted with his danger; and, knowing the unrelenting ſpirit of the clergy, ſent his ſon, a youth of comely preſence, in order to meet the King, and, in the moſt ſecret and prudent manner, to inform him, that there were deſigns formed by Sir James Hamilton and others to cut off his Majeſty, and to make way thereby for the Hamiltons to the throne.

The King was juſt paſſing to go into his barge to croſs the Forth, when he received this meſſage by the young gentleman. The innocent appearance of the youth, the connection and probability in his relation, made his Majeſty give ſtrict attention to his notice, and take him with him over, until in private he had learned the whole of what the young man knew; and, having learned

learned that Sir James Hamilton held a ſecret and treaſonable correſpondence with Douglaſs Earl of Angus, and the other forfeited and attainted Douglaſſes, the King gave the eaſier credit to the ſecond article, which was that Sir James had formed a deſign to force himſelf into the King's bed chamber; and, with a ſet of aſſaſſins, to cut off his Majeſty.

His Majeſty, upon this intelligence, ſent the young man expreſs with the King's own ring, as a certain token to aſſure the miniſtry he was ſent from his Majeſty; and the King's expreſs order by him to the nobility, viz. to the Lord Treaſurer William Kirkaldy, to Sir Thomas Erſkine Secretary of State, and to Sir James Lermont Maſter of the houſhold, was to call a council-extraordinary, and to conſider of theſe two points, of which his Majeſty acquainted them concerning Sir James Hamilton: to wit; firſt, his treaſonable correſpondence with attainted perſons, exil'd; and next, a ſecret deſign to aſſaſſinate his Majeſty.

Theſe, with all circumſtances and other particulars, being, upon examination of the young gentleman, highly provoking to the privy-council, they ordered Sir James Hamilton immediately into cuſtody; and, after his examination before the council, he was committed cloſe priſoner to Edinburgh caſtle. The privy-council ſent the young man back to his Majeſty at Faulkland, to deſire his Majeſty's ſpeedy return to concert the proper meaſures upon this unexpected and important affair.

After Sir James was committed cloſe priſoner, ſome of the officers of ſtate begun to be apprehenſive of the conſequences of this affair. If Sir James Hamilton ſhould upon trial happen to be acquitted, as he was a man of keen reſentment, daring and reſolute, he would be ſatisfied with no leſs than the total overthrow of all his oppoſites: therefore they perſuaded his Majeſty to put the affair upon the iſſue of a trial. The King had been pretty nigh reconciled to Sir James, and was upon the point of reſtoring him to his liberty and to all his offices, by the interceſſion of his friends; but the vigorous application and repreſentation to the contrary of Sir James Lermont, Sir William Kirkaldy, and Sir Thomas Erſkine, the chief officers of ſtate, altered his Majeſty's ſentiments; and, in compliance with his miniſtry, King James ordered Sir James Hamilton to continue priſoner in the caſtle to wait the event of his trial.

Sir James Hamilton arraigned for high treaſon.

The trial was brought on without loſs of time. The articles of Sir James Hamilton's impeachment were,

Firſt, His treaſonable and ſecret intrigues for the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes; even if it ſhould happen at the expence of his Majeſty's life, and a revolution in the government.

Secondly, He was impeached of a miſapplication of his Majeſty's treaſure; that he had appropriated to his own uſe the money ordered to him by the King, for the reparation of his Majeſty's palaces. And

Thirdly, It was made appear, that he had erected ſtatues more in reſemblance of himſelf than of the King, at the new buildings of the King's palaces of Faulkland, Holyrood-houſe, and at Stirling caſtle; other places he had left in a ruinous condition, notwithſtanding the large ſums granted him for repairs of the caſtle of Rothſey, and all the other royal ſeats over the country.

The fourth article of his impeachment, inſiſted upon his artful and indirect practices to cut off the ſucceſſion in the King's family, and to introduce the family of Hamilton to the crown.

To theſe capital articles were added the following accuſations; that he had obſtructed all in his power the King's marriage when in France; that he had made his Majeſty the object of his ſcorn and ridicule; and that his common deſignation of the King, among his favourites and confederates, was, that he was a King of clowns and prieſts, a prieſt-ridden Monarch, and a ſcourge to the moſt antient nobility.

This inflamed the King with indignation and reſentment againſt Sir James Hamilton; and therefore his Majeſty was reſolved to give him over as a ſacrifice to the enraged muititude. None were intereſted in favour of Sir James but the Romiſh clergy; for he was a fit and well-poliſhed inſtrument for executing readily all their furious and perſecuting meaſures againſt the reformers.

The friends of the late Earl of Lenox revived and added, as an article to blacken and depreſs Sir James Hamilton under his preſent unhappy circumſtances, how baſely and ungenerouſly he had murdered my Lord Lenox when priſoner and in cuſtody of Pardowie. Sir James Hamilton was arraigned at the bar upon the four firſt articles, and the others as acceſſary circumſtances to aggravate his guilt. The proof found againſt him was ſuch, that he was condemned to die, had his head ſtruck off, and his quarters erected upon the moſt public and elevated places of the city of Edinburgh.

Is condemned and executed.

The tragical fate of Sir James Hamilton ſtruck the Popiſh clergy with dread and ſurprize, gave them a ſtrong hint how powerful their enemies at court were now become, and how the King was under neceſſity of cutting off even their chief agents and tools to gratify his nobility; for the nobility were ſecretly and moſtly in the reformed intereſt.

After the trial and execution of Sir James Hamilton was over, the King ſhewed ſome diſcontent, perplexity, and uneaſineſs of mind. His Romiſh clergy, to whom his Majeſty was ſo devoted with blind zeal and miſtaken affection, had ſuggeſted and inſinuated ſuch miſrepreſen-

tations of his nobility and officers of ſtate, and ſo impreſſed the King's mind with a firm perſuaſion that Sir James Hamilton was cut off by the art and deſigns of the reformers, becauſe he was a declared and hearty friend to the Romiſh faith. The King thus influenced and impoſed upon by his prieſthood, did behave ſo toward the nobility of the court, as to indicate plainly his Majeſty's diſſatisfaction with them, and that he was in very bad temper at them. Upon which the nobility moſtly all retired from court, and repaired to their country-ſeats.

Thus his Majeſty deſerted, was left to the ſociety of his Biſhops and prieſts: upon whlch, the King intimated his mind openly, that he did believe his nobility and officers of ſtate were in the intereſt of his uncle Henry of England, and attached to the reformers. The nobility in their turn gave the King tounderſtand, that his low and mean compliance with the dictates of his unworthy clergy, degraded Majeſty; and that they, his Majeſty's moſt faithful friends, were now very ſenſible, that theſe clergy and prieſts meditated to ſacrifice his antient nobility to their reſentment and baſe practices.

The King in great perplexity.

The King, finding his nobility in full ſpirit and in bad humour againſt the Romiſh clergy, became diſcontented, uneaſy in mind, melancholly, and retir'd, and even ſhunned the company and converſation of the chief nobility who had been in favour. His mind being diſturb'd with anxiety, with perplexity, and a variety of intereſting and important concerns, in the night his Majeſty was diſturbed by dreams. But the recital of theſe dreams, and effects of a diſturbed imagination, and of confuſion of mind, are ſo low and unworthy of a place in a national hiſtory, that I am ſurprized they ſhould be ſo much as once hinted, much more that they ſhould be narrated with a ſeeming credit and regard to them, as a kind of preſage or warning. Theſe dreamings, and nocturnal diſorders of mind in his Majeſty, encreaſed his uneaſineſs, and made him ſtill more averſe to company or recreations: he ſhut himſelf up almoſt from all but his prieſts at Faulkland; and, while in this uncomfortable ſituation, he received the piercing and afflicting news;——that his eldeſt ſon Prince James, of one year and ſome months old, died at St. Andrew's, and the ſecond Prince (Arthur) at Stirling-Caſtle, but a month old, both in one day, the 11th of Auguſt, 1540. This wound was almoſt mortal to his Majeſty; his grief and ſorrow exceeded bounds, his Majeſty regarded not the affairs of ſtate, but gave himſelf over to ſorrow and deſpair, becauſe of the loſs of the two Princes, and the deſertion of the nobility from him.

His affliction for the death of his two ſons.

King Henry of England had intelligence of all matters, and the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland. He had his friends among the Scots nobility who were ſupporters of the reformed intereſt, and being highly offended at his nephew King James, who did not comply with an interview at York according to his repeated ſollicitations, King Henry therefore thought he had now an opportunity offered him to be avenged of the Scots nation, particularly the Popiſh faction, who had chiefly oppoſed his nephew King James, and hindered him from the meeting at York. Therefore King Henry of England was determined to excite a quarrel with Scotland at this juncture, in order then to have a pretext for war and hoſtilities againſt Scotland. King Henry gave ſecret orders to his fleet to intercept and ſearch all Scots ſhipping, and to the frontier garriſons to levy proviſions, contributions, and all neceſſaries from the Scots upon the borders, without payment or any reſtitution. Theſe were to be the grounds and cauſes of an attack from the Scots; but King James, upon receiving repeated advices by expreſſes, of theſe proceedings, ſent his ambaſſador-extraordinary to King Henry, to demand the reaſon of ſuch unfair behaviour, when both nations were in peace, and no declaration of war had appeared on either ſide. King James likewiſe inſiſted upon full ſatisfaction for the depredations againſt his ſubjects, and the damages ſuſtained by them, both by ſea and land.

In the mean time King James took the neceſſary precautions to defend the frontier of his kingdom from any ſurprize or ſudden irruption of the Engliſh: his Majeſty ſent the Earl of Huntley, with a body of good troops, with expreſs orders to repell the enemy upon their firſt appearance and attempt upon Scotland. The Earl of Huntley executed his truſt with honour and fidelity: he garriſoned and defended the towns of Kelſo and Jedborough from the Engliſh, who deſigned to have ſet them in aſhes. The Scots ambaſſador (Sir James Lermont) who had been ſent to excuſe his Majeſty King James from the meeting at York or Newcaſtle, and who had been ordered by the King to demand the reſtitution of the Scots ſhipping taken by the Engliſh fleet, and reparation for the depredations of the Engliſh on the frontier; this Sir James Lermont, while in conference with Sir James Bowes, in order to adjuſt and agree matters amicably, was detained by the Engliſh, and not allowed to convey any notice to King James; that ſo they, with the army they had in readineſs, might penetrate into Scotland before the King of Scotland could be capable to make a defence. But tho' the ambaſſador from Scotland was thus unfairly detained, yet the Engliſh were diſappointed of their deſigns; for the Earl of Huntley had his ſpies out in all quarters, and kept his forces in readineſs to receive the Engliſh. Sir James Bowes, Sir George Douglaſs the Earl of Angus's brother, and others of the Engliſh generals, thinking they had ordered matters ſo that they could ſurprize the Scots, and paſs the Tweed before they were aware; therefore marched with incredible velocity and penetrated into Scotland.

The Engliſh fruſtrated in their deſign of ſurprizing Scotland.

The Earl of Huntley had taken care to ſecure the frontier towns, particularly Kelſo, Jedborough, and the adjacent places; therefore he advanced towards the enemy, having received certain intelligence of their numbers, that they were about 3000, and that they burnt, killed and

and deſtroyed wherever they came, he was reſolved to be up with them; and accordingly, at a place called Halden-Rig, the Earl of Huntley, commanding the Scots army, came up with the Engliſh, and immediately attacked them with ſuch fury, that he put them into confuſion: however, they being reinforced, rallied and returned to the charge. The Earl of Huntley broke in upon them ſword in hand, and made a terrible havock amongſt the Engliſh, who made a very obſtinate and gallant defence; but, after the action had continued ſome hours, my Lord Hume, with a reinforcement of 500 choice men, joined the Earl of Huntley, by which the fate of the day was immediately determined. The Engliſh were almoſt all cut to pieces, and the beſt of their officers either killed or taken priſoners. Sir Robert Bowes, warden of the marches and their general likewiſe governor of Norham caſtle, with Sir William Mowbray, James Douglaſs of Parkhead, and a natural ſon of the Earl of Angus, were all taken priſoners in the field, and many more of diſtinction in the purſuit; in all reckoned 600 priſoners: the Earl of Angus eſcaped only by the advantage of his horſe's heels. Sir James Bowes, with the priſoners of note, were brought to Edinburgh. This victorious action of Halden-Rigg, to the honour of the Scots nation, happened in the year 1541, Auguſt 24, on St. Bartholomew's day.

Lord Huntley ſuddenly attacks the Engliſh,

and gives them a total overthrow.

After the ſucceſs of this action, the Engliſh were reſtleſs and active, harraſſing the frontier of Scotland by plundering and maroding parties; ſo that the war was continued till next year without any offer of a compremiſe on either ſide. Next year the Engliſh army was ordered to be in readineſs early in the ſeaſon to take the field. King Henry gave the command in chief to Thomas Howard Lord Norfolk, called by ſome hiſtorians Duke of Norfolk. This Duke of Norfolk was called by the Engliſh the rod to whip the Scots.

The Duke of Norfolk was attended to Scotland by the Earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hereford, Angus and Rutland, and all the Lords and Knights of the North of England. The Engliſh army were forty thouſand ſtrong. The Scots ambaſſadors, the Lord Erſkine and Sir James Lermont, were detained by the Duke of Norfolk at York, and not allowed to return but along with the Engliſh army, that they might carry no intelligence, nor ſend any expreſſes to acquaint King James of the motions of this ſo formidable an army; being determined to invade Scotland at different quarters at once: however, the Earl of Huntley had ſuch good intelligence of the rout of the Engliſh army, that he acquainted King James with all their motions, and kept the beſt of ſpies to carry him the moſt faithful accounts of all.

Duke of Norfolk, with 40000 Men, deſigns the invaſion of Scotland.

King James was a brave Prince, and a man of great ſpirit and ſound judgment, had he not been too much enſlaved to the power and influence of his deceiving clergy. His Majeſty on this occaſion ſhewed great magnanimity of ſoul: with the utmoſt expedition and accuracy he raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, all good and effective men well armed and ready for action. The King reſolved to command in perſon to oppoſe the Duke of Norfolk, and give the Engliſh army battle. The place of the general rendezvous of the army, was Lewtry-bridge. After a general review by the King, they encamped on Fallow-moor. King James received intelligence, that the Duke of Norfolk was determined to force his way to Edinburgh, the capital city: therefore his Majeſty ſent (with orders to make all haſte upon their march) ten thouſand of his beſt men under the command of the Lords Seaton, Hume and Erſkine, to reinforce the Earl of Huntley upon the middle and Eaſtern frontier. The King in perſon, at the head of the main army, waited for the artillery and other baggage to be ready for their march.

King James oppoſes their march,

While the army lay here encamped on Fallow-moor, the King diſcovered a combination, plot and confederacy of ſome of the nobility, who had concerted to cut off his Majeſty's chief favourites and confidents, and to make a revolution at court, in much the ſame manner as the nobility had done in the reign of James IIId at Lauther-church. The perſons, chiefly pointed at by the nobility of Scotland, were the Primate of St. Andrew's David Beaton, now created a Cardinal by King James's intereſt with his Holineſs; and Oliver St. Clair brother to St. Clair of Roſline, a young gentleman in great favour with his Majeſty. The King, upon enquiry into this deſign, ordered ſo many of his nobility as were moſt ſuſpected to depart the camp directly, and to go home.

The Duke of Norfolk had his ſpies in the Scots army; and, finding that King James was reſolute and making all the proper diſpoſitions to hazard a general action, and being informed likewiſe that King James had above 20,000 choice troops, beſides ſome thouſands of large detachments which would rejoin the army upon the border; the Duke, upon holding a council of war, found it moſt adviſeable to return to England with his army. The Lancaſhire and Northumberland men had deſerted from the Duke in great numbers: they came out for plunder, not to fight. The fatigues of marching, and the ſeverity of the cold, the winter now advancing, made theſe new levies ſoon tired of the camp.

Upon notice of the Duke of Norfolk's retreat, the King determined to purſue their deſerting and harraſſed army; for the Engliſh, upon their march toward Scotland, had been ſhort of proviſions, and almoſt ſtarved. But King James was oppoſed in his deſign of purſuing the Engliſh army into their own country: the nobility of Scotland all, except the King's new favourites, and the clergy, united in diſſuading his Majeſty, and inſiſted that the King had ſupported his honour, demonſtrated his bravery, and made his power and abilities manifeſt in forcing his enemy to retire, and make them to ſhun a general engagement: but this could not

and forces them to a ſpeedy retreat.

ſatisfy

ſatisfy King James's mind, for he could not be perſuaded but his nobility's averſion proceeded from treachery, and the ſecret arts of his uncle Henry the VIIIth.

However, the King was at length prevailed upon to return to Edinburgh with his army; having received certain advice, that the Duke of Norfolk had diſmiſſed his army, and gone to the court of London to acquaint King Henry with the ſituation of all affairs.

Upon King James's return to Edinburgh, Cardinal Beaton, Oliver St. Clair, Roſs of Craiggy, and other particular favourites of his Majeſty, inflamed his Majeſty with indignation and reſentment againſt ſuch of the nobility who oppoſed the King's progreſs with his army into England. King James called a council-extraordinary of all his nobility and officers of ſtate, to deliberate upon the moſt vigorous meaſures to carry on the war againſt England, who had been the aggreſſors. In council his Majeſty reproached the nobility with treachery, breach of honour, and fidelity, and a plain demonſtration of cowardice in their oppoſing his late meaſure of entering England, and purſuing the flying army of the Engliſh.

This much affected the ſpirit of the Scots nobility: the Lord Maxwell therefore, in name of all who would adhere to him or join him, proffered, with ten thouſand pick'd men, to attack England, and to be anſwerable for his ſervices. The King accepted of the offer, aſſuring him, their faithful ſervices ſhould be fully rewarded by his Majeſty. Cardinal Beaton and Oliver St. Clair, with his Majeſty's chief favourites, by the King's order and proclamation,

Both parties retake the field.

raiſed the militia of different counties, and, with a conſiderable body well armed, marched to Haddington to defend the Eaſtern frontier; having received notice, that the Engliſh were in full march on this road. The Engliſh had ordered the other column of their army to march into Scotland by the Weſt road: therefore King James, with the main army, took the rout by Dumfries, accompanied by the Earls of Caſſills and Glencairn, the Lords Somervill, Fleming, and Erſkine; Eſquires of Ayton, Langton, Ormiſton, and Waughton, with many more.

King James halted at Lochmaben, and gave orders to the army to proceed on their march, and to paſs the river Eſke, which they did, laying all in their way waſte by fire and ſword.

They meet and engage.

Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir William Muſgrave, and Dacres, commanded the Engliſh army here, who, having collected all their forces, prepared for action, and gave battle to the Scots army at Solway Moſs; where the Scots army received a fatal, bloody, and total overthrow.

The Scots defeated.

The Engliſh army came upon the Scots army while in great confuſion, and their confuſion was owing to the roguery of Cardinal Beaton, who had raiſed the King's indignation at all his nobility, and inticed his Majeſty to give ſecretly the chief command of the whole army to Oliver St. Clair, a private gentleman, whoſe commiſſion was never read nor made known in the army, untill they were ready to enter upon action; and the giving him the command ſo enraged the nobility, that they and their men went into the greateſt diſorder; and, in this diſorder, they were obſerved and attacked by the Engliſh army, routed and totally defeated in this action. The Engliſh had ſuch numbers of Scots priſoners, that they had not ſufficient men to guard them: men, women and boys, were employed to eſcort the numbers of the priſoners of the Scots army. The Earls of Caſſills and Glencairn; the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Oliphant, Somervill, Gray; Robert Erſkine ſon to the Lord Erſkine; Oliver St. Clair the general, whoſe having the command occaſioned the total overthrow of this army: but it was not without good ground ſuſpected, that the Earl of Arran had a treacherous hand in this affair; for the King's two ſons had died ſuddenly but a little time before, and now the Queen was with child, and the King but in a bad ſtate of health; therefore the Earl of Arran had renewed his hopes and proſpects of enjoying the crown. Beſides the nobility, taken priſoners at Solway-moſs, there were great numbers of gentlemen of fortune; particularly Craiggy, Ormiſton, Waughton, Langton and Ayton, with many of the King's houſhold ſervants, were all carried up and detained priſoners in London till the King's death. Cardinal Beaton with the Earl of Arran, after this fatal action, returned to Edinburgh. The King at Lochmaben (where he waited) received the firſt news of the defeat of his forces in ſuch a fatal manner; upon the firſt accounts, his Majeſty diſcovered an uncommon emotion and diſorder of ſpirit in violent rage and uneaſineſs; ſo that after his Majeſty had returned to Edinburgh, he for ſome days could not bear ſight of the Cardinal or the Earl of Arran: he was in ſuch ſorrow and agony! grief ſo ſeized upon his Majeſty's ſpirits, that by faſting, repining and retirement, he loſt all his ſtrength; being in a few days ſurprizingly waſted and almoſt ſtupified; and, having thus abſtained from all food for ſeveral days, he became quite weak and faint; and it is reported, that, by the help of a medicine ſecretly adminiſtered to him, he went off inſenſibly, to the ſurprize of all about him.

The King, conſum'd with grief, expires.

When nigh his laſt moments, he received accounts from his Queen of her being delivered of a Princeſs. This was the Mary who ſucceeded to the crown, and to the misfortunes and unhappy events of the family. Having heard the letters read to him from the Queen's court, concerning the birth of the Princeſs, he turned about his countenance from them; and, emitting heavy groans, bid farewell to them all with theſe ſhort expreſſions: "It will end as it begun; and, as the crown came by a woman, it will go by one: many miſeries approach this poor kingdom! King Henry will make Scotland his own, either by conqueſt or marriage."

Cardinal

Cardinal Beaton put ſome papers into the King's hands when in his laſt moments, as his Majeſty's will; but whether they were ſigned and ratified by the King or not, does not appear. The Cardinal was a man however capable to frame a will, and to have a ſignature vouched as authentic, whether real or not!

The King, after this pretended will had been preſented to him, ſoon after fell into fits, and went off the ſtage of life on the 13th day of December, 1542, in the 33d year of his age, and of his reign the 32d; having ſucceeded to the crown when but an infant of a year old.

King James was much abuſed by the deceiving arts of Cardinal Beaton, who ſo impoſed upon his Majeſty, as to make Royalty only ſubſervient to his indirect views. The King's excelling qualities were many: he was a Prince of great underſtanding and bravery. Had he been in ſtrict friendſhip with his uncle the King of England, he had conducted matters in a much better manner: the interruption of that ſtrict union and harmony betwixt the two Kings, which the King of England wanted to promote at this juncture, and was for the honour and intereſts of both Kingdoms, was owing to the inſinuation and haughty behaviour of the Engliſh Miniſtry toward the Scots Nation, and to the deſigning French ſyſtem of the Cardinal Beaton. King James was anxious and concerned for the ſupport of the glory and independency of his Kingdom; but the torrent and flood of faction, from the oppoſition of the Romiſh Prieſthood to a reformation in Religion, ſupported by the influence of Henry of England, cramped and diſturbed his Majeſty King James in all his meaſures for the promoting of Trade. He reduced the diſorderly and looſe part of the Country into good order, civilized the wild and untamed Highlanders, and gave great encouragement to ingenious men for promoting arts and ſciences: but, as his genius was military, he gave too much way to it, and directed his military operations to the wrong quarter, againſt England, with whom he ought to have been in the ſtricteſt alliance, and then no foreign enemy durſt venture to attack either England or Scotland. But this, as well as his other errors, were not of his own judgment; but his Majeſty's over-compliance with the impoſition of Prieſthood.

Cardinal Beaton's ſiniſter views.

# MARY

## QUEEN of SCOTLAND.

QUEEN Mary was but five days old when ſhe ſucceeded to the Throne, by her father King James's death. Upon notice of the King's death, the whole Kingdom was in great agitation and confuſion: the Popiſh intereſt received a mortal thruſt, and the Nobility who ſupported and promoted the cauſe of the Reformation were in high ſpirits. The news of the King's death was concealed from the Queen untill ſhe ſhould be fully recovered from childbed. Her Majeſty lay at the palace of Linlithgow.

The deceas'd King's body, after being embalmed at Falkland, where he died, was carried over to Edinburgh, attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes and Marſhall; and, after lying in ſtate for a month, his funeral obſequies were performed with great magnificence and pomp, and his remains depoſited in a vault in the abbey-church of Holyrood-houſe, juſt by the body of his firſt Lady Queen Magdalen. His Majeſty left no children behind him of either marriage, but the Infant-Queen of five days old; yet he had a numerous offspring of natural children by different Ladies of the Court.

King James was a man of comely ſtature and good preſence, eaſy of acceſs and affable, the darling and favourite of the poor, the terror of oppreſſors, and the patron of all honeſt and generous minds: his Majeſty was an encourager of all arts and ſciences, a lover of learning and of learned men. He had reduced his Country to ſuch order and regularity, that the Highlands and Iſlands were intirely cleared of robbing and depredations. King James was of a great and generous mind, having extenſive views for the glory of his Kingdom; but diſconcerted in all his meaſures by ſubjecting his Councils to the impoſition of prieſtcraft, which projects upon all occaſions only for it's own intereſts. The diſconcerting of his meaſures opened the gate for ſuch a flood of ſorrow and affliction into his mind, as overcame his natural ſpirit and vivacity; and, by the help of the tragical action of Sollway-moſs, was the cauſe and occaſion of his Majeſty's death in the vigour of his youth. Cardinal Beaton was branded with the imputation of employing one of his Majeſty's Phyſicians, to adminiſter to the King a potion or doſe which haſtened his Majeſty's departure off the ſtage of life; but I find no full evidence againſt the Cardinal for ſo foul an action, though otherwiſe wicked enough. King James went to exceſs in nothing but in one failure of life: his immoderate paſſion for women, and too frequent uſe of them. He promoted and encouraged trade and manufactures: he employed a company of German miners, who diſcovered and worked a mine of gold on Crawford-moor, which turned out to great account to the enriching his Majeſty's Exchequer. His Majeſty's genius had a turn for poetry and painting. He was familiar, eaſy and pleaſant in his manner toward inferiors; and yet ſupported his dignity with his Nobility, untill that his bigotry and too ſlaviſh attachment to the dictates of his Romiſh Clergy brought his Majeſty into contempt with the antient Nobility, who at this time ſecretly favour'd the Reformation. To ſum up the whole of his character, his Majeſty's failures were few, his good qualities many and valuable: his genius was princely, his ſpirit lively and enterprizing; his bravery remarkable, the firſt in danger and the laſt to retire; ignorant of fear in the day of battle, judicious and penetrating in his cabinet, and enſlaved by nothing but his Clergy and his Ladies.

The King's death imputed to Cardinal Beaton,

How ſoon the ceremony of his funeral was over, and the Queen-mother was recovered from childbed, the artful Cardinal Beaton begun to concert and cabal with his Prieſts, and ſome of the Nobility who were of his faction, in order to procure the Regency and Government of the Kingdom in his perſon. The firſt mean by which the Cardinal attempted to execute his ſcheme was, by cooking up a will, pretended to be of his late Majeſty's ſignature, by which deed, he expreſsly provided, that during the Queen's infancy, and while ſhe remained under age, the Government of the Kingdom ſhould be lodged in the hands of the Cardinal as chief Governor of the Nation, with three more of the ancienteſt Nobility to aſſiſt the Cardinal, and to conſult with him in all weighty and important national affairs. Theſe Nobility were to ſhare with the Cardinal in the adminiſtration of Government, but not in the ſame degree and rank with the Cardinal. This will of the Cardinal's compoſition and contrivance had been made out by his truſty tool, Henry Balfour, one of his Prieſts.

who forges a royal will conſtituting himſelf Regent.

In

MARIA STUART REGINA SCOTIÆ.
Ab Originali in Regio Palatio St.a Iacobi asservata.
C Janet Pinxit
According to Act 1750
Boitard Sculpsit

In this will was included, Hamilton Earl of Arran, as chief of the Cardinal's aſſiſtants in the adminiſtration of Government, being the next heir and ſucceſſor to the Crown. The Cardinal's ſcheme was to detach and draw off the Earl of Arran from the oppoſite faction of the Nobility, who favour'd the Reformed Religion: the Earl of Arran was the perſon fixed upon to head the party who were in oppoſition to the Cardinal and all his meaſures. They had form'd a powerful confederacy to check the ambition, and to muzzle the enterprizing ſpirit, of the haughty and arbitrary Cardinal.

The Earl of Arran's moderation.

The Earl of Arran, though having at this time a very nigh proſpect to the Crown, did not appear to be of any ambitious and turbulent ſpirit; but, on the contrary, of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, taking no great pleaſure in the noiſe and hurry of Courts, inclinable rather to compoſe differences, and bring the Nation (at this time much convuls'd) to a more peaceable and united diſpoſition. The Cardinal, by his art and cunning, projected to take his advantage of this diſpoſition and temper of the Earl of Arran; and therefore he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to operate upon the Earl of Arran, to make him deſert his party, being convinced, that, if he once had gain'd the Earl of Arran over to his ſide, the Earl, who was not diſpoſed to diſturb himſelf nor to be much intereſted in the complicated intricacies of State-affairs, would leave the full and ſole management of the State to the Cardinal, to govern the Kingdom without controul. However this ſcheme, though artfully formed by the Cardinal, was diſlocated by a powerful confederacy and oppoſition of the principal Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom. The Cardinal projected to have a parliamentary ratification to the pretended will of the deceas'd King: in order to make this effectual, the Cardinal took care to ſecure the Queen-dowager's intereſt and all her friends. The Queen-dowager oppoſed the Reformed part of the Nation, and thoſe who were friends to King Henry of England amongſt the Scots Nobility; for ſhe was firmly attached to the Romiſh faith, and ready to comply with whatever the Cardinal dictated to her. The Cardinal likewiſe upon this occaſion opened his treaſure, by a plentiful diſtribution both of money and promiſes, to engage the Nobility and Gentry to fall in with his meaſures, and ratify the late King's pretended will.

The Cardinal calls a convocation to ſuppreſs the Reformers.

Upon this occaſion, the Cardinal had made a general convocation of all his Prieſthood, and, in full aſſembly, did repreſent to them the immediate expediency of making a vigorous ſtand in ſupport of the intereſt of the Mother-church, which now was manifeſtly ſtruck at by a very powerful union and combination of the Heretics. The Cardinal with his Prieſthood were all agreed and very ſenſible, that the foundations of their crafty ſtructure and papal authority were undermined, and the ruinous building of their falſe Religion tottering about their ears: ſo that they were all in danger of being ſacrificed in the ruins of their own rubbiſh. The immediate effect of this their perſuaſion, through the eloquence of the deſigning Cardinal, was a diſcloſure and opening of all their purſes, and a very conſiderable contribution of large ſums from the Prieſthood for promoting and accompliſhing the deſigns of the Cardinal, to embroil the Nation, ſuppreſs the Reformation, and oppoſe the Engliſh. The Cardinal was intruſted with the diſtribution and application of theſe large ſums levied from his Clergy. The Nobility and Gentry had large promiſes and preſents made them upon this occaſion.

Garbles a Parliament.

By pack'd and ſuch indirect means the Cardinal procured ſuch a Parliament to meet, as anſwered his purpoſe in part. The Parliament, of his own formation, and ſummon'd by a proclamation iſſued out by himſelf, voted the Cardinal to be Regent and Guardian of the Kingdom, but this his exaltation and Sovereignty were of ſhort duration; for, after the Parliament had voted the Cardinal Beaton temporary Regent during their pleaſure over the Kingdom, they proceeded to take cognizance of, and deliberate upon, the late King's will, ſupported by the Cardinal to be authentic and genuine; but, upon a full examination of witneſſes, and a ſtrict enquiry into this cloudy affair, the Cardinal's integrity was beſpattered, and he was ſhamefully degraded from his dignity. This ſo diminiſhed and depreſs'd the Cardinal's credit and influence, that his oppoſites were determined to improve the victory they had gained to the beſt advantage; and therefore, in a few days after, the Parliament, by a great majority, voted James Hamilton Earl of Arran ſole Regent and Guardian of the Nation.

His ſchemes fruſtrated, and the Earl of Arran declared Regent.

The Earl of Arran was ſupported by two factions in this promotion of his to the Regency: one party was of ſuch who favoured the Earl of Arran's family upon account of the Earl's nigh proſpect to the Crown, and their hopes by this means to recommend themſelves to the Earl's favour and friendſhip upon the event of his arrival at the Throne, there being nothing to interrupt his acceſs but the preſent Infant-Princeſs, liable to a great many caſualties in her non-age. The other party, who joined in ſupport of the Earl of Arran's intereſt to carry this point, was the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, who bore an utter averſion to Beaton the Cardinal and all his tribe, and were determined upon all occaſions to cruſh and abrige his arbitrary and tyrannical meaſures. The Cardinal and his Prieſts, upon this downfall, were greatly dejected, and dreaded a ſtorm which they foreſaw hanging over their heads.

King Henry of England kept ſtrict intelligence and ſecret correſpondence with the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, who favoured the reformation in Religion and the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes. King Henry, finding this the fit opportunity to overballance the Cardinal, and defeat all his meaſures, with thoſe of the Queen-dowager of Scotland and the French faction in their cabinet; he therefore concerted with his Privy-council to have all the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, now priſoners in England, entertained with marks of his

his Majeſty's royal favour and regard, and thereby engaged to favour his Majeſty's intereſt and deſigns in the preſent conjuncture. There were at this time, beſides the Douglaſſes who were exiles in England, ſeven of the principal Nobility of Scotland, and twenty-four Gentlemen of diſtinction, priſoners in the Tower of London, who had been there ever ſince the fatal action at Sollway-Moſs.

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King Henry ſent for the Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation, and ordered them to be brought to his royal preſence, where his Majeſty received them with great marks of regard and affection. They were all entertained in a very kind and obliging manner, by King Henry and all his Court. King Henry intimated to them his pleaſure, that he was willing they ſhould be reſtor'd to their liberty, and allow'd to return to their native land; provided they did heartily and cordially concur with his Majeſty in the propoſals he was to make them, in which their own intereſt, and the welfare and peace of both Kingdoms, were equally concerned. His Majeſty, King Henry, aſſured the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, with the Douglaſſes who had been exiled for ſome years, that they ſhould have their liberty to return to Scotland directly, provided they would engage and ſolemnly promiſe to his Majeſty, that they would intereſt themſelves with ſpirit and integrity for promoting the intereſt of the Reformation in Scotland, and would uſe their utmoſt endeavours and influence to have peace eſtabliſhed betwixt both Kingdoms; and, in order to this, that they would engage and uſe their utmoſt efforts to have their Infant-Queen Mary given in marriage to Prince Edward of England, Prince of Wales. This the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland readily conſented to, the propoſals by Henry the VIIIth being mutually equitable and honourable.

King Henry accordingly, in conſequence of his promiſe, ordered all the Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation to be diſmiſſed and eſcorted in a genteel and polite manner down to Newcaſtle. Here they were received, according to the King's order, by Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, who, by his Majeſty's appointment, did engage and bind them all to grant hoſtages for fulfilling the articles agreed upon betwixt his Majeſty of England and them. Theſe hoſtages being either delivered or ſolemnly promiſed to the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke, by King Henry's approbation, allowed every one of them to return to Scotland. Douglaſs Earl of Angus, with the other Douglaſſes, who for ſome years had taken ſanctuary in England by their baniſhment from Scotland, together with all the Nobility and Gentry taken priſoners at the action of Sollway-Moſs, did return to Scotland in a body, with full inſtructions and genteel preſents from his Majeſty King Henry of England. Upon their arrival at the capital City, they were by all ranks received with great acclamations and univerſal liking of the People.

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This ſo provok'd and ſo enrag'd the Parliament of Scotland, that, in December following, they repeal'd their former act, by which the marriage and peace was ſettl'd with England, and made void the whole of their former article and pacification with England.

The approaching rupture with the Court of London tallied with the Cardinal's views and deſigns, who wanted to diſconcert all the former meaſures agreed upon with England, in order to encourage a ſpirit of reſentment and diviſion in the Kingdom upon the opportunity now offer'd. The Queen-dowager, with the Cardinal, held ſeveral private meetings and conſultations with the Prieſts and Clergy of their faith, to concert upon the moſt effectual expedients for detaching and gaining over ſeveral of the Nobility and leading men of the Kingdom who were in the intereſt of England. For accompliſhing this end, the Cardinal with his Clergy levied conſiderable ſums of money, not only from their own revenues, but likewiſe by large remittances from France and Rome.

The Queen-dowager, with the Cardinal, employed this money to operate upon the Douglaſſes, with the other Nobility and Gentry of Scotland who had lately returned from England, in order to bring about a thorough union and reconciliation of meaſures betwixt the Cardinal, the Queen-dowager, and Earl of Arran (now Regent) with all the Nobility and Gentry, who

were in the Engliſh intereſt. The Cardinal by theſe means, applying both his money and very encouraging promiſes, expected to accompliſh his chief deſign to engage and unite ſuch a powerful ſupport for the eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh Faith, as might defeat all the proſpects and expectations of the Reformed party of Scotland, and the Engliſh who ſupported them. In order to make his project more ſucceſsful and effectual, the Cardinal laid a ſnare for the Nobility and Gentry newly return'd from England, by which, if they comply'd, they might be brought under an abſolute neceſſity of a ſlaviſh dependence upon the Cardinal and his party, and be for ever after expos'd to the indignation and reſentment of King Henry of England, for their breach of faith and honour to him.

The meaſure, propos'd and enforc'd to the Nobility by money and ſtrong aſſurances of friendſhip from the Queen-dowager and Cardinal, was, that the Nobility who had been reſtor'd to liberty by King Henry, upon hoſtages either given or promis'd, ſhould, without regard to theſe promiſes or hoſtages deliver'd, directly declare themſelves for the ſupport of the Catholic Religion, and engage to oppoſe Henry of England with all their might. The Nobility eaſily foreſaw the danger of this expedient: ſuch of them as left hoſtages for the fulfilling their promiſes, thereby would have expos'd their friends or children to be a ſacrifice to the King of England; and ſuch as had given promiſes and not fulfilled them, would be by this means the inſtrument of irreconcileable hatred betwixt both Kingdoms. This was what the Cardinal chiefly pointed at; for all that he wanted was to have a pretext and well-coloured excuſe for calling in foreign aids and French auxiliaries to diſtreſs and harraſs Henry of England, and to uſe military force for the extirpation and total overthrow of the Reformation in Scotland. The Cardinal's artful and arbitrary deſigns in this affair were eaſily underſtood by the diſcerning and penetrating part of the Nation; and therefore had not the immediate ſucceſs he wiſh'd for: but, upon this occaſion, the Cardinal was very alert in promoting all the meaſures that might excite any immediate and open irreconcileable rupture with England: for which end, the Prieſts were directed and inſtructed to inflame the minds of the People, and to enrage the mob in all quarters, from falſe repreſentations and artful prejudices, to commit outrages and acts of violence, and to aſſemble in bodies in different parts of the Kingdom to inſult and mal-treat the Reformers. From the ſecret inſtigation of the Prieſts, tumults and mobs became inſolent in the capital City. According to their ſecret inſtructions, they frequently inſulted Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, mal-treated his ſervants and attendants, yea even threatened the Ambaſſador's own perſon in paſſing the ſtreets, which, by the Law of Nations, was always conſtructed as a violation of peace betwixt Sovereigns; and therefore the Cardinal very well knew, that King Henry of England would explain theſe abuſes, as an immediate indignity to his perſon and Crown, and would reſent it accordingly.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador inſulted.

At this time there came over from France two Clergymen of the Romiſh Faith, every way calculated for the Cardinal's purpoſes, and fit agents to promote every thing violent and baſe. Theſe two Churchmen, Hamilton Abbot of Paiſly and David Painter, promoted lewdneſs and licentiouſneſs at Court, being in high favour with the Queen-dowager and Cardinal. They were men of ſuch diſſolute minds, that they ſtuck at nothing. They, by the ſecret approbation of the Cardinal, made it their chief concern how to debauch the Nobility and Gentry of the Court; by theſe means to introduce an inattentive and ignorant indifference about all national concerns, and therefore the more readily leaving all to the management of the Queen and Cardinal, they were to be directed and influenc'd as the Cardinal dictated. This was and is a Romiſh artifice at all Courts wherever their influence and ſecret arts are introduc'd. They aim at poiſoning and corrupting the morals and manners of all who differ in Religion from them, in order to make a patent-entry and ſmooth path for the reception and acceptation of their irreligion under the denomination of Catholic Faith.

The jeſuitical craft of the Clergy.

This Abbot and his partner Painter were the immediate ſprings of all the concerted affronts offer'd to the Engliſh Ambaſſador; for they concerted the operations of the mob according to the hints and inſtructions given by the Cardinal. Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, made repeated remonſtrances and complaints againſt the inſults he receiv'd, to the Earl of Arran (Regent) and the Privy-council of Scotland. Sir Ralph Sadler bore all with coolneſs untill the day came (according to the agreement and the ſtipulations of the treaty of peace lately concluded) in which by expreſs article it was provided and agreed, that the hoſtages promis'd ſhould be deliver'd to the King of England, or his Ambaſſador at the Court of Scotland to be ſent into England; there to remain untill all the particulars, engagements and articles agreed upon ſhould be fulfilled and thoroughly accompliſh'd. Sir Ralph Sadler therefore, upon the day fixed according to the treaty of peace, made a demand in form of the hoſtages promis'd in conſequence of the agreement; and likewiſe, in name of the King his maſter, inſiſted for full and ample ſatisfaction for the inſults done to his public character in ſo open and audacious a manner, and ſo often repeated.

The Ambaſſador demands ſatisfaction.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) received the Ambaſſador with great politeneſs, and as to the firſt demand of ſatisfaction for the inſults he had received, the Regent aſſured Sir Ralph Sadler, that he would take immediate cognizance of that affair; and that he would give his Excellency ſuch reparation, and the offenders ſuch puniſhment, as would effectually demonſtrate his hearty and cordial regard for the King of England and his Nation.

Sir

Sir Ralph Sadler's letters and his negotiations, publiſhed ſince the year 1720, give ſufficient proof of the unjuſtifiable treatment he received at the Court of Scotland, from the ſecret arts and mal-practices of the Cardinal Beaton.

As to the delivery of the hoſtages the Regent made anſwer, that he was ſorry it was not in his power to fulfil this without the approbation of Parliament; neither was it competent for him to compel theſe hoſtages without national authority: that his power as Guardian of the Kingdom was ſo retrenched, that he received laws and commands from his Kingdom, and was more ſubjected to their authority than they were to his orders: that, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the fluctuating behaviour of King Henry of England had brought matters to ſuch a criſis, that he, as Regent of Scotland, was ſcarce capable to ſupport his dignity and authority againſt the enraged and provoked mob.

But, beſides theſe difficulties, there remained a third, which was, how to ſatisfy the Nobility of Scotland, who had returned from their confinement in England, upon giving of ſolemn promiſes and hoſtages. They, with all their friends and adherents, declared to the Earl of Arran (Regent) that, unleſs he and the Cardinal's faction did agree to a ſettled and a laſting peace with the King of England, they would directly return to England to releaſe their hoſtages, and were determin'd to keep ſtrict faith with Henry at all events.

The Earl of Arran, with the Cardinal, us'd their greateſt efforts to draw off the Douglaſſes, and their friends with the Nobility and Gentry who had returned from their confinement in England, to perſuade them to deſert and relinquiſh their hoſtages. The Cardinal and his friends exerted their moſt powerful arts to induce them to comply with the meaſures propos'd to them. The Cardinal's topics were, that they, in the preſent conjuncture, were to regard more the welfare of their Country, it's honour and glory, than any private perſon's; and that, by being true to the intereſt of their Country, they would take the moſt effectual way to ſecure their eſtates and families, and tranſmit the memorial of them with regard to future ages: that, by taking part with and adhering to Henry of England, they would endanger both their families and eſtates; for the Queen-dowager, and the Guardians of Scotland, would be under neceſſity to call in foreign aids from France and other allies. This was bullying after the Cardinal had eſſay'd his diſguis'd arguments.

*The Cardinal adviſes the Douglaſſes to break their engagements with Henry.*

Next, his Eminence and the Earl of Arran, who ſpoke the Cardinal's mind, endeavour'd to reaſon with the Lords from religious motives, that the Council of Conſtance (which was their directory) had forbid faith to be kept with Heretics; and that the chief care and concern of the Nation ought to be, at this juncture, to ſupport their national and antient Religion the Catholic Faith; and, with united force, to oppoſe that apoſtate and Heretic Henry of England, who had revolted from the Faith and ſhaken off the true Religion and the Supremacy of his Holineſs.

After long and warm repreſentations on theſe points to the Nobility, the Cardinal had ſmall influence with any but the weaker and bigotted part. The Nobility and Gentry of ſpirit and underſtanding, with contempt, rejected theſe childiſh arts of prieſtcraft, and were not to be diverted from their obligations to veracity, honour and gratitude to King Henry of England, who was a man of ſuch ſpirit and underſtanding, that he was not to be frighten'd nor influenc'd by any Romiſh trumpery nor Papal menaces and frightful images: on the contrary, the more the Romiſh Clergy diſturbed King Henry, the more reſolute and active he was in ſuppreſſing them.

*Without effect.*

Tho' now, by the diſſolution of the peace and interruption of the marriage with England, and the connection by blood betwixt the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal, there was an apparent agreement in ſome public meaſures; yet there was no cordial nor mutual confidence of each other. The Earl was firſt couſin to the Cardinal, the Cardinal's aunt being the Earl of Arran's mother. This propinquity of blood did not unite their ſentiments nor affections thoroughly; for the Cardinal's mind was ſo towering and his attempts ſo high, at engroſſing all power to himſelf, that the Earl of Arran juſtly diſlik'd his ſyſtem in political affairs. The Earl of Arran entertained a ſecret affection for the Proteſtant Reformers, and appeared always mild in ſpirit towards them. He had read their books, and therefore judg'd for himſelf in this controverſy. This occaſioned the greateſt oppoſition and diſagreement of ſentiments betwixt the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal. The Cardinal was a complete thorough Prieſt, violent in all his oppoſition to the Reformation.

*Jealouſies betwixt the Regent and Cardinal.*

But the Nobility of Scotland many of them, who had returned from England, and were under engagements to ſupport a good underſtanding with King Henry of England, becauſe of his ſetting them at liberty: they, on this occaſion, behaved with great ſpirit and ſtedfaſt integrity, rejecting all the enſnaring offers of the Cardinal, which had no tendency but to make them proſtitute and forfeit their honour.

The Earl of Caſſills, on this occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by behaviour worthy of a great and good man. He publicly, in oppoſition to all the arts of the Cardinal, declared to the Parliament and Privy-council, that if the Nation were determin'd upon a rupture and war with England, to gratify the Cardinal, he was determined to return to England, and to ſurrender himſelf to the King of England, according to his faith and agreement, and thereby relieve his brothers who were given to King Henry as hoſtages; which the Earl of Caſſills fulfill'd

fill'd with ſtrict fidelity, in defiance of all the preſſing remonſtrances and perſuaſion to the contrary.

The Earl of Caſſills's return to his captivity.

Upon notice of the Earl of Caſſills's return to the Court of London, according to his promiſe and ſolemn faith, King Henry of England received him with great affection and regard, highly pleas'd with the honour and integrity of the Earl of Caſſills. His Majeſty conceiv'd ſuch a regard and eſteem for this young Nobleman, that, after he had entertain'd him at Court with his brothers, in the moſt polite and affectionate manner, with marks of diſtinguiſh'd regard, King Henry not only ſet the Earl of Caſſills with his two brothers at full liberty, but rewarded their ſtrict honour in a ſuitable manner.

The honour and integrity, manifeſt in the behaviour of the Earl of Caſſills, did not at all cool King Henry's reſentment againſt Scotland on this occaſion, and the French faction of the Nobility in the Cabinet-council of Scotland, with all who favoured their meaſures. King Henry was fully reſolute to make Scotland ſuffer, for receiving laws from the Cardinal Beaton, and ſubjecting themſelves to his pernicious, bloody, and deceitful ſyſtem: the Cardinal's aim being evident to involve Scotland aud England in a bloody war; that ſo Scotland, being under a neceſſity to call in Romiſh and French auxiliaries, might be entirely at his direction; and this he projected as the moſt effectual expedient to ſuppreſs the Reformation in Scotland. However, this crafty Prieſt was, in all his enterprizes, thoroughly diſconcerted to his own overthrow; and it is worthy of the particular attention of my reader, to obſerve in what manner this tool of France and limb of Popery had ſerved and impoſed upon, firſt the Earl of Arran, next the Earl of Lenox, and after this the Earl of Bothwell; making no further uſe of them by the influence of the Queen-dowager, than to convey and center the whole power of the adminiſtration of Government in himſelf, to eſtabliſh himſelf as the ſole Umpire of Government, both civil, military, and eccleſiaſtic, in Scotland. This will be evident beyond contradiction in the following account.

The Cardinal's meaſures diſtreſs the Nation.

The Cardinal being made very ſenſible of the determined and fix'd deſign of King Henry to attack Scotland, becauſe of the provocation given him; and, having receiv'd intelligence that the King of England had laid an embargo on all the ſhipping in all his ſea-ports, by which he ſtopp'd all the Scots trading ſhips in the Engliſh ports; and that, in conſequence of this, a conſiderable number of Scots ſhips had been ſeized and condemned as lawful captures, immediately upon King Henry's declaration of war againſt Scotland. The Cardinal, in theſe perplexed and dangerous circumſtances, expected next a viſit from the Engliſh army, not very acceptable.

Therefore the Cardinal, with the Queen-dowager, held a Cabinet-council with their confidents how to guard againſt the ſtorm which threatned them. The Cardinal and the Queen did not thoroughly rely upon the Earl of Arran's friendſhip and confederacy in their intereſts, thinking him too much attach'd to the Reform'd party; and finding now King Henry, in rage at the Romiſh faction in Scotland, fully reſolv'd to be avenged of them for their mal-practices, the Queen-dowager with the Cardinal made preſſing repreſentations to the Court of France, by means of the Duke of Guiſe, to have ſuccours, both of men and money, ſent over to Scotland, for the defence of the Catholic Faith, and for ſupporting the war againſt Henry of England.

The Cardinal, upon this occaſion, ſtrongly ſollicited his French Majeſty to ſend over the young Earl of Lenox, who was in high eſteem at the Court of France, as a Nobleman of an elegant perſon, fine preſence, and of a moſt lively wit and ſound judgment, to head the French auxiliaries, which the Queen-dowager of Scotland with the Cardinal ſolicited for, with the greateſt warmth and diligence.

This device of the Cardinal's to get over the Earl of Lenox, was to diſconcert and counteract the Earl of Arran (the Regent) whom the Cardinal did not think pliable to all his meaſures. The Cardinal knew well how to operate upon the Earl of Lenox's mind, if once return'd to Scotland, ſo as to excite an irreconcileable hatred and a hearty oppoſition to all the Earl of Arran's meaſures; for the Earl of Arran's brother had barbarouſly murdered the late Earl of Lenox; and, to refreſh his ſon the preſent Earl's memory with this, the Cardinal was certain would produce hatred not to be reconcil'd; for the brave Earl of Lenox (his Father) had been cut off by the Hamiltons in the moſt unfair and unjuſtifiable manner. The Cardinal likewiſe, by this contrivance, projected to increaſe and eſtabliſh his intereſt at the Court of France, by ſhewing regard to the Earl of Lenox, who, at this time, was the French King's great favourite, and highly eſteem'd by all the French Court for his politeneſs, fine perſon, and elegant genius.

Solicits and obtains Succours from France, headed by the Earl of Lenox.

The King of France, in compliance with the repeated addreſſes of the Queen of Scotland and the Cardinal, agreed to ſend over the Earl of Lenox. My Lord Lenox accordingly came over to Scotland in the year 1543, in great ſplendor, with a magnificent retinue and well ſupplied with money.

The Cardinal, with his faction of the Nobility of Scotland, who wanted the Earl of Lenox over to join them, knew how important and extenſive his influence was over the Weſt of Scotland; and my Lord Lenox, being a Nobleman of univerſal regard, and juſtly valued both on account of the great merit of his worthy anceſtors, and of his own excelling virtue, was a perſon of ſuch conſequence, as to be capable to turn the ſcale which ever way he directed, in order to

to fortify and ſecure the Earl of Lenox in their intereſt; and, to make him the more hearty in traverſing the Regent's ſyſtem, they encourag'd him with promiſes of forwarding, firſt his marriage with the Queen-dowager, and next to have him by Parliament voted Regent and Governor of Scotland.

The Earl of Lenox was of the moſt lively genius and riſing ſpirit. Theſe high proſpects and allurements gain'd upon his mind, and gratified his affections. In fact, theſe offers he was intitl'd to from his birth and merit, but ſtill more ſo, from concert ſtipulations and public faith.

In full view of the immediate accompliſhment of all theſe intereſting promiſes, the Earl of Lenox came to Scotland; and, upon his landing at Dumbarton with all his retinue, repair'd directly to wait of the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal. The Earl of Lenox took the ſincerity of the Cardinal and the Scots Nobility for granted, by their promiſes and invitation; and had reaſon to believe, that, before they had applied to the King of France, and intimated their reſolutions and intentions to have him over, that the Cardinal and the Lords had conſulted the Queen's inclinations as to the projected marriage, which yet in the event my Lord Lenox found not to be the caſe, but the whole an artifice to promote a temporary expedient againſt the Regent, in which the Cardinal employed the Earl of Lenox as a tool: a plain demonſtration, with many more incidents, of the impudent roguery of this vile fellow! The Earl of Lenox however was not in the leaſt apprehenſive now at his arrival in Scotland of any fallacy or deceit in the meaſure propos'd: he therefore came to Scotland in great expectations and fluſh'd with hopes.

At his arrival, the Queen-dowager and Cardinal were at Linlithgow, to which place the Earl of Lenox repair'd with great pomp, and was attended by all the Gentlemen and vaſſals of his eſtate, to Linlithgow. The Earl was received with the moſt apparent friendſhip, regard and honours by the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal; and, after ſeveral private conferences and confederacies, to ſecure their mutual friendſhip, they agreed to ſupport one another againſt the Earl of Arran, Regent, and all the Hamiltons or their aſſociates.

The Queen-dowager and the Cardinal gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the Earl of Lenox, to be faithful to all their engagements, and to ſtand by all the meaſures concerted and agreed upon. The Earl of Arran had full intelligence of this, and was aware of the Cardinal's falſity; therefore, he prepared a body of ſome thouſand men at Edinburgh, to march to Linlithgow to carry off the Infant-Queen from her Mother, the Queen-dowager: but the Cardinal Beaton, having full notice of all the Regent's motions, without loſs of time, engag'd the Earl of Argyle, and many others of the Nobility, to eſcort the young Queen, and to prevent her being taken off by the Earl of Arran, Regent.

*The Regent's purpoſe of ſecuring the young Queen's perſon.*

The Earl of Arran intended to take off the young Queen, and to reſcue her, in order to have it in his power to direct and conduct her in the future ſettlement of life; and if he ſhould be hardly preſs'd upon by the Cardinal's faction, to ſecure his friendſhip with the King of England, by marrying the Infant-Queen of Scotland, to any moſt agreeable to King Henry of England: but in this enterprize the Earl of Arran, Regent, tho' ſupported by a body of ſome thouſand men, was diſappointed by the means of the brave and honourable Earl of Lenox, who, in all his conduct, ſhewed a ſuperior altitude and grandeur of ſpirit to all, either confederates or oppoſites.

*fruſtrated by the Earl of Lenox.*

The Earl of Lenox, in full truſt of the fidelity and honeſty of the moſt wretched Cardinal, and from his ſtrong and faithful principles of honour to his ſuppos'd friends, engag'd with heart and hand to ſuppreſs Hamilton, the Regent. For this end, the Earl of Lenox ſent orders directly to all his farmers, dependents, and others, to repair to Linlithgow compleatly arm'd, and there to defend the perſon of the Queen and the Queen-mother; and, upon their approach to Linlithgow, the Earl of Lenox in perſon commanded them, and with the forces in waiting, guarded the Queen's perſon.

*who compels the Regent to an accommodation.*

The Earl of Lenox next march'd as General to oppoſe the approach of the Regent, who was in full march from Edinburgh the day the Earl of Lenox ſet out to ſtop his progreſs. By the interpoſition and mediation of ſome of the Nobility of each ſide, an armiſtice and accommodation was agreed upon. The Earl of Arran, finding the Earl of Lenox ready to receive him with a ſuperior force, and being apprehenſive of a repulſe, ſubmitted to the articles profer'd by the Earl of Lenox in name of the Queen-dowager and all her friends: firſt, that the Infant-Queen ſhould be ſafely conveyed to Stirling Caſtle: next, that her Majeſty ſhould be under the guardianſhip of ſo many of the Nobility diſintereſted, or equally attach'd to both factions. Therefore, the choice fell upon the Lords Graham, Lindſey, Erſkine, and Levingſton, to be Guardians to the young Queen, and they were accordingly ſworn by the Privy-council, and in preſence of the Nobility.

Upon this patchwork and agreement betwixt the Earl of Lenox and the Earl of Arran, the Queen-dowager, by the Cardinal's ſuggeſtion, next morning procur'd a private interview betwixt the Regent and the Cardinal, in which all their differences were fully adjuſted and agreed, without regard to the Earl of Lenox who had been the cauſe of all their ſucceſs. The Earl of Arran, finding that the people in general were inflam'd with prejudice againſt him, and that he was hated by all ranks, in order to ſupport his intereſt, he ſignified his diſpoſition to make all the conceſſions requir'd, and to enter into the moſt cordial and laſting friendſhip

with the Cardinal and Queen-dowager. This was accepted of, and the Queen, the Cardinal, and Earl of Arran, fully and finally agreed all former diſputes amicably.

This new alliance was the conſequence of the honour, the integrity, and the unſpotted virtue of the brave Earl of Lenox, who neither knew nor practis'd deceit in his friendſhips, and now was abuſed by the villainous Cardinal Beaton in ſuch a manner, and ſo neglected and treacherouſly ſerv'd, as juſtly to raiſe the indignation of ſo brave and generous a mind to that pitch of wrath, which merited no leſs than the moſt acute and ſpeedy reſentment of ſo honeſt and true a mind as the Earl of Lenox teſtify'd in all his behaviour.

The Regent frighten'd into a deſpicable renunciation of Proteſtantiſm.

The poor and abject Earl of Arran, who hitherto had acted in the capacity of mongrel, and next to good for nothing, in order to confirm the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal in their good opinion of him, and his ſincerity in his new engagements with them, did, in compliance with the Cardinal (to his everlaſting infamy) in the Franciſcans Church at Stirling, ſolemnly renounce and reject the Proteſtant Faith, and all the Reformation articles, and did take the moſt ſolemn oaths in preſence of the Privy-council and Nobility of the Court to adhere firmly to the Popiſh Faith, and to rout and extirpate Hereſy with all his power and influence. This mean fellow! low in underſtanding, tho' an Earl and a Regent of an antient Kingdom, betray'd at once his common ſenſe, his honeſty, his religion, and all that was valuable! Thus muſt every one do in order to be a thorough tool to Romiſh deceit. Fidelity from a Cardinal, or a tool of Rome, would have been a prodigy. The reaſon aſſign'd for this low and abject behaviour of the Earl of Arran, was compulſion, from a threatening emitted by the Cardinal, of a proſecution againſt him for his whole eſtate and honours: for the cunning and diſhoneſt Cardinal was determin'd to make uſe of every handle and pretext to make the Earl of Arran perfectly tame, ſervile and ſubjected to his dictates: the Cardinal therefore threaten'd his forfeiture of eſtate and honours by proving the Earl of Arran a baſtard, which in fact was truth; but when the Cardinal had made the Earl of Arran a baſtard, he proved his own aunt (Jennet Beaton) a whore, which was not to his honour. The caſe was in fact thus, that the Regent's father, the late Earl of Arran, had deſerted his Lady, and while ſhe was alive married the Cardinal's aunt, and by her was begotten the preſent Earl of Arran, Regent. This whole ſcene of mixed, roguiſh and Romiſh State-chicanery, demonſtrates the perfidious ſpirit of the Cardinal and his groſs abuſe of ſo fine and deſerving a Nobleman as the Earl of Lenox! but who could or can expect to be better ſerved by the offspring of perfidy and deceit, the tools of Rome, and it's fallacious and treacherous ſyſtem.

The Engliſh invade Scotland.

King Henry of England had particular and accurate intelligence of all theſe hateful proceedings in Scotland, which naturally and neceſſarily excited his deſire to embrace the preſent proper opportunity to reduce his enemies of Scotland to reaſon, and could not but give him a very contemptible idea of their judgment in the preſent circumſtances; but as he had a fair opportunity of demonſtrating to the Cardinal and his French faction in the cabinet of Scotland, that he could make the whole of their Romiſh trumpery and Popiſh ſyſtem totter about their ears, King Henry ſent his fleet with a formidable embarkation for Scotland. They came up the Forth to the port of Leith, or nigh by.

Commit great devaſtations.

At Granton Grange the Engliſh army all debarked, and, being ſafely landed, they marched for the King's Palace: this they ſet fire to, then burnt down a conſiderable part of the City, with moſt of the Churches. After they had executed this, they advanc'd with their train of braſs ordnance to batter the caſtle; but the garriſon made a vigorous defence, and receiv'd them ſo warmly, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs, the Engliſh army were preparing to draw off: upon which the garriſon made ſuch a vigorous ſally upon the beſiegers, that they fled with great precipitation, and left moſt of their cannon behind, which for many years remain'd as the trophies of this action in the Caſtle of Edinburgh.

Are repuls'd.

From Edinburgh the Engliſh army march'd to Craigmillar-caſtle, which belong'd to the Sovereigns of Scotland: this they burnt to the ground, and afterwards deſtroy'd by fire moſt of the little villages for ſome miles round Edinburgh. Laſt of all they return'd to Leith, and, when they had laid it in aſhes, they embark'd on their return to England.

Their retreat.

The Cardinal and the Queen-dowager were at Linlithgow, and thence they removed to Stirling to be ſafe from the Engliſh army. This viſit of the Engliſh fleet and army did frighten the Cardinal, and greatly enrage the People of Scotland againſt him; for they were poſſeſs'd with the firm perſuaſion, that the Cardinal Beaton was the cauſe of all thoſe calamities and ſufferings from the reſentment of the King of England: therefore, the popular clamour and fury were got up againſt his Eminence, and he was in danger of public inſults from the preſent tumultuary ſpirit of the People.

After the departure of the Engliſh army, the Earl of Lenox, finding himſelf moſt ſcandalouſly impos'd upon by the Queen-dowager, the Cardinal, and their adherents, and being very well ſatisfy'd that the Earl of Arran (Regent) and the Cardinal were return'd to perfect friendſhip by the Queen-dowager's ſecret mediation, he begun to be very watchful over the Queen-mother and the Cardinal. He ſoon found out and acquainted them, he was aware of all their deceit; but the Queen-dowager, according to the Cardinal's inſtructions, ſupported the Earl of Lenox's hopes of the projected marriage to her Majeſty; and in order to amuſe and divert, yea to make inattentive, the Earl of Lenox, all gaieties and diverſions were introduced at the

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Queen-dowager's Court, and nothing apparently regarded but muſic, dancing, and diverſions, in order to captivate the Earl of Lenox's mind until the Queen-mother and the Cardinal could execute their deſigns againſt the Earl of Lenox.

The Cardinal could not with honour diſengage himſelf of the Earl of Lenox, but ſecretly now with the Hamiltons, who were aſſociated to him, were conſpiring how he might be made incapable of any effectual oppoſition to their united meaſures. They knew the Earl of Lenox was a man of great ſpirit and integrity, and that therefore they were under neceſſity of either ſo embaraſſing him, that the Earl of Lenox's oppoſition and influence might be of no effect; or elſe, if that could not be accompliſh'd, utterly to deſtroy his Lordſhip. The Cardinal meditates the ruin of the Earl of Lenox.

The Cardinal's new treaty of friendſhip with the Earl of Arran (Regent) by which he treacherouſly deſerted the Earl of Lenox, was with no other motive than to engroſs power to himſelf, becauſe of the mean and abject ſpirit of the Earl of Arran, who, from the contempt of the People pour'd out upon him, was reduc'd to comply with all the dictates of the Queen and Cardinal: but they were very ſenſible, that the Earl of Lenox would by no engagements be put under the ſervitude of baſe and abject conceſſions; neither would the genius and lively wit of the Earl of Lenox bear the encroachments of the Cardinal. The Earl of Lenox was ſecretly acquainted by his friends, that the Cardinal, with the Hamiltons, were concerting his downfall, and obſerving the alteration of their behaviour, he, without the formalities of complimenting the Queen-dowager, or waiting of the Court, departed ſuddenly for Dumbarton-caſtle. The Earl, aprized of his danger, prepares his defence.

The young Queen was now with her Guardians at Stirling; the Cardinal with the Queen-dowager and Regent were at Linlithgow. The Earl of Lenox's departure ſurpriz'd and diſconcerted their deſigns: therefore, after a conſultation held, the Earl of Arran (Regent) repair'd to Edinburgh; there to iſſue out orders for aſſembling a body of forces, to march under his command to attack and reduce the Earl of Lenox, either at the Caſtle of Glaſcow or Dumbarton: but before he could have his train and carriages ready, or his army prepar'd for this enterprize, the Earl of Lenox, with great diligence and by the effectual ſupport of his numerous friends, collected an army of ten thouſand effective men well equipp'd, and got beforehand with the Earl of Arran. Aſſembles 10000 men.

My Lord Lenox was promoted and much forwarded in this enterprize for his own defence, by the ſeaſonable arrival of Captain James Stewart of Cardonnock, with thirty thouſand crowns from the King of France, for promoting his undertakings.

This ſupply of money haſten'd the aſſembling of his army, and encourag'd his friends: the Earl of Lenox was likewiſe joined by the Reformers to oppoſe the Earl of Arran, againſt whom they had conceived an inexpreſſible and inveterate hatred as an apoſtate, perfidious and ſlaviſh dependent of the Cardinal Beaton.

The French King had given orders for the diſtribution of his gift to be at the ſight of the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal, and by their approbation; but as all intercourſe and friendſhip was broke off betwixt them and the Earl of Lenox, the Earl thought proper only to ſend the Queen-mother ſome of the money (which he might have omitted). The French King at this time had not received the letters ſent to him by the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal, to notify their reconciliation and union with the Regent the Earl of Arran, and miſrepreſenting the Earl of Lenox.

In theſe underhand and falſe letters to the King of France, they had uſed all their art to cool and ſeparate his French Majeſty's friendſhip from my Lord Lenox, in order to reduce him to a dilemma. The French King however at firſt ſight was not influenced to drop or deſert the Earl of Lenox; therefore, the Queen-mother and the Cardinal were unwearied and reſtleſs in their ſecret arts and negotiations to miſrepreſent and to hurt the Lord Lenox with the groſſeſt falſhoods and calumnies. However, my Lord was reſolute and determin'd to make a ſtand againſt them, and to demonſtrate to the King of France the falſity of their unfair behaviour. The Earl of Lenox, having received intelligence of all the preparations and deſigns of the Cardinal and of Hamilton Earl of Arran, prepared to receive them.

The Cardinal was in great wrath and emotion againſt the Earl of Lenox, becauſe of the retention of the money which the Cardinal expected to have receiv'd; therefore, his Eminence perſuaded the Earl of Arran to advance with what troops he had in readineſs, and to march for Glaſcow, there to ſurprize the Earl of Lenox, and take poſſeſſion of the money ſent him from France. But in this, both the Cardinal and the Earl of Arran, were totally fruſtrated; for the Earl of Lenox, before the Earl of Arran was in readineſs to march, had, by long marches, made his approach to Edinburgh, which forced the Earl of Arran (Regent) to encloſe himſelf and his army for defence within the walls of the City of Edinburgh, not being capable to ſee the Earl of Lenox's army.

The Earl of Lenox advanced to Leith, and there upon the plain, betwixt that town and Muſſelburgh, his army encamped. Upon his arrival, he ſent a meſſage to the Earl of Arran to acquaint him, that he had come up to his neighbourhood to prevent his trouble of marching an army to Glaſcow; and that he was now in readineſs to put the controverſy to trial, and determine the difference by a deciſive action: but the Earl of Arran, in his preſent circumſtances, did not think it proper to determine matters in this manner, nor to riſk an engagement; but, His offers of battle to the Earl of Arran declined.

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leſt he ſhould be branded with cowardice, he only affected to delay the engagement, in order to tire out the Earl of Lenox's army, whom he knew to be of ſuch a ſpirit that they would ſoon turn impatient, and then divide, if not ſcatter and return home; as they were an army of volunteers, and not in regular pay: they being above twelve thouſand men by reinforcements, could not be thought to be ſupported by the Earl of Lenox but for a ſhort time.

Diſputes accommodated.

After ſeveral meſſages exchang'd betwixt the Regent and the Earl of Lenox, they agreed to an interview; and, upon the Regent's ſolemn faith and promiſe to the Earl of Lenox, the Earl went up to Edinburgh, and had an interview with the Regent and his party. Several of the Nobility of both ſides being preſent, a capitulation was agreed upon and ſign'd. Theſe articles of capitulation were ſign'd, as the baſis and foundation of a final treaty of perfect friendſhip and mutual fidelity; upon which the Earl of Lenox, who was ſtrict to his honour, diſmiſs'd his army; and, as there was an apparent reconciliation on all hands, the Earl of Lenox on his return went to viſit the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal at Linlithgow, with a view no doubt to renew his addreſſes to the Queen-mother; but, upon his arrival here, in a few days, he was made to underſtand ſecretly by his friends, that the Cardinal and his adherents were very diligent, contriving ſome ſecret enterprize for his ruin, upon which he departed in a hurry for Glaſcow. The Earl of Lenox's rival, the Earl of Bothwell, who had for ſome time been at Court with deſign to have got married to the Queen-dowager, was now retir'd, and forc'd to fly, becauſe he had been ſo extravagant in his expence, that his fortune was quite ſunk and immers'd in a ſea of incumbrances; ſo that had the Queen and the Cardinal ſtood ſtrict to their aſſurances and engagements to the Earl of Lenox, he might have ſoon been married to the Queen: but the Cardinal knew well, that, upon this event, he muſt not have pretended to dictate to, or impoſe upon, the Earl of Lenox, who was of too lively wit and ſound judgment to be ſo us'd.

Buchanan's falſe Chronology detected and rectified.

Here I cannot paſs an obſervation upon our learned and antient hiſtorian Buchanan, at this period of time. There is a flat contradiction in his Chronology, as to the date of two remarkable events. He affirms, that Sir Ralph Sadler arriv'd in Scotland, and that a Parliament was ſummon'd to meet to conſider of the young Queen of Scotland's marriage with the Prince of Wales, and for ſetling a laſting treaty of peace with England. Now 'tis plain at this time England and Sotland were in good terms, and the Earl of Arran, Regent, favour'd King Henry's intereſt, and that he promoted the marriage and pacification in oppoſition to the Cardinal; for the Regent and Cardinal, at this time of Sir Ralph Sadler's firſt arrival in Scotland, were in direct oppoſition; and the Regent, with the majority of Parliament, favour'd King Henry of England's propoſals, this year 1543. How then is it conſiſtent, or will it read, that May the 4th, King Henry ſhould ſend a fleet and army to commit theſe outrages they did, when in apparent friendſhip. Therefore, there is a miſtake in his confus'd jumble of facts, of one year, without which it can't read; and in this point Lindſay of Pitſcotty, who writes the hiſtory of Queen Mary, has followed the ſame miſtake in Chronology. It is quite impoſſible to conceive, that ſo many important events and tranſactions which required time and deliberation, and operations which required preparations and a diſtance of time for their execution, ſhould in fact have been all huddl'd up and accompliſh'd in one year's time, as Buchanan and Lindſay make it; yea, the Engliſh Ambaſſador remain'd at the Court of Scotland above three months, and, untill his departure and return, no hoſtilities had been begun. Doctor Leſlie, Biſhop of Roſs, ſeems more diſtinct in his relation of theſe facts in point of time, tho' it were to be wiſh'd he had been more plain and full in his obſervations as to the difference of time. But paſſing this——When the Earl of Lenox found how he was beſet, and the treachery of his pretended friends, he prepar'd to fortify himſelf in the City and Caſtle of Glaſcow. The Houiſtons, the Cunninghams, Sterlings, and the moſt of Renfrew, with their beſt friends, Tullibardin and the Murrays, all the Stewarts of Lenox, the Buchanans, the Mac Farlings, and other of the beſt families of all the adjacent counties, join'd the Earl of Lenox.

While the Earl of Lenox is thus employ'd, he received intelligence, that the Earl of Angus and his brother Sir George Douglaſs, had ſecretly agreed and made up matters with the Earl of Arran the Regent: and had granted hoſtages to the Regent, in order to convince the Regent of their ſincere and hearty diſpoſition for an accommodation and future ſincere friendſhip. George Douglaſs, ſon to the Earl of Angus, was hoſtage on his father's part, and Alexander Cunningham for Sir George Douglaſs. This the Earl of Angus had ungenerouſly negotiated without conſulting the Earl of Lenox, who had been in ſtrict friendſhip and confederacy with him, and notwithſtanding they ſtood engag'd in mutual fidelity to one another. But the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal had ſtill a ſecret diſtruſt of the Douglaſſes, and a ſtrict eye over them; therefore it was that they were required to grant hoſtages.

The Earl of Angus and his brother, notwithſtanding they had broken off concert with the Earl of Lenox, could not but regard him as a perſon of great merit, veracity, and honour; and therefore, to attone for their breach of concert, the Earl of Angus with Lord Maxwell came to Glaſcow, while the Regent with his army lay before the place to attack the Earl of Lenox. Theſe Lords got privately to the Earl of Lenox, and there made propoſals, and ſolicited ſtrongly my Lord Lenox to accommodate and end matters in a friendly manner with the

the Regent. Upon the return of the Earl of Angus and Lord Maxwell to the Earl of Arran (Regent) he, by the advice of ſome of the Cardinal's friends, and ſuſpecting a ſecret attachment of the Douglaſſes to Lenox, order'd the Earl of Angus and the Lord Maxwell into cuſtody, convey'd them out by a back gate, and committed them priſoners to Hamilton-caſtle; where they were for ſome time, untill they were ſent to different places of ſafety; the Earl of Angus to Blackneſs-caſtle†, and the Lord Maxwell to Edinburgh; where they, with their hoſtages, remain'd untill the arrival of the Engliſh army in Scotland.

The Earl of Glencairn offers the Regent Battle,

The Earl of Arran being in the neighbourhood of Glaſcow with his army, Cunningham the brave Earl of Glencairn, with all the clans and friends of the Earl of Lenox, march'd out of Glaſcow to a plain about a mile from the City, and there, in ſight of the Regent and his army, drew up in order of battle. The Earl of Glencairn commanded and led on the cavalry, and Monypenny commanded the infantry. The Earl of Arran upon this, obſerving the enemy not ſo numerous, advanc'd to charge them with great fury; but the Earl of Glencairn and the Lord Lenox with his friends, behav'd with ſuch bravery, that they broke the enemy's advanc'd guards and right wing; and as the Earl of Arran's men were giving way, and in immediate proſpect of a total rout, the Boyds, with Boyd of Kilmarnock their Commander, of ſurprize came up, and, by his ſeaſonable ſuccour to the Earl of Arran, renew'd the charge, gave the Regent's forces renew'd ſpirits; ſo that the Earl of Glencairn with his men receiv'd a total overthrow. My Lord Glencairn had two ſons, fine Gentlemen, kill'd in this encounter; beſides above three hundred Gentlemen who came volunteers to ſupport the Earl of Lenox, from different quarters; the ſpirit of the Nation being in oppoſition to the Cardinal and his tool the Earl of Arran. Tho' the Earl of Arran was ſuperior in force and numbers, his army was aſſembled by the influence of power and authority as Regent of the Kingdom, for he had iſſued out his proclamations for all able-body'd men, to aſſemble from the Grampion hills * to the Forth; and by the force of his authority had got together about twelve thouſand men, with which he at firſt attack'd the Caſtle of Glaſcow; and after the Governor had capitulated to ſurrender the place, and to be allow'd to march out without trouble, and to enjoy perfect liberty for himſelf and his garriſon, the Earl of Arran, by the Cardinal's inſtigation, ordered the Governor of the Caſtle and his Officers into cloſe cuſtody, and all the private men of the garriſon to be hung up directly.

and is defeated.

The Regent reduces Glaſcow, and perfidiouſly deſtroys the garriſon.

After this tragical and treacherous ſcene of butchery, even his friends in great numbers deſerted him, and, with the remains of his army, he attack'd my Lord Lenox and the Earl of Glencairn upon the plain near Glaſcow, where he obtain'd the victory by loſs of ſome hundreds of his men, and a great many Gentlemen: but the Earl of Arran, after defeating the Earl of Glencairn and my Lord Lenox with his friends, on this occaſion committed great barbarity and cruelty againſt the inhabitants of Glaſcow; many of whom he put to the ſword, becauſe of their attachment to and zeal for the Earl of Lenox's intereſt.

The Governor of Glaſcow-caſtle and his brother (John and William Stewart) who were impriſon'd by the Earl of Arran's order, were ſons to the Abbot of Dryburgh, and near relations to the Earl of Lenox. Wherever the Earl of Arran's power did reach he treated the Earl of Lenox's friends with cruelty and rigidity unjuſtifiable: this is agreed upon by all accounts.

The Earl of Lenox, finding his intereſt and influence on all hands now on the decline, and his generous intentions defeated, and diſappointed of the expected ſucceſs, by the treachery of the Cardinal, and by the inſtability and variable ſpirit of the French King, was in great perplexity and uneaſineſs, and in this ſituation retir'd himſelf for ſafety to Dunbarton-caſtle, which was not to be reduc'd eaſily by his enemies.

While here my Lord Lenox receiv'd letters from his friends at the court of France, acquainting him, that the Queen-dowager and Cardinal Beaton had effectually chang'd the affections of his French Majeſty, and ſo inflam'd his mind againſt the Earl of Lenox, that his Majeſty of France was determin'd to comply with no meaſure to favour him. The Queen-mother's brother and her uncle of the family of Guiſe, had, by their influence at the Court of France, procur'd this; and the Cardinal Beaton had repreſented to the French King, that my Lord Lenox had ſupported only faction and oppoſition to their meaſures, ſince his arrival in Scotland: that all the Reformers had taken part with my Lord Lenox, and therefore to my Lord Lenox was to be imputed all the oppoſition and civil commotions in Scotland, by which the Queen-dowager was diſturb'd and interrupted in her adminiſtration, and the Catholic Faith almoſt ſubverted over Scotland: that thereby the intereſt of France with the Scots Nation and their influence was greatly diminiſh'd and depreſs'd, by the oppoſition to the Catholic Faith, and the powerful faction excited among the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland by the Earl of Lenox. So the deceitful and falſe Cardinal, without regard to truth, thus miſrepreſented the Earl of Lenox; and, in the moſt unfair perfidious manner, loaded him with the very practices which the Cardinal himſelf was the only cauſe of, by his unjuſtifiable abuſe and high provocation given to the Earl of Lenox, who was ſtrict to his honour and engage-



† Blackneſs caſtle was formerly an old State-priſon and garriſon nigh Borrowſtounneſs, nine miles from Edinburgh, upon the Forth, acceſſible at high water only by a narrow paſs.

* The Grampions are the long and high ridge of mountains from Fort William, acroſs the Kingdom to the mouth of the river Dee at Aberdeen, as already mentioned.

ments with the Cardinal and the Queen-mother, untill he was forc'd to withdraw from them becauſe of their baſe deſigns to deſtroy him.

The Earl of Lenox, under his preſent difficulties, was determin'd to make the laſt effort to clear up all miſtakes, and wrong repreſentations which had poſſeſs'd Francis the French King: therefore my Lord, with ſpirit, wrote his mind fully to the King of France, and laid all matters in a full and true light. He likewiſe ſent John Campbell, Eſq; his familiar friend and a Gentleman of polite addreſs, over to the Court of France, to have a private audience of his Majeſty; but ſuch was the powerful operation of the Queen-dowager's brother and uncle the Duke of Guiſe, that Campbell was deny'd acceſs to Court, and detain'd rather as a priſoner than an Envoy, or a perſon of figure and rank with a public character.

My Lord Lenox, in his letters to the King of France, repreſented, that as his Majeſty had brought him and all his friends upon the ſtage; that as his Majeſty had ſupported and encourag'd him to come over to Scotland; and that as he was perfectly capable to vindicate himſelf, and to ſatisfy his Majeſty in every particular, and to ſhew how groſsly the Cardinal had impos'd upon his Majeſty; he therefore begg'd to be allow'd to return to the Court of France, to lay all his tranſactions open to the ſtricteſt enquiry. But this was deny'd by his French Majeſty, and he was forbid ever coming to Court. Upon which, the Earl of Lenox, of neceſſity and for his own immediate preſervation, was forc'd to take ſanctuary where he expected to be well receiv'd.

Having ſent privately ſome of his friends to England to know the diſpoſition and inclinations of King Henry toward him, and finding them favourable, the Earl of Lenox left his friend George Stirling, Eſq; Governor of Dunbarton-caſtle, and ſet ſail privately for England.

Lord Lenox arrives at London, and well receiv'd by Henry.

Henry receiv'd the Earl of Lenox in a very polite and affectionate manner, and ſhewed him particular marks of regard, knowing my Lord to be a perſon of great genius, extenſive penetration and ſound judgment. After ſome time ſpent at the Court of London, King Henry, finding the enterprizing ſpirit of the Earl of Lenox, and that he was a man of ſtrict honour, reſolv'd to employ him in an undertaking which he knew he would chearfully embark in, to curb the inſolence of the Earl of Arran (Regent) and to give bounds to the tyranny of the Cardinal and all his Romiſh faction.

Marries Henry's niece.

King Henry made his propoſals to the Earl of Lenox: my Lord embrac'd them, and promis'd fidelity thro' the whole of his truſt. In order to eſtabliſh the Earl of Lenox in his intereſt, King Henry gave him his niece Lady Margaret Douglaſs, daughter to the Earl of Angus by Queen Margaret King Henry's ſiſter, which marriage was ſolemniz'd without delay, my Lord Lenox being paſſionately in love with her, as the fineſt perſon of any Lady of the Court. Of this marriage was deſcended Henry Stewart Lord Darnley, who afterward was married to Mary Queen of Scotland; and was made the ſacrifice to gratify ſome vile Nobility and a bloody Prieſthood.

Upon notice of the Earl of Lenox's departure for England, all his friends and relations were expos'd to the rage and reſentment of the Regent and the Cardinal, who us'd them and all their adherents with rigour and ſeverity not to be exceeded. A Parliament was directly ſummon'd by the Regent to meet at Linlithgow. In this Parliament the Earl of Lenox was attainted and forfeited, and all his friends were ſubjected to the ſame fate. Nothing remain'd now for the Cardinal, but to glut his reſentment with the calamities of all who had been in the intereſt of the Earl of Lenox. Their eſtates were all levied into the Exchequer; and ſuch as were allow'd to redeem them, were forc'd to grant ſuch exorbitant and ſevere penalties for redemption to the Crown, that they purchas'd their own eſtates at ſuch a value as to render themſelves no better than ſlaves and miſerable for life. Many of the Earl of Lenox's friends were forc'd to fly; ſome were impriſon'd, and others loſt their lives by falſe and groundleſs proſecutions, thro' the Cardinal's inſtigation. This occaſion'd an univerſal diſſatisfaction and diſſaffection over the whole Kingdom at the Cardinal and his tool the Regent, who was become hateful to all ranks.

The Engliſh invade Scotland.

Upon notice of theſe violent meaſures in Scotland, Henry of England order'd an army to march directly for Scotland to employ the Earl of Arran and the Cardinal. The Engliſh army enter'd Scotland with incredible rapidity, tho' in the decline of the ſeaſon when the cold began to be ſevere: they had orders to deſtroy all in their way belonging to the Hamiltons, Douglaſſes, Hepburns, and their aſſociates, by fire and ſword, which they effectually accompliſh'd.

Upon the ſurprize of the approach of the Engliſh army, the Earl of Arran, with great difficulty, aſſembled an army of about eight thouſand men. This expedient was executed by an order of the Privy-council, concerted with the Queen-mother and Cardinal, that all the Nobility and Gentry ſhould aſſemble their able-body'd men, and provide them with eight days proviſions, and all accoutrements for a march. This army of militia, levied and collected for oppoſing the progreſs of the Engliſh, was commanded by the Earl of Arran (Regent) and under him the Earl of Angus, with all the Nobility of the Regent's or Cardinal's faction.

The Earl of Arran march'd his army to Coldingham, and with his artillery begun to batter the great tower of the Cathedral Church of Coldingham, in which there was a ſtrong garriſon of Engliſh; but, after ſuffering great fatigue, and being expos'd to the ſeverities of the

the cold, ſo as to occaſion ſickneſs in his army, the Earl of Arran (Regent) thought proper to draw off his men and raiſe the ſiege.

Next morning, having receiv'd intelligence by his ſcouts, that the Engliſh army were in full march towards him, to enter Scotland by the way of Berwick, and that they were conſiderably ſuperior in numbers, the Regent upon this notice, being diſtruſtful of his Nobility and the army from a juſt conſciouſneſs of his own miſbehaviour and violence againſt all who oppos'd the Cardinal Beaton and the Queen's arbitrary meaſures, and naturally of a fearful and variable mind, early took horſe, and went off with a ſmall eſcort of ſome of his chief favourites and confidents, and made ſtrait for Dunbar, leaving his army without a General. The puſillanimous behaviour of the Regent.

When the news of the Earl of Arran's flight was nois'd and ſpread over the army, they were all in the greateſt amaze and ſurprize: moſt of them diſpers'd; but ſuch of them as remain'd in a body, propos'd to ſpike and to break their cannon and field-pieces, to prevent their being of further ſervice or falling into the enemy's hands.

This meaſure had been executed, had it not been for the Earl of Angus, who, in a moſt moving and elegant manner, encourag'd the whole remaining army to ſtand true and reſolute to one another, and to ſupport the glory and honour of their Country. The Earl of Angus aſſur'd them, he chus'd death rather than to live opulent, grand and ſplendid, after committing any low, ſhameful and cowardly action, which might reflect diſgrace on his Nation and Countrymen; therefore thus my Lord Angus, in ſtrong and manly terms, addreſſes himſelf to the remains of his broken army: Lord Angus's bravery.

" My dear Countrymen and friends,

" Let it not be ſaid that we forſake our ordnance, and leave our artillery behind us: if our General has behav'd ill, be not diſcourag'd; my honour and my life ſhall always go together. Let no ſuch low and foul fact be imputable to us, as that we ſhall quit our cannon. I ſhall carry off the guns with a party under a brave commander, while you, the main body of the army, march in the rear, and I ſhall be betwixt the guns and all danger."

Accordingly, the Earl of Angus, having order'd the guns off before under the eſcort of a party of horſe and foot, led up the rear of the army in perſon, to defend the artillery againſt any attack from the enemy on their march. The Earl of Angus was attack'd by the advanc'd parties of the Engliſh horſe, againſt whom he defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he carried off his men in good order, after ſome repulſes given to the enemy; and ſecur'd all his cannon at Dunbar.

The Engliſh, finding the Scots army in no condition to withſtand them, nor to diſpute their progreſs, the Country being open and expos'd to the ravages of the Engliſh army, Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Bryan Layton, who commanded under the Duke of Norfolk, were ſent to put all the Mers, Teviotdale and Lautherdale under contribution, and to exerciſe fire and ſword wherever they were oppos'd. The Engliſh, out of reſentment and hatred to the Cardinal and Earl of Arran, were rigid in many places, and laid whole pariſhes waſte. Having no force to curb their inſolence, they concluded upon no leſs than the conqueſt or deſolation of all to the South of the Forth; and ſuch was the vanity of Sir Bryan Layton and Sir Ralph Evers, upon their ſmall and hurried ſucceſſes, that they impudently propos'd to King Henry and the Privy-council of England, that his Majeſty of England ſhould inſiſt upon it with the Kingdom of Scotland, as a preliminary and foundation article, that the whole of Scotland, now under the tyranny of the Engliſh army, ſhould for ever be annexed to the Crown of England; and that the boundary or limits of each Kingdom ſhould be the river and Firth of Forth; which vanity of the Engliſh juſtly awaken'd the ſpirit of the Scots Nation, with redoubled fire and indignation, at ſuch an attempt to diſmember their Kingdom. The Engliſh ravage the Country.

King Henry wiſely judg'd this was not to be inſiſted upon, nor attempted. He had pretty large experience of the invariable and ſteady reſolution of the Scots in recovering their native Country out of the hands of foreigners, and therefore he was in this matter directed by the Duke of Norfolk chiefly, who underſtood the temper and diſpoſition of the People of Scotland to be the more tenacious, obſtinate and reſolute, the more they were impos'd or encroach'd upon, and did take hold of all opportunities to recover their rights and the poſſeſſion of their lands: therefore, in order to encourage Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Bryan Layton, becauſe of their late faithful ſervices, and to make them the more hearty in the enterprize, King Henry, declining to make this propoſition or article of their formation a condition of treaty with the Scots Nation, chus'd rather to give theſe two Generals the command of three thouſand forces, with power to raiſe all upon the border or frontier who would join them, and by them to conquer and ſecure to themſelves all the land in Scotland they were capable to reduce and poſſeſs.

This Sir Ralph Evers was ſatisfy'd with, and in conjunction with Sir Bryan Layton, they got together a body of five thouſand men, with which they enter'd Scotland by the way of * Jedburgh, Kelſo, and the places adjacent. At Jedburgh they fix'd their head quarters, and ſent out to all quarters round, diſtreſſing and deſtroying the Country.

The

* Jedburgh, the County-town of Teviotdale in the ſouthern or middle frontier of Scotland, or in the Shire of Roxborough.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) upon the news of the invaſion from England, was in the utmoſt confuſion and perplexity. His favourite friends, the Earls of Angus and Bothwell, the Lords Erſkine, Drummond and Gray, were upon the point of forſaking him, becauſe of his cowardice and mean practices. In theſe his diſagreeable circumſtances, the Regent calls a Council-extraordinary to deliberate upon the moſt proper and immediate expedient to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh army. The Council unanimouſly agreed, that all ſhould be ſummon'd, Nobility and Gentry with their able-bodied men, to repair directly to join the Royal Standard of Scotland. In the mean time it was agreed, that all the Lords preſent ſhould attend the Earl of Arran, and march with what forces they had at hand (which did not exceed four or five hundred men) and advance to the frontier near Melroſs*, there to halt for the ſuccours and reinforcements which were to join them by order of Council. The Earl of Arran complain'd loudly, that he was deſerted and forſaken; that he was ſerv'd with treachery and diſconcerting meaſures by the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, who manifeſtly diſregarded his orders: to which the Earl of Angus, with great ſpirit and ſtrength of argument, made anſwer:

" My Lord,

Lord Angus reproves and adviſes the Regent.

" The calamities of this Kingdom at preſent, and the power of our enemy, are entirely owing to your miſconduct. You are conducted and directed by the low arts of crafty and deſigning Prieſts, who value not into what dangers and diſorders they plunge Kingdoms and Nations, if it anſwers their ends. They will, as they have done, lead you into danger; but are never of that bravery, fortitude and ſincerity of mind, to ſupport or recover you out of danger: they excite bloodſhed, but avoid fighting. You have diminiſhed and clouded your dignity, your character and honour, by your late inglorious behaviour; and, as nothing can wipe off the ſtain of your paſt important errors, but a demonſtration of real bravery, good conduct and reſolution to repel your enemy, if you, my Lord, pleaſe to exert yourſelf on this occaſion, you have it in your power to recover the affections of all ranks, and to ſecure your future honour and regard as Governor and Regent of the Kingdom: but this is only to be done by a full demonſtration of your bravery in the preſent conjuncture. If your Country fall a ſacrifice and conqueſt to the reſentment of the King of England, you muſt expect to bear a large ſhare in the marks of his diſpleaſure, and to feel the weight and edge of his indignation at you beyond others."

With theſe ſtrong and affecting expreſſions the Earl of Arran receiv'd a recruit of ſpirits, and fortified his mind for danger; giving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the Earl of Angus, that he would be wholly ſubjected to his judgment in conducting all the operations, and to the other Nobility.

Having thus concerted, the Regent, with the Earl of Angus and the other Nobility, with their handful of horſe and foot, waited at Melroſs for their reinforcements. Immediate danger and a total conqueſt threaten'd the whole of Scotland; therefore the Fifemen, conſiſting of three or four hundred horſe, under the command of the brave Norman Leſley ſon to the Earl of Rothes, came up and join'd the Regent. Next came in Scot of Bucleugh, with all the men he could muſter and lead to the field.

Inteſtine commotions diſtract the Nation.

An event happen'd at this time very unſeaſonable, which weaken'd and diminiſh'd much the army which the Regent would have had to oppoſe the Engliſh. The Earl of Huntley and his men had made an inſurrection, to attack the Earl of Argyle and all his adherents. This quarrel, betwixt ſo powerful heads of families, had engaged all the Clans and Iſlanders to be parties in the diſpute on one ſide or other, and had nigh produc'd a deſolation in the Country. The Earl of Huntley having a powerful confederacy of the Clans and Highlanders to join him on this occaſion, was in great wrath at the Fraziers for joining with the Earl of Argyle and abſolutely refuſing any friendſhip or connection with him. Therefore, when this great party-quarrel came to be adjuſted without bloodſhed, and the men of both ſides were diſmiſs'd to go home, the Fraziers, having parted from the main body of my Lord Argyle's army, and taken their rout home by the Country of the Macranalds, the Earl of Huntley ſecretly out-hounded the Macranalds to gather together in a body, and to form an ambuſcade to ſurprize the Fraziers, which they accompliſh'd, fell upon them, and cut them all to pieces. Being ſuperior in number to the Fraziers, they gave no quarters, and thereby the Fraziers were ſo cut off that there only remain'd of their name and families about eighty women big with child at home, which were all ſafely deliver'd of boys, who liv'd until they arriv'd at the ſtate of manhood, which interpoſition of Providence repleniſh'd the Clan, tho' ſo violently and barbarouſly treated.

The Fraziers maſſacred by Lord Huntley.

Their fatal tragedy and the diſcontent of their friends, diminiſh'd the Regent's army by conſiderable numbers, which would have join'd him, had it not been for this bloody and unfair maſſacre of ſo many brave and innocent fellows, who were ſurpriz'd out of life by treachery and lurking reſentment.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, the Earl of Arran (Regent) was reinforc'd, by ſome of the beſt militia of the South and Weſt of Scotland, but ſtill inferior to the Engliſh in numbers.

The

* Melroſs was an old fortified place and an Abby, with a Cathedral, adorn'd with ſtrong and high towers for defence, upon the Tweed, N. N. W. of Jedburgh, and N. E. of Selkirk. This place ſhews to this day the magnificence of the antient buildings of thoſe times.

The Engliſh were arriv'd at Jedburgh and Kelſo, and had ſent out their parties to reconnoitre the Scots army, their numbers and ſituation, near Melroſs; and having diſcover'd their inferior ſtrength, and the vaſt diſproportion of their men to the Engliſh army, they prepared to march and diſlodge the Scots army: but the Earl of Arran, having intelligence by his advanc'd guards, that the Engliſh were in motion toward him, by expreſſes call'd in all his detach'd parties, and determin'd to riſk all by a vigorous and deſperate reſiſtance (if attack'd) in order to recover his glory and his honour which he had blotted and darken'd by his former low and cowardly behaviour at Coldingham. Scot of Buccleugh with his men were come up, and had join'd the Scots army.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) had committed the operations and the order of the army to the Earl of Angus, to Sir George Douglaſs, and to Scot of Buccleugh with Norman Leſley: by their ſentiments he reſolv'd to act againſt the approaching enemy. The Engliſh made their approach in high ſpirits, truſting to their ſuperiority of men: therefore, in the Scots army, ſtratagem and conduct was alone to be apply'd in the preſent criſis, which threaten'd ſo much danger. Scot of Bucleugh, who was a perſon of great bravery and of ſound judgment, gave it as his opinion in the Council of war, that the Regent ſhould decamp, and take his ſituation above the bridge of Melroſs, which was more advantageous and ſafe, nigh to the Shiels, and by this means he would prevent being ſurrounded by the enemy.

Having executed this meaſure, all who were upon their march to join and reinforce the Earl of Arran (Regent) were order'd to haſten and hurry forward, before the Engliſh did make an attempt, and to come directly to Galloſhiels. The enemy's van guard, finding the Scots army mov'd from Melroſs, enter'd the place, and ſet fire to it; then return'd to Jedburgh. Such of the Fife Gentry as had not come up before, now got up to Gathenſide, which was oppoſite to Melroſs, and there join'd the Earl of Arran's army.

The Engliſh army, having advice of the ſeveral reinforcements which arriv'd in the Scots army, ſent out from Jedburgh ſeveral parties to view their ſituation, and to form ſome judgment of their preſent number. Leſt they ſhould receive any further ſupplies before an action, they therefore determin'd to renew their march toward them, and to give them battle if the Scots did ſtand their ground. The Engliſh advance to give the Regent battle.

The Scots army, by the advice of the Earl of Angus and Scot of Buccleugh, directed their march South-weſt from Melroſs along the hills round Ancram-town, as if they intended to ſhun the Engliſh army; but the true reaſon of their marching along the hills, was to have a full view of the enemy at a good diſtance. The Scots cavalry kept nigheſt the plain or valley for their eaſier and quicker march: but, finding the enemy drawing nigh, and pointing directly toward them, Scot of Buccleugh, with great judgment, gave orders to the Scots infantry to make off out of ſight on the other ſide the hills, and to form an ambuſcade in the vallies, in order to attack the Engliſh in front and rear. The infantry of the Scots, having got out of the ſight of the Engliſh army, the Earl of Angus, with Norman Leſley and Buccleugh, gave orders to their horſe to form, and then to march up hill as if they meant to fly and ſhun an action. Mean time, the Scots artillery, by the Earl of Angus's direction, was planted on the brow of the hills which their cavalry were order'd to paſs, and ſo conceal'd as not to be obſervable to the Engliſh army untill they were come to the mouths of the Scots cannon; the Scots Generals having thus order'd their ſtratagem.

The Engliſh army, having a full view of their motions by the hurry and rapidity of the march of the Scots Cavalry up hill, did (as the Scots intended) believe the whole of the Scots army were on the flight, and kept their horſe only in the rear to cover the retreat and flight of the foot. Upon which the Engliſh army ruſh'd on with great hurry to overtake them, and cut them off. Confiding in their numbers, they full ſpeed came up, and follow'd the Scots cavalry over the hills; but when upon the turning of the hills, the Scots artillery receiv'd them with a general diſcharge, which did great execution in the front of the Engliſh army. Are enſnar'd,

This was the ſignal and ſhock, which firſt put the Engliſh army into diſorder; and being breathleſs almoſt, and fatigu'd in the aſcent, they were not equal match for the Scots infantry, who ruſh'd now out of their ambuſcade, both in front and rear; and, being reſolute and deſperate, they charg'd the Engliſh army, ſo as to render them incapable to recover their diſorder, or to rally; for the front of the Engliſh army was charg'd with ſuch fury and ſurprize from the Scots artillery and infantry, who had waited in ambuſcade for them, that they broke, and ſo giving way, retreated upon their center, which thereby was put into confuſion, and ſo the center preſs'd back upon their rear, which was alſo attack'd by the Scots who lay conceal'd behind them. Thus the Engliſh, fatigu'd and faint in ſpirits, by their precipitate march up the hills, were taken in the ſnare laid for them; and were put into ſuch confuſion that nothing but ſlaughter follow'd, from their own men and the Scots army. The van of this Engliſh army was led on to the attack by Sir Bryan Layton and Sir Robert Bowis, who were both kill'd in the field. The center of the Engliſh army advanced under the command of Sir Ralph Evers, who likewiſe fell this day: the rear or left wing was led on by Sir John Withrington, and the Mayor of York Mr. Hutcheſon. and defeated.

The ſucceſs of this day on the Scots ſide was owing to the council and conduct of the Earl of Angus, of Scot of Buccleugh, and Norman Leſley; but the advantages of the victory, and the

honours were all reap'd by the Earl of Arran, who upon this occaſion ſo behav'd, as to wipe off in great meaſure the ſtain and reproach of his behaviour at Coldingham. In this action (ſo glorious to the Scots nation from the great diſparity of numbers) the wind and ſun favour'd the Scots army, and almoſt blinded the Engliſh. The ſmoke of the fire of the Scots army, with the ſmoke of their own fire, ſo confounded the Engliſh, that they ſlew one another, and made terrible havock thro' miſtake in their own army. The Scots army in whole did not exceed two thouſand men; the Engliſh were above ſix thouſand, and were far ſuperior in cavalry; beſides a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen volunteers. The ſlain in the field were five hundred, of whom many were Officers, and about eighty private Gentlemen. There were 1000 taken priſoners; among whom, Mr. Howard the Queen of England's uncle, Mr. Hutcheſon Mayor of York, the Lord Bowis, many of the Herons and Sellys, and other Gentlemen who inhabited the frontier.

The field of action was call'd * Ancram-muir or heath, a little way from the Town along the hills; and this remarkable victory was obtain'd March 9, 1545. Thus Sir Bryan Layton and his partner were overthrown, and fruſtrated of their mighty proſpects of enjoying the full conqueſt of Mers and Teviotdale.

In this action the Scots hiſtorians allow of no more than two kill'd of the Scots army; but this I am not to affirm for certain fact, for as the engagement was ſo ſharp, and continu'd ſome time with ſo great ſlaughter to the Engliſh, I do not think it ſo probable that only two ſhould have fallen of the Scots army. The Engliſh allow of more, but are not clear upon the certain number.

After the happy event of this action, the Earl of Arran in the field kneel'd down by the Royal Standard of Scotland, and publicly gave thanks to Almighty God for the fate of that day, which ſo unexpectedly turn'd out to the immortal honour and laſting regard of the bravery of the Scots Nation.

After the action was fully over, and the Regent with the Nobility were come to Jedburgh, there the Regent, in the moſt public and genteel manner, gave the honour of the ſucceſs to the Earl of Angus, extolling his valour, judgment and preſence of mind on this occaſion. At the ſame time the Regent paid great honours and teſtified a diſtinguiſhed regard to Sir George Douglaſs, to Scot of Buccleugh, and the Maſter of Rotheſs, the brave Norman Leſley, and all the Fife Gentry, who had charg'd the enemy in this action with incredible reſolution, Lions like, advancing upon the Engliſh, and cutting them down.

The Earl of Arran, having finiſh'd theſe formalities and compliments to the Nobility and Gentry, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the cantoning his troops, and taking care of the wounded and priſoners, he, with his Nobility, rode round the whole field of action and the adjacent hills to view the ſlain: Sir Ralph Evers and Sir Bryan Layton were found among the dead bodies. Upon which, orders were given for either their immediate decent interment, or the delivery of their bodies in a genteel and humane manner to their friends. The Regent, by the advice of his Nobility, likewiſe order'd the immediate burying of all the dead bodies every where in a decent manner, not as the carcaſſes of horſe or ſwine! but as human bodies. They were not allow'd to lie above ground to poiſon and impregnate the air, nor to be the food of ravens and ſtragling dogs! A great and noble mind, exalted and ſublime, will always with concern and regret look upon his enemy when ſlain; except where brutal barbarity and a butchering inclination has defac'd and eras'd the traces and natural impreſſions of humanity. The Engliſh who eſcap'd fled with ſuch precipitation and conſternation, that they did not think fit to look back toward Scotland, to make good their vain pretenſions to a thorough conqueſt of the Mers, Teviotdale and all the moſt fruitful part of the Kingdom. Their appetites on this occaſion far exceeded their digeſtion, and they hurried themſelves ſo with the immediate and imaginary proſpect of glutting themſelves and gutling with the fat and marrow of their neighbours inheritance, that they were choak'd and ſurfeited by their own cookery. This action therefore on Ancram-muir or heath, the 9th of March 1545, was deciſive, in clearing the whole of Scotland from the conqueſt and poſſeſſion of the Engliſh army; and Sir Bryan Layton with his partner Sir Ralph Evers, were allow'd to poſſeſs ſo much of Scotland, as meaſur'd the magnitude of their dead bodies.

The humanity of the Scots to their dead enemies.

Scotland freed of the Engliſh.

The Earl of Arran, with the Nobility, return'd, after their ſurvey of the field, that night to Jedburgh. They and their forces were plentifully entertain'd with the proviſions which the Engliſh army had prepared for themſelves, being certain of routing the Scots, and thoroughly perſuaded of their victory; but, premature in their preſages and hopes, they had made ample preparation for their enemy.

Next day a Council of war being call'd by the Earl of Arran (Regent) they deliberated upon the proper meaſures, for the improvement and eſtabliſhment of this victory; and in the firſt place, they order'd out the Heralds with proclamations to different quarters of the Kingdom to animate the people from this ſucceſs, and to make public declaration in all Cities, Towns and public places, that all the Counties and Towns of Scotland, which had been ſubjected to the tyranny of the Engliſh army, were now reſtor'd to their full liberty, entirely deliver'd from the Engliſh yoke, and ſubjected to their lawful Sovereignty: therefore commanding and requiring

* Ancram, a ſmall Town almoſt oppoſite to Jedburgh, ſituated nigh North-weſt from it, and parted by the interpoſition of the Teviot river.

ing that all ranks and denominations, who had been compell'd to wear the red croſs as the badge of ſubjection to the crown of England, ſhould immediately and forthwith reject this badge, and appear before the Regent and Privy-council to renew their allegiance and duty to the Imperial Crown of Scotland, and to renounce all dependence or engagements to the King of England, with full ſecurity and promiſe of a general releaſe and remiſſion for all paſt offences. This wiſe meaſure gain'd upon the affections of the People of Scotland, and procur'd univerſal regard to the Earl of Angus, who was the projector of it.

It was mov'd in Council, that the Regent, with his ſmall but victorious army, ſhould advance to Wark and to Norham-caſtle, deſerted thro' their fright, by the Engliſh: but as the train of ordnance was inconſiderable, and for fear of an ambuſcade or ſurprize from a ſuperior body, the Earl of Arran, by the approbation of his beſt Officers, march'd his army back to Edinburgh; and there deliberated upon the moſt effectual and vigorous reſolutions to oppoſe the future attempts of the enemy, knowing the haughty and daring ſpirit of Henry of England who would not ſit down with this defeat contented, but meditate further reſentment.

Henry chagrin'd at the defeat of his army.

Upon receiving the news of the total rout and overthrow of his army, King Henry of England was in great emotion: he call'd his Council, and propos'd to reinforce the ſcatter'd remains of his army in the North with a formidable body; but his Majeſty was diverted from this operation in the preſent conjuncture, by the advice of the Duke of Norfolk and the other Privy-councillors of greateſt penetration, leſt thereby he might diſconcert and ruin the intentions of his great military preparations which now were ready to be executed againſt France, and were of more immediate conſequence than any enterprize againſt Scotland; the Privy-council of England perſuaded King Henry, that he was in no danger from the Scots in their preſent ſituation; that they would remain upon the defence, and be willing to reſt ſatisfied with their late ſucceſſes, without any further progreſs; but that if his Majeſty pointed his moſt powerful enterprize againſt France, he would effectually prevent any ſuccours from being ſent over to inflame and heighten the ſpirits of the Scots Nation.

The Regent notifies his victory at the Court of France.

However, upon the event of this late repulſe given to the Engliſh by the Regent of Scotland, the Regent, by the approbation of the chief nobility, thought it neceſſary out of regard to his Majeſty of France, as the ally of Scotland, to notify the victory over the Engliſh army, in an action ſo remarkable and glorioufly executed, by an Embaſſy-extraordinary to the Court of France: at the ſame time to demand the ſuccours ſtipulated by ſubſiſting and renew'd treaties, in order to make an effectual diverſion on the frontier of England, and to diſtreſs King Henry in his preſent attempt to invade France. The Scots Ambaſſador accordingly went over, without delay, to the Court of France with full inſtructions concerning all his negociations; but particularly from the Cardinal Beaton to complain bitterly againſt the Earl of Lenox for retiring to the King of England, for taking part with him againſt his native Country, and for ſecreting to his own private purpoſes the money ſent over by his Majeſty of France for the public ſervice.

The French King diſabus'd as to the Earl of Lenox.

Theſe trifling and minute complaints from the Cardinal had but ſmall attention and regard from the Court of France. The French King begun to underſtand how baſely and perfidiouſly the Earl of Lenox had been ſerv'd by the Cardinal; and as he had a particular liking and attachment to my Lord Lenox, his Majeſty of France was now heartily ſorry, that he had been ſo much miſled and impos'd upon, as to depart from that friendſhip which he always intended to have ſhewn the Earl of Lenox, who, from his genius, his accompliſhments, and his honour in high life, had procur'd and merited the regard of the French Court. However, the King of France order'd the perſon, whom he nominated to go in character of General and Ambaſſador to the Court of Scotland, to make particular and full enquiry into the facts charg'd upon my Lord Lenox, and to know the whole circumſtances of this affair, which in great meaſure had given riſe to the preſent troubles, by forcing the Earl of Lenox to take ſanctuary at the Court of London, becauſe of the perfidy of the Cardinal.

The perſon nominated to go to Scotland on this occaſion, was Monſieur James Montgomery Count de Lorges, Lieutenant-general in his French Majeſty's armies. His Majeſty of France, conſidering his preſent threaten'd ſituation, granted all the ſuccours and demands to the Court of Scotland, which his affairs could permit. The Count de Lorges was directly order'd, with full and ample inſtructions, to embark for Scotland with the command of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; others add a hundred more, in full armour. Having ſet ſail with an eſcort of men of war the 23d of June, from the coaſt of France, he arriv'd with his fleet and forces at the port of Leith the firſt week of July 1545.

Having landed his men, the Count de Lorges went to Edinburgh to the Palace, where he had immediate audience of the Regent, and was receiv'd with the greateſt magnificence and marks of eſteem by the Nobility of Scotland, who were in waiting for his landing. Having laid his inſtructions and letters from his Majeſty of France before them, he then went for Stirling to pay his compliments to the Queen, her Court being there.

Upon the receipt of the letters and inſtructions from the French King, the Regent and Nobility in a Council-extraordinary reſolv'd, that an army ſhould be rais'd with all expedition, and that the Nobility and Gentry ſhall take the field in perſon; and accordingly circular letters were iſſued out to all Diſtricts and Counties, appointing the general rendezvous at Haddington.

The

The French forces march'd to Haddington, and there waited the arrival of the levies from all parts of the Kingdom, who came up according to the time aſſign'd them by proclamation. Having compleated an army of fifteen thouſand men, they began their march in good order for England, and directed their firſt attack againſt the Caſtle of Wark, which they batter'd with their cannon; and while the main army lay before this Fortreſs, the detach'd parties were ſent out to harraſs and diſtreſs the neighbourhood of England for ſome miles round.

The Regent attacks the Caſtle of Wark.

There happen'd ſeveral encounters betwixt flying parties of the Engliſh and the detachments from the Scots army, in which the Engliſh were always loſers; but no formidable body did appear capable to attack the allied army of Scots and French.

The French General Count de Lorges, with the Earl of Hume, did all they could to perſuade the Earl of Arran to beſiege Wark-caſtle in form, and to advance with the whole army cloſe to the place: but, by the trial the Regent had already made from the diſcharge of his cannon upon the Caſtle, he pretended he was not capable to carry the Fortreſs without a train of larger ordnance; yet they, with many of the Nobility, inſiſted ſtrongly to continue the attack, being almoſt certain to be maſters of the place, and having reduced it they intended to proceed directly into England.

Retreats,

However the Regent over-rul'd this meaſure; and, after they had been for ten days encamp'd on Bargany-hawgh or plain along the banks of the Tweed, they did not paſs their army to invade or harraſs England, but march'd back their army into winter-quarters. The French ſuccours were ſome quarter'd at Edinburgh, ſome at St. Andrew's, and the Towns upon the coaſts; where they were entertain'd with great hoſpitality, as the national allies. The whole of this glaring and nominal expedition, which was only as a ſcarecrow to the Engliſh, was over and finiſh'd by the middle of Auguſt. The Scots army were all diſmiſs'd home to their habitations; and therefore the Nobility and Officers were at liberty to go where they pleas'd.

and diſbands the army.

Montgomery Count de Lorges repair'd to Stirling to the Queen's Court there, to expoſtulate with the Cardinal and Queen-dowager concerning the Earl of Lenox, in conſequence of his expreſs and particular orders from the King of France.

Montgomery was by no means a friend to the Earl of Lenox, but he had made it his buſineſs to learn the truth of all matters relating to my Lord Lenox's behaviour, in compliance with his orders from the King of France his maſter; and, having underſtood fully, that the Earl of Lenox had been abominably and treacherouſly ſerv'd by the Queen-dowager and Cardinal, he was determin'd with honour to diſcharge his truſt from the King his maſter: therefore, he ſeverely and warmly reprimanded the Cardinal and the Queen-mother, for their unfair and moſt ungenerous treatment of my Lord Lenox, ſo fine a Gentleman, univerſally regarded at the Court of France, of ſo much honour, genius and perſonal merit.

The Cardinal, in the elevation of his ſpirits, could not bear with ſuch ſharp and juſt reproofs as the Count de Lorges ſerv'd upon him; and therefore put himſelf in rage at the Count de Lorges. The Count reproach'd him with his deceit in abuſing the brave Earl of Lenox, and impoſing upon the King of France (his Maſter) by falſe relations, and being the only cauſe of the fruitleſs application and the expence to no purpoſe of his Majeſty's treaſure and money, beſtow'd for the intereſt and public utility of the Kingdom of Scotland.

The Cardinal, touch'd with the conſciouſneſs of the juſtice of the accuſation, was in great rage, and gave the Count Montgomery de Lorges the lye in the Queen's preſence and the Officers of State. Upon which, the Count de Lorges gave the Cardinal a ſound inſtructing box in the ear, which inſtantly reduc'd his Eminence to a calm, and made his bluſtering vaniſh.

The Cardinal's inſolence provokes the manual chaſtiſement of the French General.

The Count Montgomery de Lorges was a man of ſpirit, not to be bullied by a haughty Prieſt, varniſh'd over with purple; and therefore, having given the Cardinal this modeſt ſample of his diſcipline and juſt correction, he departed from the Palace and Town of Stirling, with full reſolution never to return to the Court where the Cardinal reſided. The practices of the man were hateful to Count Montgomery as a Gentleman; and, notwithſtanding all the interceſſions of the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager, he could never be prevailed upon to return or to appear at their Court. However to ſoften him, the Queen, the Regent and the Cardinal, did uſe his officers and men with great regard, and beſtow'd ſeveral preſents upon them, yea further, regaled them with feaſting and entertainments; thereby, if poſſible, to engage the Count de Lorges not to inflame and provoke his Majeſty of France againſt the Queen, the Cardinal and all their faction: but notwithſtanding all their endeavours, the winter being over, the Count de Lorges embark'd all his forces, and return'd with them to France.

This, with many other good reaſons, caus'd a general diſcontent and diſſatisfaction, yea hatred, at the Cardinal in every quarter of the Kingdom. The Cardinal experienc'd the ſpirit of the Nobility almoſt outrageous againſt him, and his intereſt of no force but with his ſlaviſh and ſpaniel-bred Prieſts: he therefore determined to ſecure the affections and intereſt of the Earl of Arran (Regent) by different meaſures. Firſt, he took care to ſecure the Earl of Arran's ſon under pretence of taking the tutory of his education, and of ſome other young Noblemen, in order to make their fathers under a neceſſity, on account of their children, to continue in friendſhip, and in the ſame intereſt with him, and dependent upon him. After this, finding the Queen, the Regent, and the Nobility, altogether cool and diſaffected toward him, the Cardinal, by preſents, promiſes and entertainments, ſpared no pains to regain the Regent's friendſhip, and to reconcile the affections of the Nobility. At Chriſtmas the Cardinal,

Cardinal got the Regent, the Lords Ruthven, Erſkine and Drummond, with ſeveral more, together, to regale them at this feſtival. He continued his feaſting, diverſions, and entertainments, for three weeks; and in this time by mirth, and all the perſuaſive power of his eloquence, the Cardinal brought the Nobility into ſome better diſpoſition toward him; and being now of opinion that he was pretty well reſtor'd to the Regent's good liking, and that he would not vary from his meaſures, the better to confirm them in their joint meaſures, and to divert the Earl of Arran from any attention to other affairs of more national concern, the Cardinal, with the Queen-dowager, concerted that the Regent, accompanied by them, ſhould make a circuit to the chief Towns of the adjacent Counties; and, in order to make this the more agreeable to the Earl of Arran (Regent) it was ſuggeſted to him by the Cardinal, that his preſence and appearance to the People of the different parts of the Kingdom, would be the moſt effectual way to ſecure and eſtabliſh their affections and regard for him and his adminiſtration. The Regent agreed to this meaſure, tho' the real intention of the Cardinal was only to cruſh and perſecute the Reformers.

The Regent and Cardinal deſign a circuit thro' Scotland.

The Queen-dowager, the Regent, Cardinal, and all their retinue, proceeded on their circuit. They firſt made their entry to Perth in great pomp. This Town being well ſtock'd with people of intereſt, who favour'd the Reformation, the Cardinal begun his work here by cropping their numbers: four men were condemn'd to death, for eating meat and a part of a gooſe of a Friday: a woman, with her daughter, ſuffered death here for refuſing to pray to the Virgin Mary when in labour: others were cruelly and ſeverely dealt by, for reading the New Teſtament. Theſe horrid proceedings made the thoughts of the Cardinal contemptible, yet frightful in the eye of the people.

The Cardinal's abominable cruelty to the Reformers.

After theſe exerciſes of Prieſtcraft at Perth, they continued their circuit and proceſſion to Dundee; in which they were determin'd to ſhew their authority againſt reading the New Teſtament in their own language; and this Town, becauſe of the numbers of friends to the Reformation reſiding in it, they did ſcourge heartily, with ſevere marks of their pious and religious reſentments. Here many were puniſh'd and impriſon'd for reading Scripture; for neglecting duty to the Virgin Mary, and for eating of meat inſtead of fiſh!——Theſe capital and ſuperſtitious crimes, trump'd up by an impoſing Prieſthood, methinks were ſufficient to have excited a whole Kingdom to expel and kick out ſuch a neſt of Romiſh trumpery and impudent deceivers of the underſtandings of mankind!

While thus the frightful Cardinal is employ'd in bullying the Nation out of common ſenſe, the Earl of Arran (Regent) receiv'd advice that my Lord Grey, with his numerous and well arm'd retinue, was approaching to Dundee to wait of his Highneſs; and likewiſe that, from another quarter, the brave Norman Leſley, Lord Rothes, with ſome hundred horſe, were to be next day at Dundee. Theſe tranſactions happen'd in the Months of October and November 1545.

Procures the confinement of the Lords Rothes and Grey.

The Cardinal, conſcious of his own meritorious guilt and foul practices, did apprehend danger from the approach of the Lords Grey and Rothes to the Town of Dundee; and therefore prevail'd with the Regent to ſend his order to theſe Lords not to approach with ſuch an arm'd force to Dundee to excite and encourage tumults, under pain of her Majeſty's and his diſpleaſure, but deſir'd that theſe Lords ſhould ſeparately, and in a private manner, wait of him at Perth, to which place next day they were to return. Accordingly, the Lords Grey and Rothes (leaving their attendants and retinue without the gates of Perth at ſome ſmall diſtance) made offer to pay their compliments ſeparately to the Queen, Regent, and Cardinal. While they were before Perth, the Cardinal procured an order from the Regent to take both the Lords into cuſtody, and to confine them, knowing they were friends to the Reformation; being apprehenſive of ſome deſign to favour the Reformers, and to ſupport their oppoſition to the Cardinal. The Cardinal in this his circuit, had carried along with him the chief Magiſtrate in all capital and high offences, to give the ſanction and colour of Law and Juſtice to all his cruelty.

The chief Judge in all crimes, by the conſtitution of Scotland, is the Lord Juſtice General who at this time was the Earl of Argyle; and who, upon this occaſion, to gratify the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal, was a faithful ſervant to hunt and harraſs the Heretics, as they were then denominated by the Romiſh tribe. The Earl of Argyle paſs'd ſentence of death againſt the poor men for eating gooſe on Friday; and order'd a young woman, who in labour would not apply to the Virgin Mary for ſpeedy delivery, to be thrown into the river of Tay. Theſe, with other acts of this famous progreſs of the Cardinal's, were ſufficient demonſtration of the judgment, genius, and noble ſpirit of this Earl of Argyle!

The Cardinal, with his tool the Regent, were afraid of the Lords Grey and Rothes: therefore they concerted to ſet my Lord Rothes at liberty, if taken; but were a little nice about the Lord Grey, of whom they were moſt afraid, as a man of great influence and power over the Country.

Before the Lord Grey had enter'd Perth, or was taken into cuſtody, by order from the Regent, he had form'd a deſign to force his way into the Town, becauſe deny'd acceſs. Ruthven the Mayor being acquainted of it, by the Regent and Cardinal's command, and willing to ſtand true to his truſt, order'd the gates to be ſhut, block'd up, and well guarded by the train'd bands

and guards in the place. The Lord Grey had projected to ſtorm and enter the Town two ways at once. He himſelf in perſon led on the attack by the bridge over the Tay, with his beſt men: at the ſame time order'd his cannon with a party of men to come up the river, and ſecond his attack, with the diſcharge of the artillery, and to enter the Town where it was open and unwall'd to the river-ſide; but having loſt the tide, fail'd in the attempt. However, Ruthven the Mayor counterfeited a retreat, and order'd his men to the houſes in front of the main ſtreet; ſo that the Lord Grey, finding the bridge deſerted, and none to defend it, enter'd the Town as if he had no oppoſition to encounter. He was no ſooner ſeen with his men in the ſtreets, than the ſignal by the Mayor was given, and the guards, train'd bands and all, ruſh'd out upon them, which occaſion'd a bloody diſpute, in which above ſixty loſt their lives.

This was the pretended reaſon of committing the Lord Grey, and of holding him to bail before he ſhould be ſet at liberty: however, theſe matters being patch'd up by the Regent and the Cardinal, and finding it not, in the preſent circumſtances, expedient to continue their circuit to any other Towns, leſt, inſtead of reconciling the minds of the people, they by their abſurd and intolerable behaviour ſhould force a total revolt, they thought proper to return with the Cardinal to the Caſtle and Palace of St. Andrew's; where his Eminence, with his opiates of diverſions, entertainments and flattery, diverted the Regent with the other Nobility into good humour. But the Cardinal, after this time of relaxation, pretended to go about buſineſs and to begin the new year with a reformation of abuſes among the Clergy, and the reformation of Manners as well as Religion. In order to this, he went over in January 1546 to Edinburgh, and there call'd a Convocation of the national Clergy of all ranks, to fit for rectifying and eſtabliſhing the affairs of the Church, and for the more effectual extirpation of Error and Hereſy from among them.

The Cardinal calls a Convocation.

Notwithſtanding the integrity of Ruthven Mayor of Perth, the Regent, by the Cardinal's advice, on this occaſion chang'd the government of Perth; and, having turn'd off Ruthven Eſq; Mayor of Perth, he ſettled in oppoſition to the burghers and inhabitants, Charters of *Kil Fans, Eſq; in the Mayoralty of Perth, which gave great diſcontent to the whole Town.

The Cardinal's joy on the murder of near 100 Reformers.

This alteration of the Magiſtracy the Cardinal executed, becauſe Ruthven favoured the Reformers. The ſcuffle which happen'd at Perth, gratify'd the Cardinal, to ſee two friends of the Reformation quarrel, and deſtroy ſo many of their friends.

Upon the 12th of January 1546, this religious and holy Convocation of the Prieſthood, and other religious orders with their annointed head the Cardinal, met in form at the Blackfriars in Edinburgh, to deliberate upon all their bloody meaſures.

Notwithſtanding their pretences, the chief reaſon the Cardinal had for aſſembling his Clergy was to order out proſecutions againſt ſome particular perſons, whom he pointed at to be the mark for his reſentment, becauſe of their power and influence in the affections of the People, and the moſt uſeful, regarded, and active perſons in promoting a reformation from Popery. The Cardinal had a particular eye upon Mr. George Wiſhart, a man of approv'd integrity, and of univerſal eſteem, as a man of piety, and for probity unblemiſh'd in the opinion of all.

Perſecutes Mr. George Wiſhart.

The Cardinal was in great anxiety to gratify his ravenous and devouring ſpirit, at the expence of this innocent man's life; and therefore, by ſome of his informing gentry, having receiv'd notice, that Mr. George Wiſhart was incog. and ſecreted at the houſe of John Cockburn of Ormiſton Eſq; the Cardinal repreſented the affair to his holy Convocation of Clergy; and how he had been inform'd of the great ſucceſs and influence of George Wiſhart, in promoting the cauſe of Hereſy through the whole Nation. Upon this, the Cardinal prevail'd upon the Convocation to demand of the Regent an order, with a party of horſe, to ſearch for George Wiſhart; which being granted, the Cardinal order'd out the party of horſe to Ormiſton, to demand George Wiſhart of John Cockburn Eſq; who, upon their demanding acceſs to ſearch his houſe, did not think fit to comply; but coolly inſiſted upon his right, and reaſon'd with them; endeavouring to divert them by fair means, untill he could have Wiſhart ſecretly convey'd away from his houſe.

This Cockburn of Ormiſton was not a perſon to be Prieſt-ridden: he was a man of ſpirit, deſpis'd the threatnings of a Cardinal, and was a hearty, reſolute friend to the reformation from Popery; but conducted with ſuch wiſdom, as to be above the malice or reſentment of the Cardinal and all his poſſe. This family, ever ſince the beginnings of Reformation, have been uniform, and always conſiſtent, ſtaunch to the principles of the Reform'd Religion, men of ſpirit, integrity, and of conſequence in the common-wealth; and have ſhewn a ſucceeding race of uſeful, honeſt and good men, for the welfare of the common intereſt and the cauſe of public liberty.

Surrounds Ormiſton-houſe to apprehend him.

The Cardinal was in great rage and highly provok'd at Cockburn of Ormiſton, for contempt of his orders, and not delivering up George Wiſhart; therefore, at twelve o'clock at night, in order to ſurprize Ormiſton, the Cardinal in perſon, with a ſtrong party, ſurrounded Ormiſton-houſe and all the encloſures; and then came to demand, in the Regent's name, the perſon againſt whom they had a warrant.

Cock-

* Kil Fans is two Miles from Perth Eaſt, and lies on the North ſide the Tay.

Cockburn of Ormiſton was a man of that bravery and ſpirit, he would not yield to them. He ſtood to the defence of his houſe, and aſſured them, if they pretended to force their acceſs within his gates, he thought himſelf bound to treat them as common thieves, for inſulting him and his family at ſuch an unſeaſonable time, without any real grounds but the gratification of their own revengeful ſpirits againſt an innocent and inoffenſive man. Neither threatnings nor flattery could prevail upon Cockburn of Ormiſton to deliver up to the Cardinal George Wiſhart. The laſt expedient therefore to be applied by the Cardinal, was the interpoſition of the Earl of Bothwell, who, being in apparent friendſhip and good neighbourhood with Ormiſton, prevailed upon Mr. Cockburn to deliver up to him George Wiſhart upon his giving ſolemn promiſe and faith, in preſence of many, that George Wiſhart ſhould receive no harm.

Force ineffectual.

Prevails by means of Lord Bothwell's mediation.

Notwithſtanding the Earl of Bothwell had given ſuch ſtrong and ſolemn ſecurity for the ſafety of Wiſhart, ſupported by repeated oaths; yet the poor man (Wiſhart) was directly committed to the care of the cruel Cardinal and his bloody fraternity; and was immediately after ordered to cloſe confinement at St. Andrew's. This is one inſtance, among many thouſands, of the fidelity and ſincerity of Romiſh faith.

Bothwell's perfidy.

Theſe wolves, of the Romiſh order, having got now the prey they hunted for, were determined to cut off the poor innocent man. Accordingly, having him now in cuſtody, they propos'd to bring him to trial without delay for pretended Hereſy. The Cardinal ordered Mr. Wiſhart to be cloſe confined in the Sea-tower, as the ſtrongeſt and moſt diſmal priſon for him. Then a Court of juſtice, conſiſting only of Eccleſiaſtics, (wherein the Cardinal preſided) was ſummon'd to meet at St. Andrew's. Here they brought Wiſhart before them, and pretended to judge of him by inquiſition, aſking him queſtions, and from his anſwers enſnaring him. They put on the face and appearance of Juſtice in their proceedings, but before the ſham trial they were determin'd to bring him in guilty of Hereſy, and worthy of death.

Wiſhart tried.

Having us'd the form of a trial and enquir'd into his principles, and taken the evidence of ſome infamous perſons, for proof of the Hereſy with which he was impeach'd, the Cardinal ſent to Edinburgh expreſs to the Earl of Arran (Regent) to demand a commiſſion of him for a civil Magiſtrate to ſit and paſs ſentence of death upon the criminal convicted of Hereſy. The Cardinal nor his Eccleſiaſtic Court were entitled to no powers but ſuch as the Canon-law allowed them, by which they had no power over the bodies or effects of men; all puniſhments relating to theſe, being only competent to the civil Magiſtrate.

The Cardinal ſends to the Regent for a civil Magiſtrate to paſs ſentence.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) upon receipt of the Cardinal's letters, communicated his diſpatches to Sir David Hamilton of Preſton, then preſent: Sir David, in great concern, ſpoke as follows to the Regent.

" My Lord,

" It will be moſt ſurpriſing both to the honeſt men of the preſent age, as well as to future ages, if you ſhould give power or commiſſion to any to take away innocent lives. This man, whom the Cardinal wants to cut off, is a perſon of known and unblemiſh'd integrity; his learning and piety you, my Lord, have often teſtified! Shall he be put to death for preaching the Goſpel of the bleſſed Jeſus in the manner, which you (my Lord) have formerly approved of? Has not this Mr. Wiſhart been active and zealous in procuring your promotion to the ſupreme Magiſtracy. You now repreſent a King, and act as ſuch: pray remember how his late Majeſty's untimely death and overthrow came by the Council of the very man who now inſiſts for power to cut off innocent George Wiſhart; and as this Cardinal, by his enſnaring councils, effected the overthrow of his Majeſty King James, ſo if he can he will enſnare you, and then drop you to be a ſacrifice. Remember, my Lord, that Saul was anointed King by the favour and countenance of Almighty God, and that while he obey'd and honour'd God he proſper'd; but when he broke into wickedneſs, and departed from the path of truth and right, the moſt High God degraded him from his Throne. Muſt you deny the free and uncorrupted progreſs of Scripture over the Kingdom? If you do thus ſtop the progreſs of the knowlege and worſhip of the true God, you ſhall ſee your proſperity end in affliction and diſappointment. Remember how God rent the Kingdom from Saul for diſobedience, and gave it to David.

Sir David Hamilton adviſes the Regent's refuſal.

" Theſe, who want this man's life, are vile and hateful perſons, known for baſe and wicked men: ſhall you then comply with their wicked deſigns, and give them power to ſhed innocent blood?"

Theſe moving and nervous aſſertions of Sir David Hamilton made ſtrong impreſſions on the mind of the Earl of Arran, and ſo affected him that, in anſwer to the Cardinal's requiſition of the appointment of a civil Magiſtrate to ſit and condemn George Wiſhart, the Earl of Arran deſir'd and gave command, that the Cardinal ſhould not proceed further againſt George Wiſhart, untill he (the Regent) gave further orders; and if the Cardinal did venture upon ſuch an impious and horrid action as to take his life, he declar'd himſelf free of any acceſſion to or hand in his death.

This anſwer ſo inflam'd the Cardinal's mind, that he declar'd to his Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtics, he did not ſend or apply to the Regent from any conſciouſneſs of defect of power and right to execute ſentence againſt a criminal condemn'd to die juſtly for Hereſy, but out

of

of formality and decency, to ſhew his regard to the Regent, by aſking the ſanction of his approbation to make it the more ſolemn; but ſince the Earl of Arran had refus'd this, he would proceed and aſſert his rights, and let all ſee his power by bringing the notorious Heretic to condign and due puniſhment. That he might however make ſome ſhew of equity and formality in his procedure, Mr. George Wiſhart was order'd to be brought from his confinement in the Caſtle, and to be placed upon a ſcaffold facing the pulpit in the great Cathedral of St. Andrew's, guarded by a ſtrong party. Then Doctor John Windram, Dean and Prior of St. Andrew's, was ordered to preach before the Cardinal and all his Eccleſiaſtics, a ſermon to the criminal on the ſcaffold, concerning the heinous nature of Hereſy, and the proper office of a Biſhop and Paſtor. Doctor Windram took his texts from Matthew 13th, wherein the good ſeed is denominated the word of God; but the evil, Hereſy: and next, from the epiſtle to Timothy, concerning the office of a Biſhop.

From theſe two places of the New Teſtament, Doctor Windram preach'd excellent and ſound doctrine to the Clergy, tho' more agreeable to the principles of George Wiſhart, than pleaſing to the Cardinal and his faction; who, after this, conceiv'd an irreconcileable hatred at Windram and his doctrine.

After ſermon was over, ſeveral enſnaring queſtions were put to Mr. Wiſhart, to which he anſwer'd with calmneſs, truth and reſolution unſhaken. To compleat the farce, there was a roſtrum or deſk erected oppoſite to the priſoner Mr. Wiſhart. In this roſtrum was placed a popiſh prieſt for diſputation with the accus'd priſoner. Lauder the Prieſt, inſtead of diſputing and reaſoning fairly, and with ſtrength of argument, upon the points in diſpute betwixt them and the Reformers, launch'd out into a long detail of ſcurrility, reproach, perſonal reflections, ſcandal, and viperous invectives, and all inflammatory incentives, to enrage the Clergy preſent againſt Mr. Wiſhart, their priſoner and their intended ſacrifice.

The Cardinal arbitrarily paſſes ſentence of death on Mr. Wiſhart.

After this dull, ignorant, and ill-natur'd Prieſt had made a moſt plentiful evacuation of all the fœtid and putrify'd ſtuff of his own formation, the Cardinal, with the Clergy, proceeded to paſs the final ſentence; which was, that, having now full evidence of his guilt, they did adjudge him to the flames for his heretical practices. Upon which ſentence pronounc'd, he was guarded back to the place of his confinement in the Caſtle, where he employ'd his time in devout and fervent prayer. The Biſhops ſent two of their Franciſcans to confeſs Wiſhart, but he bravely anſwer'd he had no buſineſs with the Friars; but if they would ſo far indulge him, as to allow him to ſee the learned perſon who had preached the day before, he would with pleaſure confer and talk with him.

The Biſhops agreed to allow Dr. Windram to go to the Caſtle to Mr. Wiſhart, who, upon ſeeing him, receiv'd him with tears and the moſt tender affection, and in ſo moving a manner, as to make Dr. Windram melt in tears: then they compos'd themſelves, and, with great ſerenity, convers'd upon the ſublime joys of Heaven, and the happineſs of a bleſſed immortality; and after they had mutually comforted one another with pious and heavenly obſervations and converſation, Dr. Windram deſired of Mr. Wiſhart to know if he inclin'd to receive the Sacrament, to which he anſwer'd, "I do, if I could, and were permitted according to the primitive inſtitution of our bleſſed Lord, in the ſame night in which he ſuffer'd."

Dr. Windram, after ſome time, return'd to the Cardinal and Biſhops, and acquainted them with the heads of their whole converſation, and intimated, that Wiſhart had aſſerted his innocence, and proteſted himſelf blameleſs, as to all he was impeach'd of.

The Cardinal in return, in great diſpleaſure, told Windram: "We know how, and what you are, ſeven years agone." Windram told the Biſhops, that Mr. Wiſhart wanted to have the Sacrament adminiſter'd to him, which the Biſhops refus'd; and Windram with the Governor of the Caſtle, were ſent to Wiſhart to acquaint him, to prepare for death; for the time was at hand. Dr. Windram and the Governor ſpent ſome time with Wiſhart; and, having order'd ſome dinner, they would prevail upon Mr. Wiſhart to dine with them; which he comply'd with only, he ſignified to them, it being the laſt meal and refreſhment he was to give his body in this life, and ſeeing he was deny'd the Sacrament, he hop'd they would allow him to take the preſent food in commemoration and teſtimony of his regard to that great inſtitution of his Saviour: ſo, allowing only drink and bread to be ſet down on the cover'd table, he gave Dr. Windram, and the Governor of the Caſtle, an elegant and affecting oration in a ſublime ſtile on the paſſion and ſufferings of Jeſus, and of the Holy Supper inſtituted by him. Then having, in the moſt devout and warm yet compos'd manner, bleſſed the bread and drink, he did eat with them, telling them, that they now did eat as brethren in Chriſt Jeſus; and from all who profeſs'd to be ſuch in reality, malice, envy, and all deceit, ought to be quite remov'd; and with them nothing but love, truth and ſincerity. "Now, (ſaid he) I am to eat or drink no more with you; I am to ſuffer for preaching the true Goſpel of my Lord. Pray for me to ſupport me in my ſufferings, and I ſhall fervently pray for you, that we may inherit the joy and triumphs of Heaven." So after ſome few devout acknowlegements to Almighty God, he took leave and retired to his devotion, untill he was led out to ſuffer.

Next morning the Cardinal, with his Biſhops, ſent orders to the Governor of the Caſtle to have the walls all planted with braſs guns loaded and ready, in caſe of any reſcue: then in the Court-yard in front of the Caſtle, within the outer walls, a ſcaffold was erected, enclos'd with

with a pile of wood or faggots, in the middle of which was the ſtake, to which the ſacrifice intended for the flames was to be ty'd. The windows of the Caſtle and Palace fronting the Court-yard and the ſcaffold, were all adorn'd with tapeſtry and cuſhions of rich embroidery, for the Cardinal, his Biſhops, and all others his favourites of diſtinction, who were to gratify themſelves, by witneſſing ſo frightful a ſcene and ſo barbarous a torture.

After all things were prepar'd, the Caſtle and the Town ſufficiently ſecur'd from any ſurprize or attack by double guards, the Commandant of the Caſtle-guards was ſent, with the executioner, to order the priſoner to prepare for coming to the ſcaffold. The priſoner receiv'd the intimation with great ſerenity and compoſure of mind. The executioner dreſs'd Mr. Wiſhart in a canvaſs coat or gown pitch'd over, with bags of gunpowder fix'd to the gown at all corners.

Mr. Wiſhart foretells the Cardinal's overthrow.

The Captain talk'd to the priſoner Mr. Wiſhart ſometime in the priſon-room, ſuitable to the occaſion and approaching mournful event. Mr. Wiſhart told the Captain of the guard, that he had certain appearances and preſages given him for ſome nights paſt, which indicated ſome fatal events to the City of St. Andrew's, and to the parts of Scotland nigheſt England; that a ſhort time would ſhew the overthrow of the Cardinal, and that in a violent and extraordinary manner. He told the Captain that he dy'd with great tranquillity of ſpirit; but aſſur'd him of many future events which were fully afterward accompliſh'd, according to the relations of Buchanan and other hiſtorians.

Having ended his diſcourſe to the Commandant, he was carried off by the officers and executioners to the ſtake, and there fix'd with iron chains to it, being allow'd a very ſhort time upon the ſcaffold. Juſt as he pray'd for the eſtabliſhment of the true Church, the executioners fir'd the gunpowder in the ſkirts of his pitch'd garment, and kindled the pile; ſo that of a ſudden the flames burnt with incredible fury, by the violence of the hurricane which aroſe.

The Cardinal, leaning over his window, beheld this ſhocking and mournful tragedy with an apparent and evident pleaſure and ſmile on his countenance. The Governor of the Caſtle ſtood ſo nigh to Mr. Wiſhart, that the flames reach'd his cloaths. Surrounded with crouds, Wiſhart beheld the Cardinal in ſtate and lofty; pleas'd at his approaching torments, and, with a loud voice, cry'd out and addreſs'd himſelf to the multitudes, juſt as the executioners had ſet fire to the powder and pile:

His ſpeech to the populace

"Take notice, that the perſon who now looks down from his Palace, leaning on his crimſon, and beholding me with joy and pleaſure, feeding his reſentment with the thoughts of my approaching agonies; him ſhall you ſee, and in a little time, thrown over the ſame place with ignominy, from which he views my torments for the cauſe of truth."

ſhorten'd, and himſelf firſt ſtrangled and then burnt.

The executioners and officers in waiting, by order of the commanding Officer who guarded the ſacrifice and the fire, gave orders, upon hearing of theſe expreſſions, to ſtrangle Wiſhart with the rope which was round his neck, and ſo prevent any further expreſſions from him. In a ſhort time his body was conſum'd to aſhes; but when burnt to the middle, he gave the ſignal which he promis'd to his friends, to teſtify to them his firm and ſteady faith in theſe doctrines for which he ſuffer'd; and his ſignal as he had promis'd them, was accordingly given by his jumping up and erecting himſelf, with his hands elevated, from the midſt of the flames.

The bloody Cardinal, with crouds of his friends and Clergy, witneſſed this ſhocking ſcene and terrible tragedy in a pleaſing and ſmiling countenance, gratifying themſelves with the deſtruction and death of this innocent man, who ſuffer'd martyrdom, March 1ſt, 1546.

The day of execution was attended with ſome very remarkable circumſtances, which are related by the Scots hiſtorians. As the pile was kindled round Mr. Wiſhart, there aroſe a moſt terrible hurricane from the Eaſt over the German ocean, which beat like claps of thunder, and demoliſh'd houſes in St. Andrew's, beat down the walls on which hundreds of ſpectators were plac'd, many of whom by the fall were kill'd, ſome were thrown into the well in the Cardinal's Court-yard, and there periſh'd by the great depth of water in the well. It was computed about two hundred were either kill'd or wounded by the violence of this ſtorm.

The bigots of the Romiſh Faith, and the flattering admirers or rather dependents of the Cardinal, highly extoll'd the ſpirit of his Eminence for his reſolution and magnanimity in making ſuch an example among the enemies of the Church, and ſtriking terror to all who ſhould for the future attempt to oppoſe his power and authority. The inferior and vile Clergy of the Romiſh Faith glory'd in this ſacrifice, becauſe that George Wiſhart had, with impartiality and integrity, expos'd all the frauds, enormities, and impoſtures of the popiſh Clergy, and thereby excited the hatred of the People againſt the popiſh intereſt. The Prieſts upon this occaſion became very inſolent, and did act in all corners in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner; ſo that the People became enrag'd at their encroachments, and ſharply reprov'd themſelves, for not entering ſooner into ſome vigorous and effectual reſolutions to ſtop the torrent of the Cardinal's triumphs, and the unſupportable arrogance of his inferior Clergy.

The Cardinal univerſally deteſted.

The Nobility and Gentry who were in the oppoſition to the Cardinal, held frequent meetings to conſult how to check the Cardinal, and the growing cruelty of the Romiſh Clergy, of

The Cardinal excites a combination againſt him.

which complaints were received from all quarters. The Cardinal's enemies increas'd daily, and ſoon form'd themſelves into a formidable body. They receiv'd a conſtant acceſſion of ſtrength and numbers, from the Cardinal's proud and inſufferable behaviour. At length, finding their lives, their friends, their eſtates, and all in danger of ruin and overthrow, from the revengeful and unrelenting ſpirit of the Cardinal and his Biſhops; and that the Cardinal was in full career to run all down, and cruſh them who oppos'd him;—they were therefore unanimouſly of the mind to cut him off, or to take ſuch immediate ſteps as might depreſs the haughtineſs of his ſpirit, and make him incapable of acting without controul.

The bulk of the Nation were in direct oppoſition to this vile man. He was ſupported only by Court-penſioners, paraſites, and power unlimited nor directed by decent authority. Violence and force were his defence, and his ſupport was only by a deſpicable Court, and an ignominious Adminiſtration; and therefore both Cardinal and Court were the great nuſance to the People at this time. The Cardinal's private character was now fully laid open, as the vileſt of men for debauchery of women, unbounded in the gratification of his luſt and pleaſures; who did take upon him to diſſolve lawful marriages, to give ſanction to whoredom of the worſt kind; who pretended to diſpenſe with all law, order, and decency, wherever his intereſt was thereby promoted: in ſhort, ſuch was the univerſal hatred now lodg'd in the minds of the People of Scotland in all quarters againſt him, that the Cardinal found himſelf in danger of a fall, or the total decay of his intereſt and regard; therefore he projected the marriage of his daughter with the young Lord Crawford, in order to fortify his intereſt by alliance with the Nobility: but few of the Nobility had any ſubſtantial regard for him, and the Cardinal was made very ſenſible of the decline of his power and regard. However, he ſo-

Fortifies his intereſt by a marriage alliance with Lord Crawford.

lemniz'd the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with the young Lord Crawford, in ſuch pomp and magnificence, that their nuptial ceremony was attended with grandeur equal to, and ſuiting the rank of a Princeſs.

This encreas'd the reſentment and indignation of all ranks againſt him; and to allay the joys and feaſtings of this new alliance, the Cardinal, in the midſt of all his mirth and pleaſures, receiv'd certain advice from the Regent and others, that the King of England was far advanc'd in his military preparations for attacking Scotland, both by ſea and land; and that his naval force was deſtin'd to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of Fife and Lothian, and to deſtroy the Towns on the Sea-coaſts, in order to lay the whole Country open to the mercy of the Engliſh, whenever they pleas'd to land their men to diſtreſs Scotland.

The Engliſh threaten an invaſion.

The Cardinal, upon theſe diſagreeable accounts, ſent expreſſes to all the Nobility and Gentry over Fife and the Shire of Angus, to meet without delay at the City of St. Andrew's, there to concert the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures to put the coaſt and all the Towns in the proper poſture of defence, to ſupply them with cannon, ſmall arms, and plenty of ammunition, and to erect ſuch fortifications and batteries at the different Sea-ports as the time and circumſtances could allow of.

The Nobility and Gentry, being met at St. Andrew's, they did agree upon the moſt proper and expedient meaſures to oppoſe and repell the Engliſh; but did not fall in with all the propoſitions and deſigns of the Cardinal, who wanted chiefly to have an arm'd force always in readineſs and at his command, with the principal view of employing them according to his violent ſpirit againſt the friends of the Reformation from Popery. The Cardinal on this occaſion, attended by the Lords Rothes and Lindſay, and the 'Squires Weems, Lochlevin, Largo, Allardes, and St. Ninian's, with other Gentry of Fife, made a tour along the coaſt, to give the neceſſary orders for defence of the Sea-ports.

After their return to St. Andrew's, there happen'd ſome diſputes betwixt the Lord Rothes Norman Leſley and the Cardinal; but the Cardinal, becauſe of the preſent apparent danger from England, and the violence of the oppoſition in the Kingdom to his intereſt, thought it prudent to ſoften and ſatisfy the Lord Rothes with fair promiſes. With theſe he for this time diſmiſs'd my Lord Rothes; however, in a little time after, my Lord Rothes, very ſenſible of the univerſal hatred of the People againſt the Cardinal, and of the dangerous ſituation he was in, was determin'd to lay hold of the preſent opportunity to inſiſt with the Cardinal for the accompliſhment of his promiſes without delay: therefore the Lord Rothes went to St. Andrew's to the Cardinal, and demanded the accompliſhment of what they had agreed upon, and his Eminence had ſo ſolemnly promis'd.

The Cardinal, upon this occaſion, behav'd with ſuch inſolence and haughtineſs to my Lord Rothes, that he, after the exchange of mutual reproach and revilings, return'd home in great wrath, meditating nothing but immediate reſentment againſt Cardinal Beaton. Accordingly, in a few days, the Lord Rothes, with his friends, and ſeveral more Nobility and Gentry, had a private meeting, wherein they enter'd into a ſecret aſſociation to execute the Cardinal's overthrow, becauſe of his intolerable abuſe and ill treatment of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and carrying matters in ſuch an arbitrary manner. They therefore agreed, that no remedy could be effectual in the preſent deſperate ſituation of affairs, but to cut off the Cardinal, which Norman Leſley was reſolv'd upon, and therefore concerted it in the following manner.

Lord Rothes determines the aſſaſſination of the Cardinal.

He had beſpoke ten reſolute and brave fellows, who were ſufficiently inflam'd againſt the Cardinal and his tyranny. They ſeparately went to St. Andrew's the day before, as to tranſact their

their own private affairs, but ſecretly well arm'd. They put up at different Inns to avoid the leaſt ſuſpicion; and waited untill they ſhould have the ſignal from Lord Rothes. Next day, being the 6th of May, Norman Leſley Lord Rothes came to St. Andrew's, attended only by five Gentlemen privately arm'd, and his uſual retinue of domeſtics. He put up at his ordinary Inn. Nothing was ſuſpected nor could be apprehended of danger to the Cardinal, becauſe the City of St. Andrew's at this time had it's guards for the Cardinal's protection, and was full of his dependents, friends and relations. The Cardinal was conſcious to himſelf of the cauſe he had given for offence, and keen indignation from the People of the Nation; and therefore he, being juſtly afraid from his own mal-practices, had guards allow'd him in St. Andrew's. But nothing was dreaded or apprehended from the Lord Rothes, as there was not the leaſt appearance of any tumult nor numbers attending him: the 7th day of May however the Lord Rothes (having given his inſtructions to his aſſociates) got up by three o'clock in the morning; by four he went out with his five men, having given orders for two of them to lie in wait and conceal'd in a ſmall houſe near to the Caſtle and the Cardinal's Palace, that when the porter of the Caſtle did open the gates to let in carpenters and maſons, who work'd then almoſt night and day to fortify the Cardinal in his Palace, that then they might ſurprize the porter, and kill him, ſo be maſters of the gates; which they accordingly executed, and were inſtantly follow'd by Norman Leſley in perſon with thirteen or fourteen more, who upon the ſignal ruſh'd in, and, without hurting the workmen, diſmiſs'd them about their buſineſs.

Lord Rothes murders the Cardinal.

Norman Leſley, with his men, being now within the Caſtle-walls; and, having ſhut and barracaded the gates, ſent Peter Carmichael to the apartment call'd the Eaſt-blockhouſe chamber, which was the Cardinal's bed-chamber, and, having forc'd acceſs, came up to the Cardinal, and ſtabb'd him in bed. While he thus diſpatch'd the Cardinal, his partners took care to go to the ſervants apartments, and to all others who were aſleep in the Caſtle, and, having awak'd them aſſur'd them of preſent death, if they did not immediately, without delay of a minute, get off and leave the place.

Fortifies himſelf in the Caſtle of St. Andrew's.

Norman Leſley, having thus convoy'd out all the Cardinal's houſhold by a back-door privately, was now maſter with his party of all the Cardinal's treaſure, effects and the proviſions, arms and ammunition in the Caſtle. By this time the City and all the guards were alarm'd. The Caſtle was ſurrounded with the inhabitants and creatures of the Cardinal, who were in the higheſt rage upon this event. They had got ladders and other implements to ſcale the walls, and to attack the aſſaſſins.

Norman Leſley with his men, being determin'd upon a deſperate reſiſtance and not to be taken, in order firſt to diſcourage the Cardinal's friends, and to diſhearten others from joining againſt him, order'd his men to bring forward the Cardinal's body bleeding, and to ſhew it to the multitudes at the ſame window, where he view'd the tortures of George Wiſhart. At the ſame time one Guthry, in view of all the Cardinal's friends and other ſpectators, piſs'd in his mouth as an inſult upon his body.

The multitude finding the Cardinal was gone, their ſpirit and reſolution with all their fire was ſoon cool'd. They diſpers'd, but the friends and adherents of the Cardinal continued to attempt forcing acceſs over the walls, tho' in vain. The armed force and friends of the Cardinal, who continued the attack againſt the Caſtle, were deſerted by numbers; and tho', for ſhew and reſentment, they carried on the attack; yet all their attempts were to no purpoſe, for the beſieged in the Caſtle were well ſupply'd with military ſtores, and receiv'd by ſea ſecretly freſh ſupplies of proviſions and all neceſſaries; therefore they determin'd to defend the place to the laſt extremity.

Beſieg'd by the Regent ineffectually.

The People who had ſo long continued the attack begun to tire, and ſo gave over the attempt: then the Earl of Arran (Regent) by the Queen's inſtigation and her faction, iſſu'd out his proclamation to ſummon all them within the Caſtle-walls, or any concern'd with them, to ſurrender and give up the place to the Government in ſix days, which proclamation Norman Leſley with his garriſon receiv'd with contempt, and made anſwer they would ſtand it to the laſt. The bulk of the Nation, tho' not favouring the manner of this enterprize and tragedy, yet were pleas'd with the removal of the Cardinal, who to ſome had render'd himſelf hateful by his tyranny and cruelty; to others by his pride and arrogance; and to moſt by his perfidy, his profligate life and encouragement of all ſecret and diſguis'd debauchery in his Clergy: however, his friends ſo inflam'd the Queen and her party in the Council, from an apprehenſion of a total decline of their power and influence, that they mov'd and inſiſted in Council, that the Earl of Arran as Regent ſhould march a body of men, with a train of ordnance, to attack the Caſtle of St. Andrew's in form; which being voted, the Regent march'd to St. Andrew's, and ſat down with his army before the Caſtle the fifth of November 1546: but, after continuing the ſiege for three months, having ſuffer'd conſiderable loſs of men, and not able to carry the place, the Regent rais'd the ſiege and drew off his men without executing any thing, but the loſs of powder and ſhot, ſome lives, and a good deal of time.

The beſieg'd, upon this ſucceſs, and the diſappointment of all the Cardinal's friends, were in ſuch high ſpirits that they made great rejoicings, and were much encourag'd by the certainty they had of the united ſatisfaction and joy of the People in all quarters. John Knox, the eminent promoter of the Reformation in Scotland, upon the departure of the Earl of Arran from St. Andrew's with his military force, went into the Caſtle to Norman Leſley and the garriſon, and

and in preſence of all, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt affecting terms; repreſented to them to improve their preſent ſucceſs and the enlargement of their liberty by ſobriety, devotion and the moſt hearty and warm acknowlegements to Almighty God, exhorting them to refrain from all exceſſes. Theſe his ſeaſonable admonitions and wiſe exhortations, he often repeated with enlargement to them, but without effect: they indulg'd the moſt luſtful and brutal paſſions; regarding nothing but fire and ſword againſt their enemies, and gratifying their appetites by whoredom, adultery, and other groſs abuſes, which the Reform'd Preachers openly diſavow'd, and to the whole of their extravagant conduct, publicly teſtified their higheſt diſpleaſure and averſion.

The Engliſh ravage the frontiers.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) after raiſing the ſiege, diſmiſs'd his army and went over to Edinburgh, to order matters that were to be laid before the Parliament, which had been ſummon'd by proclamation to meet at Edinburgh in February 1547. Upon the return of the Regent to Edindburgh, expreſſes arriv'd from the middle frontier of England, that the Engliſh had paſs'd the Solway, and had, by their detach'd and foraging parties, laid waſte ſeveral Noblemens and Gentlemens eſtates. The firſt and greateſt ſufferer on this occaſion, was the Lord Maxwell, whoſe eſtate lay in the Shire of Dumfries. Maxwell came in Perſon to Edinburgh, attended with ſeveral Gentlemen and vaſſals, to repreſent their diſtreſs. The Lord Maxwell in Council repreſented the great devaſtations by the Engliſh, and their cruelties on this occaſion; exerciſing fire and ſword againſt all who did not ſubmit to them: that his vaſſals, farmers, and dependents, were all forc'd to quit their habitations, had loſt their all, and were reduc'd to extreme miſery, by the violence and outrages of their enemy.

The clamour of all ranks was ſtrong on this occaſion, and the Lord Maxwell's complaints ſo moving and well grounded, that the Parliament at their ſitting order'd an army to be forthwith rais'd, and to march under the command of the Regent, to clear the Country of the Engliſh. The greateſt diſpatch was us'd in aſſembling this army, and many of the Nobility of Scotland join'd the army in perſon, which gave greater ſpirit and weight to the expedition. The Regent march'd his army to Peebles, and paſs'd the ſmall river Meggatt.

At Guddiſcleugh the old Earl of Rothes being in the army with the other Nobility, the Cardinal's friends inſiſted on having him directly brought to trial for the murder of the Cardinal; to which the Earl of Arran yielding, and the Peers preſent in the army being ſufficient in number, the old Lord Rothes ſtood trial before them, and was acquitted.

This being over, the Regent proceeded and came before Langham or Lanhope-Caſtle. In three days he carried the place by aſſault, and made the garriſon all priſoners. The Commandant and other Officers were order'd for Edinburgh. The Regent clear'd the Country of all the foraging and plundering parties of the Engliſh; and, having forc'd the Engliſh army to retreat and diſperſe without ſtanding a general action, the Regent replac'd the Lord Maxwell in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and purchas'd a peaceable return to their habitations to all the farmers and laborious People of the Country.

Retreat.

But as the Regent was meditating to purſue his ſucceſſes, he receiv'd by expreſſes the news of the appearance of the French fleet, upon the coaſt of Scotland, off St. Abb's Head; with preſſing ſolicitations from the Queen-dowager to return with all expedition, becauſe the French fleet were deſtin'd for St. Andrew's, and had expreſs orders to reduce the Caſtle, and to make all in it priſoners to be ſafely conducted aboard the fleet to France.

The Regent reſumes the ſiege of St. Andrew's.

The Regent return'd with his army with all ſpeed, and with a conſiderable body paſs'd the Forth, march'd for St. Andrew's, and there waited for the landing of the French forces.

The plague, which had forc'd the Earl of Arran to quit St. Andrew's, and to deſiſt from his former attack upon the Caſtle the preceding year, was now ceas'd, and no apprehenſions of danger from it. The French Admiral and General, Leon de Strozy, having landed his men and got his cannon in good order, together with the two large cannon of remarkable ſize brought over by the Regent, (viz. Crooked Mouth and Deaf Meg ſo call'd) the French General order'd his Engineer to prepare to batter the place, which he concerted with great expedition and judgment.

The walls of the Caſtle, and the turrets of defence, were of great ſtrength and thickneſs: they were of extraordinary height likewiſe, which defeated all the attacks of the Regent's former weak attempts: but the French Engineer, who was Prior of Capua, order'd (after viewing round the Caſtle) that ſo many cranes ſhould be immediately erected by the ſteeples or ſpires of the Cathedral-church and the other high ſpires of the City. Theſe cranes were for raiſing and drawing up the heavy cannon by pullies. Then he order'd the tops of all theſe ſpires to be demoliſh'd and made flat: on theſe ſpires, when flatten'd, he planted his cannon in ſuch manner, as to have full view of all within the Caſtle-walls or Palace of the Cardinal.

Having order'd all for his attack, he pointed his guns, and levell'd them ſo as to be certain every ſhot would do execution, and fall within the walls upon the houſes and buildings, ſo as to make it impoſſible for the beſieg'd to maintain their poſts on the walls, or play their cannon: for the French from the ſteeples, having full view of all within the Caſtle, fir'd upon the beſieg'd whenever they appear'd; and, in this poſition, were ſure of their aim at every diſcharge.

The

The Italian Engineer ſent down from England, obſerving the diſpoſitions made by the French, told the beſieg'd: "Now you muſt take care; for, I find the French Engineer attacks you like a man of ſkill and judgment in military architecture, and begins as if he were determin'd to have us."

The beſieg'd ſtood in their defence untill ſeveral large breaches were made upon their walls, and that they ſuffered conſiderable loſs of men; therefore at length (the laſt of Auguſt) they, upon promiſe of quarters given them, and that they ſhould have their lives, gave up the place, deliver'd themſelves priſoners to the French King, and were accordingly carried over to France on board the French Fleet. Thus this alert Admiral, from his firſt appearance on the Scots coaſt, on the 20th of July, to the end of Auguſt when he reduc'd the Caſtle of St. Andrew's, had employ'd his time with great diligence. Buchanan affirms he had a fleet of above 20 ſail, yet others allow of only ſix gallies, and two men of war for a convoy; and in all not above two thouſand men on board.

The Caſtle ſurrender'd, and the garriſon carry'd to France.

The French Admiral, having convey'd on board the fleet all the plunder and booty ſeiz'd in the Caſtle of St. Andrew's, which was very conſiderable; and having put on board his priſoners taken in the Caſtle, he ſet ſail directly for France, without undertaking any thing further. There was in the Caſtle when taken, not only the effects, jewels, and papers belonging to ſeveral of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, who thro' fear, and not from any guilt or acceſſion to the Cardinal's murder, had retir'd into the Caſtle; but likewiſe treaſure to a conſiderable value, which theſe perſons had lodg'd here for ſafety with their perſons, dreading the perſecution and reſentment of the Queen-dowager's party, of the Regent, and all the Romiſh faction. This plunder paid the expence of this French piece of friendſhip; for it is always an invariable maxim in French alliance, that they ſerve themſelves very effectually, at the ſame time they pretend or appear to ſerve their allies.

No ſooner were the French ſail'd homeward, hurrying with their loading of plunder and repayment for their labour, than the Regent and Privy-council receiv'd advice by repeated expreſſes from the Eaſtern frontier toward Berwick, that the Engliſh had aſſembled a formidable army, and were making diligent preparations for marching into Scotland.

The Engliſh march a formidable army into Scotland.

This diſagreeable piece of news alarm'd the whole Kingdom, put the Parliament and Privy-council in great agitation. The Regent was diſpirited and appear'd quite dejected: he was conſcious to himſelf, that his former unequal and bad conduct had juſtly drawn upon him the hatred and reſentment of the Reformers; yea, even the Papiſts did not regard him: they hated his variable and fluctuating mind, which was reſolute in nothing; and he had ſo abus'd and perſecuted with great rigour all the friends, relations, or well-wiſhers of the Earl of Lenox, who were very numerous, that he juſtly fear'd his own Countrymen on this occaſion would take the advantage of confuſion and a foreign enemy, and thereby ſacrifice him with all his aſſociates.

In this maze and perplexity of his ſituation, he lays the whole of his intelligence and expreſſes before the Parliament and Privy-council at Edinburgh. The danger from the approach of the enemy gave no time for delay; and therefore, by a great majority of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, it was voted to levy all the ſtrength of the Kingdom, to muſter up their greateſt force without delay of a day, and to order the levies from all quarters of the Kingdom to aſſemble and rendezvous at Edinburgh.

The proclamations to all quarters of the Kingdom were ſent with great diſpatch, and the alarm given was ſo univerſal and ſo awakning, that it was almoſt incredible to ſuppoſe with what velocity the Highlanders and Iſlanders, from the moſt diſtant quarters of the Nation, repair'd to join the Royal Standard of the Scots army at Edinburgh. In three weeks time the army was aſſembled, and in readineſs to receive the Engliſh.

The Regent aſſembles forty thouſand men.

The orders of the Regent and Privy-council, by their proclamation, were, that all the Nobility, Barons, Gentry, and their dependents, ſhould march in perſon to defend their Country; that none from ſixty to ſixteen ſhould be excus'd; and that they ſhould come provided with a month's ſubſiſtence for man and horſe. Theſe orders were ſo ſtrictly and punctually obey'd, that, by the concurring teſtimony of moſt of the Scots hiſtorians, the Scots army, when muſter'd at Muſſelburgh, were nigh forty thouſand ſtrong. The private men and farmers came in chearfully, becauſe their heads and chiefs were in perſon to lead them, and join'd the army.

The Engliſh were now on their march from Berwick, and came with their army to demand, in name of the King of England, the reaſon of the breach of treaty and engagements by the Scots, who, four years agone, had agreed and ſolemnly promis'd to live in good neighbourhood, and to confirm a laſting friendſhip and alliance with the Crown of England, by granting the Infant-queen Mary in marriage to the young Prince of Wales, now King. Henry the VIIIth dy'd the 28th of January of the preceding year 1546, and this army of the Engliſh was ſent into Scotland by order of the Guardians and Regents of England, to inſiſt upon having Mary Stewart, the young Queen of Scotland, in marriage to Edward the VIth now King of England. The Guardians of England, during King Edward's minority, had committed the adminiſtration of Government to the King's uncle Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford and Duke of Somerſet, with the title and character of Lord Protector of England. The Duke of Somerſet (Lord Protector) commanded in chief this army, who, in September 1547,

enter'd Scotland. The Generals in this expedition, immediately under the Lord Protector, were the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Gray.

The Engliſh army advanc'd as far as to the neighbourhood of Seaton near Preſton-pans, then the Duke of Somerſet ſent a trumpet with a herald to acquaint the Earl of Arran and the Scots Nobility, who were encamp'd upon the plain by Muſſelburgh, that they came into Scotland in order to receive the accompliſhment of the Regent's engagements by treaty in 1543; by which he, in name of the Scots Nation, ſtood bound to give Mary Stewart Queen of Scotland in marriage to Prince Edward now King; and if the Regent, with the Parliament and Privy-council of Scotland, would chearfully and readily comply with the juſt requeſt of England, this happy marriage would be moſt for the welfare and eſtabliſhment of Scotland, would unite both Kingdoms by bands of ſolid and laſting peace, and be in every view for the mutual happineſs of both Nations.

The equitable demands of the Engliſh

The Duke of Somerſet, with the other Nobility of England who attended him in this expedition, behav'd with great honour; and as he was a perſon of great underſtanding, of ſound judgment, and ſtrict honour, ſo he, upon this occaſion, made moſt equitable offers to Scotland. He ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Regent of Scotland and to the Scots army, to acquaint them, that if they would agree to the marriage betwixt their Queen and the King of England, and give ſecurity for fulfilling this capital article, then all other matters in diſpute ſhould be finally and amicably adjuſted and ended to the intire ſatisfaction of the Scots Nation: that whatever loſs or damages the People of Scotland had ſuſtain'd, either in this invaſion or the attack of the preceding years, ſhould be fully and amply repaid to all the ſufferers; and that both Kingdoms ſhould be put for the future on an equal and juſt footing, as two members of the ſame body. The Duke of Somerſet us'd all the reaſonable and juſt arguments poſſible to accompliſh this affair: he reaſon'd juſtly of the advantage and conſequence of this union and marriage, to both Nations; that it would for the future prevent the effuſion of blood and the waſting of treaſure to Scotland, by their former ſlaviſh dependence on France, and plainly demonſtrated to them, that all the oppoſition to the execution of this treaty was only from a French faction and intereſt in the Cabinet of Scotland, and the intrigues of Romiſh deſigning Prieſts.

The Duke of Somerſet further repreſented, with manly eloquence by his letters to the Regent, that ſuch wiſe conduct in his preſent Adminiſtration, would immortalize his fame, would eſtabliſh him in his Power and Government againſt the craft of the popiſh combination; that, by entering into the terms and offers made him and the Kingdom of Scotland ſo honourable and advantageous, it was now in his power, by an honourable, laſting, and ſolid peace, to prevent great bloodſhed, which could not be avoided, if two ſuch powerful armies, now almoſt in ſight of each other, did engage and determine matters by diſpute.

rejected and ſecreted from the Scots Nobility, by means of the French faction.

All theſe rational and wiſe repreſentations made to the Regent in very obliging terms, by the Protector of England, were conceal'd from the Nobility and Privy-council of Scotland. The Earl of Arran, from a contemptible meanneſs of Soul to gratify the Queen-dowager, never communicated the true heads of his diſpatches from the Engliſh army; but diſſembled and diſguis'd all, communicating the letters he received to none but his brother Hamilton now Primate of St. Andrew's, to George Dury, Alexander Beaton, and one Hugh Rigg of Carbarry a Lawyer, who alone was ſufficient to confound the rectitude and integrity of any honeſt and juſt meaſure! Theſe confidents of the Earl of Arran were all bigotted to the French intereſt and to the Romiſh Faith; in fee for their diligence, and tools to execute the intrigues and deſigns of the Queen-dowager, who in fact bore no cordial regard to the Earl; but knowing the weakneſs and inſtability of his mind, ever ſince the Cardinal's death, ſhe ſtudied to ſet the Regent on ſuch meaſures, and to execute deſigns which might diveſt him of the Regency; thereby in expectation of making way for her own ſucceſſion to the ſole Government of the Kingdom.

This piece of addreſs ſhe had carefully been inſtructed in by her confeſſors the Prieſts. Upon this occaſion, French gold was diſtributed, and it's circulation influenc'd the low and ignorant ſoul of the Regent. The real contents of all the meſſages, letters, and diſpatches, exchang'd betwixt the Protector of England and the Regent of Scotland, were ſuppreſs'd and totally ſecreted from the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, tho' preſent with the Earl of Arran in the army, which was highly criminal. But the reaſon of concealing the offers made by the Engliſh from the Nobility of Scotland, was plainly from the influence of the popiſh and French faction over the Regent; for they eaſily perceiv'd, that, if theſe favourable and very advantageous, pacific, and kindly offers, made from the Court of London, were once publiſh'd among the Scots Nobility, the overtures were in their nature ſo candid and equitable, that the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, for the ſake of peace, would directly agree to them, and inſiſt upon the ratification of theſe articles for pacification. But this ſyſtem did not tally with the turbulent and deſtructive meaſure of Hamilton the Archbiſhop, nor of Rigg the Lawyer, and their two confederates; therefore, as they four only were in knowlege of the true contents of all that paſt on both ſides, they employ'd their agents by whiſper and buzzing to ſpread over all the army among all ranks, that the Engliſh had acquainted the Regent they were come to carry off young Queen Mary Stewart by force, and to conquer Scotland to the moſt Northern point of their Kingdom; and when the Regent was queſtion'd upon

upon theſe facts, he ratify'd them, with ſome embelliſhments which he knew would increaſe and inflame the rage of the Scots Nobility and Gentry higher againſt the Engliſh: ſo that in fact upon this important occaſion, the Regent, by ſubjecting himſelf in his Council to his brother the Primate, to Rigg the Lawyer, Alexander Beaton, and George Dury, was the ſole cauſe of the future diſtreſs and overthrow of Scotland, and demonſtrated himſelf a moſt abject, unworthy, yea, worthleſs and baſe perſon; of a low mind, and unfit to govern a Kingdom in any State.

Theſe four chief confidents were the tools of the French, and violent in ſupport of Popery, ſupported by the Queen-mother of Scotland; and they chiefly dreaded, that if Scotland had (as they ought to have done) ſettl'd matters on this occaſion for their own intereſt, then Popery, French influence, and Romiſh Prieſthood, at once would have receiv'd a total rout in Scotland, and never have been capable to ariſe again. The Protector of England was a Proteſtant, ſtrong and zealous for promoting the Reformation over Great Britain, and on this occaſion projected great and good things for both Kingdoms.

Queen Mary might juſtly, and ſo muſt every impartial perſon ever ſince, impute all her fatal miſcarriages, misfortunes, and at laſt violent death, to the Regent of Scotland and her mother the Queen, (who diſconcerted all pacification at this favourable conjuncture) and to her not being married at this time to Edward the VIth; for had the fair and equitable offers of the Engliſh been embraced on this occaſion, the Duke of Somerſet had orders from the Privy-council of England to agree, that Queen Mary, after her marriage was agreed upon and ſettled, ſhould continue in Scotland to be under the Guardianſhip and Tutelage of her own Nobility, which muſt be own'd was a very great conceſſion and advance for peace in the Engliſh Nation, and ſhew'd how hearty they were in their propoſitions of peace and friendſhip. Had Queen Mary Stewart been married to King Edward, and the Nobility of Scotland purſued the meaſures they ought to have done for the honour and peace of their Kingdom, then in all probability the future misfortunes of Queen Mary would have never had any foundation, and conſequently could not have taken place. The origin then of all her bad fate ſhe could impute to none, nor none can trace from any other juſt original, than the craft of the Romiſh Church, the miſtakes of her own mother the Queen-dowager, and the ſervile ſpirit of the Scots Nobility, ſo much blindfolded and ſeduc'd by the falſe arts of a deceiving and impoſing ally the French. None then but the Papiſts and the Scots Nobility, thro' French influence, were the firſt cauſes and original of Mary the young Queen's future mournful, yea terrible ſcenes of life; which all might have been prevented by the preſent happy alliance and marriage with the Engliſh; yea, all the good conſequences, which could be foreſeen from any ſuch event, were preſag'd from ſo ſeaſonable an union. However, the Regent of Scotland, to his laſting infamy, disjointed all this, and impos'd upon his own Nobility, by ſpreading falſhoods, and diſguiſing the offers tender'd by the Protector; and having, by his agents already mention'd, ſpread the groſſeſt falſhoods to gratify his and the Queen-mother's intentions againſt the marriage and alliance with England; the Regent, I ſay, thus by low and falſe game, inflam'd and fir'd the Scots Nobility and the army under their command, that they were in pain untill they ſhould enter upon action.

Queen Mary's future misfortunes attributed to the Regent's preſent mal-practices.

The Regent, by inſidious arts, incites the Nobility to action.

The Scots army was above 40,000 ſtrong. Their cavalry conſiſted chiefly of the Nobility of Scotland and the Gentry of the different Counties, who upon this occaſion were determin'd to ſtand for the honour and intereſt of their families, and to fight untill they dropp'd. The Regent, by his fraud and low arts, having operated ſo upon the whole army as to perſuade them that the Engliſh came to make an abſolute conqueſt of the Kingdom, they were all in rage and uneaſy untill they ſhould be engag'd and try the valour of the Engliſh army; and were ſo powerfully incens'd, that nothing would ſatisfy them but to try and decide the fate of affairs betwixt both Kingdoms by battle, now that the enemy were ſo nigh.

The Earl of Angus receiv'd orders to advance, and to form the Cavalry in front and in the van, to move forward in order to charge the enemy in their approach from Preſton and Tranent: but the Earl of Angus, by the ſpies being fully inform'd of the enemy's bad ſituation in want of proviſions, and knowing it was impoſſible for them to continue in their preſent camp any time, in theſe circumſtances, did chuſe to halt, and to wait for their retreat, which he knew muſt inevitably happen in a day or two, becauſe of the condition of their troops who were almoſt reduc'd to famine: and by this mean my Lord Angus propos'd likewiſe to ſave the effuſion of blood and great ſlaughter, which muſt have happen'd upon an action. However the Earl of Arran (Regent) by the advice and inſtigation of the Prieſts and French faction, was reſolute not to delay action; and therefore the Regent repeated his orders to the Earl of Angus to advance againſt the Engliſh: however, the Earl evaded with as plauſible and reaſonable excuſes for delay as he could frame, 'till at laſt the Regent, in great emotion, ſent his Aid de Camp, Mr. Douglaſs, with expreſs orders to attack without loſs of an hour. The Engliſh cavalry were arm'd compleatly after the manner of the houſhold troops of France in their armour, and all with lances. The Scots horſe had each a long pike.

Lord Angus order'd to begin the attack.

The Engliſh, finding the ſuperiority in numbers of the Scots army, which muſter'd above 40,000 men, and included all the Nobility and Gentry, and others of figure of the Kingdom of Scotland, dreaded a bloody onſet, and juſtly apprehended that the Scots Nation had aſ-

ſembled their ſtrength, to make a powerful effort for the overthrow of the Engliſh army: therefore the Protector, having call'd a Council of war of his Nobility and General Officers, propos'd in the preſent circumſtances to retreat; which meaſure my Lord Gray, General of the Engliſh horſe, oppos'd with warmth, and was ſeconded by the brave Earl of Warwick and the other Generals. My Lord Gray plainly aſſur'd the Duke of Somerſet, if he ventur'd to retire and did not ſtand his ground, he ſhould make him anſwerable for the conſequences of the day before the Privy-council and Parliament of England. He further added, that if he found it not poſſible to attack the Scots with his horſe, he would diſmount his cavalry, and charge on foot. A ſpirit of bravery run through the whole Engliſh army on this occaſion, and thereby the Duke of Somerſet being encourag'd, was willing and agreed to try the fate of a deciſive action.

The diſpoſitions of the Engliſh

The Engliſh army form'd, with the cavalry to the right commanded by Lord Gray: the Duke of Somerſet (Lord Protector) with the beſt troops and all the volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry of England, advanced with the center, in good order: on the left of the center were the Spaniſh troops, under the Marquis Jambo, to come down from the hills to flank the Scots: the Engliſh fleet from the ſea on the right, were ordered to play their cannon upon the Scots army while engaged: the Earl of Warwick led on the left wing or rear. In this diſpoſition the Engliſh, nigh Preſton and Tranent, waited for the Scots army, whom they plainly obſerved making toward them.

and Scots armies.

The Scots army advanced in high ſpirits well formed. The Earl of Angus, in the van, with his horſe ſo armed and guarded as to make an invincible wall with their pikes in front, on which the enemy ruſhing might deſtroy themſelves: in the center of the Scots army were all the Nobility, Gentry and perſons of diſtinction of Scotland, with their ſons and relations, led on by the Earl of Arran; but with this bad and cloudy mixture of a number of RomiſhPrieſts, to whoſe miſbehaviour and confuſion the loſs of the day was in great meaſure owing: the Earl of Huntley, with the beſt and choice part of the infantry, advanced to the left in the rear. Theſe three grand columns of the Scots army conſiſted of above 10,000 men each. The corps de reſerve conſiſted of the M'Donalds, M'Leods, M'Gregors, and the beſt of the Clans, on the left; and on the right, the corps de reſerve of the Scots army were the Argyleſhire men and the Weſt Iſlanders, under the command of their chief the Earl of Argyle, and to them principally was imputable the fatal loſs of this day.

The Engagement.

This was the order of battle in both armies. The Earl of Angus advanced with great bravery, and in good order charg'd my Lord Gray, and broke in upon his cavalry, put the front lines into diſorder and kill'd about two hundred. The Lord Protector, obſerving this, and that his horſe under my Lord Gray were forc'd from their ground, ſent word to the Lord Gray and to the other Generals to draw off the army in good order, and to cover their retreat by keeping the Earl of Angus in play untill the body of the army got ſafe off; but the Earl of Warwick came up, oppoſed this meaſure and inſiſted to advance and line the cavalry when rallied; which he accordingly did, form'd the horſe anew in good order, and lin'd them with the foot, and return'd to charge the enemy: but the covetous and undiſciplin'd Highlanders of Argyleſhire, regardleſs of good order, and without the leaſt judgment, obſerving the Engliſh horſe had yielded ground and loſt a number of men, run in amongſt their own and the enemy's horſe to plunder; by which they utterly confounded and diſconcerted the Earl of Angus in his operations, and put his men in ſuch diſorder, that the Earl of Warwick and Lord Gray made terrible havock among them.

The avarice of the Argyleſhire men ruin the battle.

Upon this falſe ſtep and fatal miſtake of the Argyleſhire men, the Scots army was put into ſurprize and diſorder. There happen'd to fall this day, juſt at the time of action, a moſt terrible rain attended by a thick fog. By this diſadvantage the other Clans, miſſing the Argyleſhire men, and thinking they had taken flight, form'd themſelves in a circle, and ſo march'd off the field with all ſpeed. The Earl of Arran, with the center of the army, by this time being advanc'd cloſe upon the enemy, by this means was greatly ſurpriz'd and all his men put into confuſion. By the miſt and fog they did miſtake their own men in the front for the enemy, and ſlaughter'd many of them.

The Engliſh army, perceiving diſorder and confuſion in the center of the Scots army, where the Nobility and Gentry were, pointed their force chiefly upon them; and, falling upon them with horſe and foot in front and flank, made terrible ſlaughter of the chief Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation. This fatal event to the center, made the Earl of Arran, who commanded them, to retire in diſorder upon the Earl of Huntley in the rear; and by the fog and rain they were ſo blinded and confounded, that the Earl of Huntley fell upon his own Countrymen and kill'd ſeveral of them. The Engliſh ruſh'd on upon this advantage, and gave a total rout to the Scots army. The Highlanders ſecur'd their retreat with inconſiderable loſs, but the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, who fought like lyons, were moſtly cut off. Thus the Prieſts, who hurried on the Earl of Arran againſt the Engliſh in this enterprize, were the immediate cauſes of ſo much deſtruction and bloodſhed to the Scots Nation.

The Scots defeated.

The Engliſh horſe purſued the Scots infantry in the rear for a conſiderable way, and killed many in the flight. The Argyleſhire men, that they might be lighter for running off, left their arms on the roads and made great haſte out of ſight: many periſh'd in the river Eſk, which then was very high by the floods. Some hiſtorians affirm, that the Highlanders, particularly the

the Argyleſhire men, took fright and went into diſorder upon the diſcharge of the artillery or cannon; but the fact was, that the fire of the cannon of both ſides was ſo hot and ſo well ſerv'd, that it tore up the ground, and rais'd a cloud of duſt all round the camp; which ſo blinded the Highlanders and diſorder'd them, that they took to flight, not being able to diſcern friends from enemies.

In this fatal and ill-concerted action the Scots army loſt the flower of the Nation. There were nigh 10,000 kill'd in the field, and in the purſuit: the young Lords Graham, Erſkine, Buchan, Levingſton, Ogilvy, and Fleming, were ſlain in the field, with many more Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, who had fought bravely in this action. The Engliſh had above 600 ſlain, among whom were 240 horſe, with the Lord Gray and his eldeſt ſon.

The Scots loſe 10,000 men, the Engliſh 600.

The Engliſh, after maintaining the field, next day croſs'd the Eſk *, and march'd for Edinburgh; ſending out their detachments for ſix miles round, to harraſs and diſtreſs the Country by contributions, plunder, and rapine. A good part of the City of Edinburgh was burnt, with many adjacent villages. The Protector ſent the Earl of Warwick with a body of men croſs the Forth, to raiſe contributions all over the Towns of Fife. The Engliſh fleet, with ſome thouſands of their men on board, ſail'd from the Forth round to the mouth of the Tay, and took poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of Broughty, with the Country all round it. After placing a ſtrong garriſon in Broughty-caſtle, they return'd: then they fortified the ſmall Iſlands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm betwixt Leith and Kinghorn, and furniſh'd them with garriſons. They then fortified the Town of Haddington, and plac'd a ſtrong garriſon in it; making all the Country round to furniſh them with proviſions and ſtores, yea further, putting the inhabitants for ten miles round to great extremities.

The Engliſh having left not only a numerous garriſon at Broughty-caſtle near the mouth of the Tay, but a conſiderable detachment at Bollgillow-law, their forces kept the whole Country under ſuch terror and ſervitude, that the farmers durſt not plough or ſow their lands, without giving acknowlegements and gratuities in name of ſervitude to the Engliſh forces. Theſe forces of the Engliſh had form'd a deſign to ſurprize the Town of Partancraig oppoſite to Broughty, as it was a harbour and ſecret ſanctuary for the Scots; particularly the Gentry of the County of Fife, who reſorted thither ſecretly with their friends, to obſerve and reſtrain the incurſions and extravagancies of the Engliſh on the Fife ſide.

The inhabitants of the ferry of Partancraig were enemies to the Engliſh; and having certain intelligence, that the Engliſh, on the other ſide the Tay, were preparing to paſs over, and intended to ſet fire to the Town of Partancraig, and from thence to proceed to Leuchers, which was an elegant and noble place with a fine Palace, and finely beautify'd with gardens and woods ſurrounding it; here the Engliſh were diſappointed, and led into an ambuſcade; for the Nobility and Gentry of Fife, having intelligence that the Engliſh at Broughty and nigh to it, had prepar'd to come over to ſet fire to Partancraig after plundering it, and then to proceed to Leuchers and other places of note; the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord James Stewart, George Earl of Rothes, John Lord Lindſay, and Andrew Wood of Largo, with the Provoſt and Burgeſſes of the City of St. Andrew's, and all the Gentry of the County of Fife, gathered what force they could raiſe, waited for the landing of the Engliſh from Broughty to the ferry of Partancraig; and, having allowed them to paſs on to Leuchers, they got between them and betwixt them and the ſea and their ſhipping, and ſo maul'd them that the Engliſh garriſons on the other ſide had none to ſpare to traverſe the County of Fife, having cut off above 200 of the Engliſh in this ambuſcade. The fatal action at Preſton-pans and Tranent, which happen'd upon the 18th of September 1547, had not only thus enſlav'd theſe Counties, but had almoſt ruin'd all thoſe to the South of the Forth.

Fail in their attempt on Partancraig, and loſe 200 men.

The Regent, after his inglorious rout at Preſton-pans, went off directly, with the few remaining Nobility which he carried off from the field of battle, to the Queen's Court now at Stirling; and there was receiv'd by the Queen with ſeeming and apparent great marks of ſorrow and concern in her Majeſty, tho' more affected than real; for in fact the Queen was pleaſed to ſee the Earl of Arran's adminiſtration and conduct reflect diſgrace upon him, and make the Kingdom ready to ſhake him off: however, ſhe gave ſtrong proteſtations of her concern, and great diſorder of ſpirit, at the news of ſo fatal and critical an overthrow of the Scots army.

Such of the eſtates of the Kingdom as ſurviv'd the fatal battle of Preſton and Tranent met at Stirling, to conſult and deliberate upon the proper and moſt immediate means to provide for the ſafety of the young Queen; and in their Parliament or Council, I do not know which to call it, for there were ſo few now of the valuable Nobility of the Nation left alive; in this meeting however, altogether under the Queen's influence, they reſolved, that the young Queen Mary ſhould be remov'd for ſafety from Stirling to Dunbarton caſtle. Accordingly, for fear of the Engliſh (as was pretended) the young Queen was remov'd under an eſcort privately to Dunbarton-caſtle, and committed to the Guardianſhip of the Lords Erſkine and Levingſton: the firſt was the favourite of the Queen-mother, and the latter was a friend to the Hamiltons.

The young Queen remov'd for ſafety to Dunbarton-caſtle.

When once they had got young Queen Mary ſecur'd in this fortreſs, the Queen-mother with her tool the Regent ſent over to France, to ſollicit hard for ſuccours, and to repreſent, in very ſtrong and moving terms, the diſtreſs and ſufferings of Scotland from the Engliſh, who had ren-



* The river Eſk, a ſmall river juſt by Invereſk or Muſſelburgh, four miles Eaſt of Edinburgh.

render'd the Kingdom almoſt a deſolation, and exercis'd great tyranny over the inhabitants every where. At the ſame time the Queen-mother and Regent of Scotland gave encouragements, yea promiſes ſecretly, without conſulting the Privy-council, that the young Queen ſhould be ſent over to France, and given in marriage to the Dauphin of France.

The Engliſh reduce the South country.

The young Queen being now ſafe in Dunbarton, the Earl of Arran march'd with a body of men to attack Broughty-caſtle, which had ſo ſtrong a garriſon and ſo well provided, that they ſtood the ſiege with vigour. The Engliſh garriſon did ſo diſtreſs the Regent with his men, while before the Caſtle, that, after beſieging it for three months, they forc'd him to raiſe the ſiege, and to depart with his forces. This ſucceſs made all the Engliſh on this quarter very inſolent, and treat the People for ſeveral miles round in the moſt tyrannical and arbitrary manner. The Engliſh garriſons likewiſe at Inchkeith, and the other Iſlands in the Forth, came over to Leith, plunder'd and committed great outrages. The garriſon of Engliſh at Haddington was not behind with them; for they made the Country for ten miles round their property, and exercis'd the moſt abſolute and arbitrary juriſdiction over all the People of the Country.

The Engliſh round Broughty, and who were in garriſon at Broughty-caſtle, ſent out their parties to Dundee and to the Caſtle of Weſt-pury. Having met with ſome reſiſtance, they, out of reſentment, burnt the town of Dundee and Pury-caſtle; beſides ſeveral adjacent villages.

Theſe things happen'd nigh the cloſe of 1547, but the beginning of 1548 was uſher'd in with a ſeries of extraordinary events and alterations. The Engliſh advanc'd towards Scotland, at different quarters: ſome by the Eaſtern frontier; others, by the middle way. The column of the Engliſh army, which enter'd by the way of Berwick, ſent an advanc'd party to reinforce the garriſon of Haddington, and to ſtrengthen the fortifications.

Lord Lenox appriz'd of a deſign againſt him.

The Earl of Lenox enter'd Scotland by Jedburgh and Dumfries, and was invited by his father-in-law the Earl of Angus, the Lord Maxwell, and the Earl of Glencairn his old friend. Theſe had promiſed to my Lord Lenox, that they would furniſh him with 3000 horſe upon his appearance on the frontier, and would join him. But this my Lord Lenox found ſoon to be a ſnare only laid for him; for, inſtead of the 3000 horſe promis'd, there came in only about three hundred: by which it was evident, that if the Earl of Lenox had truſted to his three friends who invited him to Scotland to join them, he had fallen a ſacrifice to treachery. But Lenox had brought with him a body of Engliſh, being doubtful of the integrity and ſincerity of the Lord Maxwell, and not over truſting the fidelity of the Earl of Angus, tho' he was certain of the Earl of Glencairn as an old and ſteady friend.

The Earl of Lenox was a perſon of penetration and cool judgment, and thereby us'd the proper means by which he ſoon diſcover'd, that the Earl of Angus and the Lord Maxwell were in ſome ſecret concert to betray him to the Earl of Arran and the Queen's party: therefore, he inſiſted upon hoſtages to be deliver'd him as a ſecurity and pledge for their fidelity to him; but having diſcover'd a deſign form'd to attack him ſecretly and ſacrifice him, he took the proper meaſures to diſconcert their pernicious enterprize, and ſecure his own ſafety; for he firſt carry'd off his hoſtages and ſecur'd them in Carliſle: then he with a body of Engliſh and Scots penetrated into my Lord Maxwell's eſtate, puniſhing all his dependents and farmers ſmartly by heavy contributions and ſevere exactions, in reſentment for the treachery of their Lord.

Having reduc'd all the adjacent Counties, the Lord Lenox next march'd toward Drumlanrig, in order if poſſible to have James Douglaſs of Drumlanrig*; for which purpoſe he laid an ambuſcade for him to draw him with his garriſon out of Drumlanrig-caſtle. He order'd in the night 600 horſe to march to the neighbourhood of Drumlanrig, and 200 of them to lie conceal'd in waiting to ſurprize Douglaſs of Drumlanrig upon the proper ſignal given by the other 400. The ambuſcade lay in the wood a little way from the Caſtle; but the 400 were order'd to plunder, harraſs and diſtreſs the Country all round Drumlancrig, in order to force Douglaſs to ſally out with his garriſon to purſue Lenox with his party of horſe, and thereby to fall into the ſnare prepar'd for him: but Douglaſs was aware of the trap, and therefore did not venture out in the night. But, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions and preparations, Douglaſs about noon day, with a ſtrong party, march'd out and attack'd ſeveral of the ſmall ſtraggling parties of Lenox's horſe, which he purſued, and they run untill they came up to their main body, then rallied, and return'd upon Douglaſs of Drumlanrig with great fury, kill'd ſeveral, and forc'd James Douglaſs to take ſanctuary in his Caſtle of Drumlanrig, having with great difficulty eſcap'd falling into the hands of the enemy.

Reduces all the South-weſt of Scotland.

James Douglaſs now not being in caſe to act againſt the Earl of Lenox, the whole County of Galloway ſubmitted to Lenox, and came in to make their ſubmiſſions and receiv'd his protections. Having thus reduc'd all the South-weſt and middle frontier, the Earl of Lenox return'd to England, and acquainted the Court of London with all that had happen'd.

Upon the Eaſtern frontier towards Berwick, the Engliſh had aſſembled an army of nigh 40,000 men, and had taken care to fortify and to provide well with the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions the town and garriſon of Haddington, in order to ſtand a ſiege. The Engliſh likewiſe, after fortifying their garriſon at Lauther, burnt and deſtroy'd all the villages and ſmall Towns

* Douglaſs of Drumlanrig, the ſtock of the noble and excellent family of Queenſberry, whoſe Country-ſeat is Drumlanrig-caſtle in Galloway.

Towns over the Country and the neighbourhood, laying the Counties adjacent waſte, that the Scots army upon their approach might be put to all diſadvantages and extremities.

The Earl of Arran (Regent) was put to great diſadvantages; however, to gratify the murmurings of the People of Scotland, he, with what forces he had at hand, march'd toward Haddington; but not being in capacity to beſiege it in form, made a compleat blockade, ſurrounding the place ſo as to intercept both men, proviſions, or any ſupplies from all quarters; and thus he waited untill the arrival of his French ſuccours, who were order'd for Scotland in April, and landed at Leith in May.

The arrival of the French troops gave ſpirit and life to the Queen-dowager and her party. There were 2000 of theſe only French infantry, 3000 were Dutch and German troops in French pay, and 1000 horſe all compleatly arm'd and in good order; but, by their fatigue and ſickneſs at ſea, they were forc'd to halt at Edinburgh for a week, untill they were all recover'd of their ſickneſs at ſea. Being fully refreſh'd, they proceeded, under the command of their French General the Count d'Eſſe, to join the Scots in the neighbourhood of Haddington. French ſuccours arrive.

The Regent of Scotland receiv'd the French auxiliaries with great affection and regard; and, in order to make their joint operations the more effectual, the Earl of Arran (Regent) with advice of the Privy-council, by proclamation ſummon'd the militia all over the Kingdom to aſſemble directly, and to join the allied army with their Chiefs. However the Earl of Arran, thro' the diſſatisfaction and diſcontent of the People in Scotland, had not ſufficient authority to ſupport his power, and could not prevail but on ſome to the North of the Forth to join him. The whole force aſſembled by this proclamation and haſty order, amounted to 8000 men, who after muſter march'd directly to the Scots and French camp before Haddington. The Regent of Scotland, with the Count d'Eſſe the French General, made uſe of their artillery for ſome days againſt Haddington; but the garriſon made a gallant defence, and kill'd numbers of the beſiegers.

This diſpirited the Scots and French in their attack upon the Engliſh at Haddington; but, having receiv'd by their ſcouts intelligence of the approach of the Engliſh army, and their being in full march under the command of the Earl of Hereford, the Scots army, with their French auxiliaries, thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and to withdraw nigher to Edinburgh. The Earl of Hereford had engag'd to the Court of London to march into Scotland without oppoſition, as far in the Country as * Pinky-houſe. Accordingly, my Lord Hereford ſent an advanc'd body of his army towards Pinky-houſe. They kept to the left upon the riſing ground to Fawſide, and there reconnoitred the Scots army with their auxiliaries by Muſſelburgh. The Regent of Scotland, with the Count d'Eſſe the French General, taking their approach ſo nigh to them as an inſult, form'd their army, and having order'd their artillery in front, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the Engliſh who had thus ſet them at defiance, the ally'd army of Scots and French advanc'd in good order.

The Engliſh, obſerving the reſolution of the Scots army, and having receiv'd intelligence that the Scots army were far ſuperior in numbers to what was firſt apprehended, thought proper to retire in good order to the main army at Haddington. The Engliſh fleet were at this time upon the coaſt and in the Forth; and therefore, ſeeing they were ſtopt in their progreſs by land, they reſolv'd upon tranſporting by their ſhipping ſome forces to the Fife-coaſt, and there to diſtreſs and harraſs the Country, in order to make a powerful diverſion, and to make the Regent of Scotland divide his forces, thereby to be expos'd to a certain overthrow. Accordingly, the Engliſh embark'd about 2000 men, and ſet ſail for Anſtruther and Pittenweem. They projected to land at Pittenweem to fortify the place, and to ſecure a good garriſon in this place to overawe the Eaſtern part and coaſt of Fife: yet, being afraid of the numbers and the oppoſition they might meet with in this place, they alter'd their reſolution, and ſet ſail for the Weſt-coaſt of Fife, and landed at a Sea-port not well inhabited, juſt by St. Ninian's.

Upon the alarm given the Country People, all the Inhabitants of the Towns on the Coaſt-ſide took arms, and were determin'd to diſpute the matter with them. The Lord James Stewart, Commendator of St. Andrew's, with the Squires of Weems and Largo, muſter'd and drew up ſome hundreds of the ſtouteſt Countrymen; and, being reſolute to defend their families and their habitations from ruin, they march'd up to the Engliſh, who were drawn up in order for the charge, with ſome field-pieces in their front, on St. Ninian's heath or moor. The Scots Countrymen, being encourag'd by the bravery of the Gentlemen who led them on, gave ſuch a briſk attack and ſo warm a reception to the Engliſh, that they were put into immediate diſorder, and fled with great precipitation to get on board their ſhips; but they were ſo warmly and cloſely purſu'd, that they loſt great numbers in their flight. They left dead on the field nigh 600, beſides 100 taken priſoners. The Engliſh land in Fife, and retreat to their ſhips with great loſs.

What remain'd, having got on board, out of reſentment for this loſs, ſet ſail for the North-coaſt, with deſign if poſſible to ſurprize the Town of Montroſs, and to plunder all round the Country: however, here they were repuls'd with great bravery by Erſkine of Dun, a Gentleman of fortune nigh to Montroſs, and Governor of the Town. He, upon the appearance of the

* Pinky is an old Palace and pleaſant place by Muſſelburgh, four miles Eaſt of Edinburgh, now belonging to the Marquis of Tweedale.

the Engliſh fleet, and obſerving that they were preparing to land their men, aſſembled not only his own men, but all the ſenſible and ſtout fellows of Montroſs and the Country round it; and, taking the chief command, he divided his men into three bodies: one he plac'd behind a great bank or battery of ſand, to lie conceal'd juſt by their landing-place: Mr. Erſkine of Dun himſelf march'd at the head of another party in full view of the enemy; and his third cohor he order'd to lie by behind a hill juſt at hand, and, when the ſignal was given, to come, with colours flying, under the directions of ſome forces and military, whom Mr. Erſkine had join'd to them to make them obſerve order in their advance and attack. Thus he diſpos'd his men, and then march'd his own cohors to attack the enemy, who were landing their men. The Engliſh, having no ſight of the other parties, deſpis'd the numbers of Mr. Erſkine's party, headed by himſelf, as far inferior and of no ſtrength to oppoſe them: therefore they ruſh'd, with contempt and in high ſpirits, upon the handful commanded by Mr. Erſkine of Dun in perſon, but were warmly receiv'd by them. At the ſame time the conceal'd bodies of Mr. Erſkine's men, ruſhing in from left and right, did ſo gall them with their darts and fire-arms, that, after conſiderable loſs, the remains of them with difficulty got to their ſhips, and return'd to their ſtation near to Haddington. They had landed about 800 men near to Montroſs, with deſign to ſurprize the place; but were ſo well diſciplin'd and ſo ſeverely handled by the Country-people, under the command of Erſkine of Dun, that not above 200 of 800 return'd on board their ſhipping.

The Engliſh repuls'd at Montroſs.

Theſe diſappointments however did not diſhearten the Engliſh, for they ſent reinforcements to their garriſons; particularly, to Haddington. The garriſon had been 'till now well provided, but they begun to be in ſcarcity of proviſions; therefore the Engliſh army having notice of their ſtraits, and how all the avenues and roads leading to the Town were ſecur'd and guarded by the French forces and the Germans, under the command of the Rhine Grave who came over with them, that it was impoſſible to convoy any proviſions or ſtores to the place without being intercepted, two brave and hardy fellows of the Engliſh army (Bovy and Palmer) did offer their ſervice to the Earl of Hereford the Engliſh General, to force their way to the garriſon of Haddington with ſupplies, if allow'd an eſcort of a thouſand foot and a hundred horſe of their beſt men, which accordingly was granted; and they ſet out upon their march from Berwick for Haddington; but, being diſcover'd and betray'd, the French ſurpriz'd them, and with ſuperior numbers fell upon them; and tho' they made an obſtinate defence, they were all cut to pieces.

This event ſo exaſperated the Engliſh army, that they ſent a much ſtronger detachment and body toward Haddington, who had the good fortune to fall in with a French ſpy and ſcout, whom they brib'd and engag'd to go to the French camp, and acquaint his maſter the Count d'Eſſe the French General, that a ſtrong party of Engliſh were upon their march on a road quite wide and different from the rout the Engliſh were to take; which the ſpy accordingly executed, and ſo the French General march'd in the road he expected to meet the Engliſh. The ſpy got off, and gave the Engliſh intelligence; and ſo they purſued their march by their intended road, eſcap'd the enemy, and got into Haddington. The French General, finding he had been impos'd upon, return'd and made preparations for a warm attack upon the place, but to no purpoſe; for, after making trial of an attack for ſome days, he thought it moſt adviſeable to draw off his men.

The French demand the keeping of the young Queen.

In the grand Council and Aſſembly of the Nobility, upon the arrival of the French ſuccours in the camp before Haddington, the inſtructions of Count d'Eſſe, concerning Mary Stewart the young Queen, had been laid before them, demanding that, according to promiſes and encouragement given, the young Queen ſhould be ſent over to the Court of France, there to be in ſafety and educated in quality of her dignity, and that a marriage might be ſettled betwixt the Dauphin and her.

This Council of the Scots Nobility was very full, and great debates aroſe betwixt the contending parties. The party which favour'd the French intereſt, with the Earl of Arran (Regent) and his friends, inſiſted upon the expediency and neceſſity of the young Queen's going over to France, in the preſent conjuncture. The other party reaſon'd, with great force of argument, againſt this meaſure, as the direct mean to lay the foundation of an irreconcileable hatred and oppoſition betwixt England and Scotland, and the many fatal conſequences from this to both Kingdoms. However, by French gold and corruption, the French intereſt prevail'd in the Cabinet and Parliament of Scotland; and it was voted here in the Franciſcans monaſtery at Haddington, that the young Queen Mary ſhould go to France. Accordingly, the French fleet were order'd to ſail from Leith all round to the Weſt ſea, and to take in the young Queen to carry her to France: they ſail'd round to Dumbarton, where the young Queen was put on board, and attended to the Court of France by the Lords Erſkine and Levingſton, and her brother the Lord James Stewart. They met with a violent ſtorm at ſea, which made the voyage very dangerous and tedious; but they arriv'd happily all ſafe at Bretagny, the beginning of June 1548.

Complied with.

The French auxiliaries continued in Scotland all the ſeaſon and winter'd there; but after their return from the ſiege of Haddington toward Edinburgh, there happen'd a diſpute to ariſe betwixt the French General and Hamilton the Mayor of Edinburgh, about quartering the French within the City. The Lord Mayor and ſome of the beſt Citizens refus'd to allow ſo many of the

the French ſoldiers to lodge within the City-walls. Two of the French ſoldiers had rais'd a tumult in the City; upon which the Lord Mayor had order'd their Commitment to priſon, which ſo enrag'd the French all within the City, that they got to their arms, and rais'd ſuch a mob and diſorder, that in the ſcuffle, the Magiſtrates interpoſing their authority, the Mayor and his Son (William and James Hamilton) David Kirk, David Barber, William Chapman, Mr. William Stewart, William Purves, and Elizabeth Stewart, with many more, were kill'd by the inſolence and outrages of the French, who treated the Scots already as if they were to receive tamely of them what treatment they pleas'd to give; and to ſerve and abuſe them without check or controul. Thus the Scots nation brought upon themſelves the ſlaviſh dependence and fatal ſubjection to be under the neceſſity of being dragoon'd and baſtinado'd by French inſolence.

The French ſoldiers in a riot, murder the Mayor and ſeveral Citizens of Edinburgh.

The Scots Nobility, who remain'd after the fatal overthrow and loſs at Preſton and Muſſelburgh, inſtead of recovering and reſtoring their native land to it's dignity, regard, and former flouriſhing condition, in the moſt abject and contemptible manner, by ſending over their Sovereign, and upon the matter pledging her to the French Court, gave the French King, as pawnbroker-general of the Continent, poſſeſſion of Queen Mary; ſo as to put it in the power of his French Majeſty to retain, detain, and diſpoſe of the Queen of Scotland according to the pleaſure of the French Court, and ſo upon her account oblige the Scots Nation to agree to all the meaſures convenient and ſuiting for the intereſt of France. This was ſuch a well-form'd ſyſtem of ſome of the worſt of the Scots Nobility, that the Kingdom of Scotland found and felt ſeverely the ſad effects of their ill-concerted and blundering expedients at this time.

The French General, finding an almoſt univerſal diſcontent at his behaviour in Edinburgh City, to which was imputed the murder of ſo many Gentlemen of that place, particularly the chief Magiſtrate and his ſon, by the French ſoldiers; and being ſeverely reprimanded by the Regent and Privy-council, was willing to exert himſelf by ſome extraordinary and brave enterprizes to recover the affections and regard of the People of Scotland: therefore, the Count d'Eſſe did undertake to the Regent and Privy-council to attack Haddington, and to take it by ſurprize. Accordingly, he march'd his beſt troops with ſome artillery in the night; and, having ſurpriz'd the fort of obſervation without the walls, he took it ſword in hand: then proceeded to the walls and gates of the place, killing the centinels and picquets all the way, and plac'd his ladders to ſcale the walls: then, with his main force and his artillery in front, he came up to the great gate; having form'd his deſign to force the gates at the ſame time that his other parties of each ſide mounted the walls and got over: but the French, fluſh'd too much with the immediate proſpects of taking the place, made ſuch huzzaing and noiſe, and crying out victory, with ſuch clamour, that they alarm'd the garriſon who were all aſleep, having fallen into a lethargic ſort of ſleeping by their regale the former part of the night. Thus the French, premature in their triumphs and too forward, loſt their apparent victory.

Count d'Eſſe attacks Haddington unſucceſsfully.

The garriſon, being now all under arms, and finding the enemy ready to enter the place, flew like lions to the walls of the Town for it's defence. One of the garriſon ſoldiers, obſerving the French forcing acceſs by attempting to break thro' the great gate, got directly hold of a match, and fir'd a large braſs cannon, which was plac'd to clear the gate in caſe of an attack upon it. By the diſcharge of this gun, the ſhot clear'd it's way, and made terrible execution among the French, who were ſo cloſe and thick planted before the gate. This ſurprize and ſlaughter put the French into confuſion, and the beſieg'd now recovering their fright, ſet upon the aſſailants with a deſperate ſally, ſo as to force the Count d'Eſſe to fly with great precipitation.

Having return'd from this defeated undertaking, he ſav'd and retriev'd his credit a little, by attacking and reducing the garriſon of Inchkeith. He took it by aſſault, and put moſt of the Engliſh garriſon to the ſword. Yet all his diligence in theſe two attempts did not atone to the Nobility and People of Scotland, particularly the City of Edinburgh, for the unfair murder of ſo many Citizens of rank; therefore the Privy-council of Scotland, by order of Parliament, repreſented to his French Majeſty the expediency of recalling Count d'Eſſe, which was accordingly done, and Monſieur Paul de Termes order'd into Scotland with more ſupplies, and to take the command of all the French auxiliaries there. However, Count d'Eſſe was determin'd to expiate his crime and miſbehaviour to the Scots, by as much activity in their intereſt as poſſible, before his departure: therefore he march'd into Teviotdale, and attack'd the Engliſh garriſon at Jedburgh, which he forc'd to ſurrender after a bloody attack, which laſted for five days. Then he penetrated into England, and made the Engliſh parties retire before him in every quarter. Having executed his attacks on the Engliſh frontier with ſucceſs, he return'd and deliver'd up his command to the Monſieur de Termes, a perſon of great experience in military affairs, and an officer of approv'd conduct. Then he prepar'd to return to France, and accordingly left Scotland in June 1549.

Reduces Inchkeith.

Is recall'd,

The Monſieur de Termes, with diligence and good conduct, made his diſpoſitions to diſtreſs and embarraſs the Engliſh in their ſtrong holds and garriſons; particularly Haddington and Broughty-caſtle. He ſent out detachments to the ſeveral avenues and quarters leading to Haddington, by which he intercepted their communication with the Country all round, and ſo ſtopp'd the ſupply of proviſions and all neceſſaries from the garriſon; while he in the mean time,

and repl'ac'd by M. de Termes.

time, in perſon, march'd with a body of troops croſs the Forth and the Tay, untill he arrived before Broughty-caſtle. He order'd at the ſame time ſome arm'd veſſels to get round the Coaſt, and to batter Broughty-caſtle from the ſea, while he attack'd it by land. Having thus concerted his operations with judgment, he beſieg'd the Fort of Broughty, and all the Engliſh fortifications in it's neighbourhood, with ſuch vigour and warmth, that he in a very ſhort time carried both the Caſtles, and all the places poſſeſs'd by the Engliſh; and as he made himſelf maſter of them by aſſault, the moſt of the Engliſh were put to the ſword.

M. de Termes takes Broughty and other Caſtles.

Having clear'd all this and the neighbouring Counties of the Engliſh, Monſieur de Termes return'd with his army to advance toward Haddington, which had been in ſome meaſure reliev'd by the approach of the Engliſh army with their German ſuccours, who made acceſs to ſome conveys of proviſions to enter and ſupply the garriſon of Haddington. The Monſieur de Termes advanc'd with all his French forces, join'd by the Scots army; but, finding that the Engliſh army was far ſuperior in ſtrength, and advantageouſly poſted, he did not think it convenient nor ſafe to come too nigh Haddington, but retir'd a little to a place of greater ſtrength and ſafety, there to wait for the Engliſh army. In the mean time the cavalry of the Scots army harraſs'd the Engliſh on each ſide, and ſkirmiſh'd with them; and, taking the opportunity when the baggage of the German troops was ſlightly guarded, the Scots and French light horſe came up and plunder'd the whole. Next, having receiv'd intelligence where a troop of Spaniſh horſe lay in wait for ſome booty, the Scots and French came upon this party, who were commanded by Julian Romerus, and cut them all off.

Thus both armies continued diſtreſſing one another, but the Scots avoided a general action, becauſe they knew, that, from the civil commotions in England, and their preſent war with France, the Engliſh could not remain long in Scotland.

The Lord Protector being committed to the Tower, and England much convuls'd by the contending parties at home, their army was order'd home from Scotland; ſo Monſieur de Termes renew'd his attack upon Haddington: but the garriſon made a gallant defence, and were determin'd at no rate to ſurrender the place; but ſuccours not arriving punctually from England, and not being regularly ſupply'd with ſtores and proviſions, becauſe of the preſent troubles and convulſions in their Nation, the Engliſh garriſon of ſurprize came to a ſudden reſolution of ſetting fire to the Town and Caſtle; and accordingly having burnt both to the ground, they march'd off for England, October 1, 1549.

The Engliſh evacuate and raze Haddington.

Thus now thewhole of Scotland was clear'd of all Engliſh garriſons, Lauther-fort excepted: thoſe of Hume and Faſt-caſtle had been ſurpriz'd the preceding year by the Country-people, and the Engliſh garriſons cut off.

At Hume-caſtle, the Country-people, watching their opportunity when the garriſon was moſt ſecure and inattentive to any danger, in the night got up the moſt inacceſſible and leaſt ſuſpected part of the rock; where the garriſon apprehended no danger, becauſe of the ſtrength of the place. Having got over the wall at this rocky part of Hume-caſtle, they kill'd the centinels, and then, having got their people within the walls, they fell upon the garriſon, and put them all to the ſword, ſave a few who open'd the gates and eſcap'd.

Faſt-caſtle was another Engliſh garriſon of conſiderable ſtrength. The Engliſh here put the whole Country under contribution, and ſo harraſs'd them as to render the Country-people deſperate. The garriſon had given orders for the Country-people to come in with plenty of proviſions and ſtores of all ſorts to ſupply the garriſon upon a fix'd day. The Country-people accordingly, to a conſiderable number, came in loaded with proviſions and neceſſaries, in compliance with the order from the Governor of Faſt-caſtle. Many of the garriſon had been abſent by leave, and others for recreation, being perfectly ſecure from all apprehenſions of danger. The Country-people in numbers came in loaded, and at noon-day; and being order'd to paſs thro' into the Caſtle within the ſtrong gate which ſtands betwixt two rocks, here they according to orders unloaded; then in a hurry, giving the ſignal, they laid hold of all the centinels, kill'd them, and then ſeiz'd the guard and all the arms in the guard-room. Having firſt ſhut the gates and ſecur'd themſelves from any reinforcements to their enemy, they proceeded and put all the Engliſh to the ſword; then ſtood to their defence againſt ſuch of the garriſon as were without the gates. The Country-people without, finding the Engliſh garriſon were ſurpriz'd, and that their neighbours had got poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, fell upon the Engliſh, and knock'd all in the head they could lay hold of. The garriſon of Lauther-fort was the only Engliſh garriſon which remain'd in Scotland to the beginning of the year 1550; and they were become very weak thro' deſertion, want of proviſions, and neceſſary ſtores; and ſo inſulted by the Country-people, that they were ready to ſurrender upon almoſt any terms: but to their happy and pleaſing ſurprize, news were brought of an accommodation and peace betwixt England and France; and that Scotland was compriz'd in the preliminaries of peace and friendſhip, betwixt France and England. Some hiſtorians affirm that this peace laſted five years, Buchanan makes it only three.

A peace concluded.

During this interval, great troubles and commotions aroſe in England: firſt, the Earl of Warwick overthrew the Duke of Somerſet; ſoon after, Edward the VIth was carry'd off, and dy'd (as was believ'd) by a doſe of poiſon; and, in a little after, the Earl of Warwick was beheaded by Queen Mary, who ſucceeded her brother Edward the VIth.

Great commotions in England.

Scotland

Scotland being at peace from all foreign war and in a calm, the Earl of Arran (Regent) committed ſuch abuſes, and was guilty of ſuch groſs acts of tyranny and mal-adminiſtration, that the Nation were all in a ſhort time ready to ſhake him off, and the Queen-dowager artfully improv'd all his miſconduct to alienate the ſpirit of the Nation from him, and to make way for her own ſucceſſion to the Regency.

The Regent's tyranny renders him odious and inſupportable.

The Earl of Arran allow'd William Creighton Lord Sanqhuar to be murder'd by Lord Semple in his own Palace, and almoſt in his preſence, without ſhewing any diſpoſition to puniſh ſo vile a fact. The only aſſignable reaſon for Lord Semple's eſcaping juſtice was, that his daughter, who was widow to the deceas'd Hamilton of Stonehouſe, was kept as miſtreſs and favourite by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's Dr. John Hamilton, who was in all reſpects, tho' pretending to favour the Reformation, a man diſſolute in morals and void of common decency.

Next, having an eye to the Barony of Reath in the County of Fife, the Regent thought proper to meditate and conceive a crime, in order to convey the antient eſtate of Reath to David his ſon; therefore the Earl of Arran fram'd the proper expedient of an impeachment and pretended crime, which was, that John Melvill of Reath had kept treaſonable correſpondence with the Engliſh; by which crime he ſtood liable for a pretended treaſon againſt his Country. After a ſham and partial trial this Melvill of Reath was condemn'd to loſe his head, and his eſtate forfeited to the Crown; yet all the facts prov'd againſt him upon the trial were, that he had written firſt to his friend who was priſoner in England, and next to ſome Engliſh Gentlemen of power and influence for their intereſt to ſave his friend now priſoner.

As this did infer no treaſon, but an act of humanity and friendſhip, the cutting off Melvill of Reath and deſtroying his family, was ſo ſhocking and barefac'd in the eye of all ranks, that the Regent was contemptible to all and hated by the People. But notwithſtanding that he was from all quarters made ſenſible of the total decline of his regard and the decay of his authority; yet he, immediately after that Melvill was beheaded, order'd a grant to paſs, by his influence with the pack'd Parliament, for Melvill's eſtate to his ſon David Hamilton; then he procur'd a commiſſion under the Great Seal for a circulating and ambulatory Court of Juſtice to paſs and ſit in all the different Counties of Scotland, under pretence of preſerving order, regularity and good behaviour, and for the puniſhment of all crimes and offences committed in every quarter, thereby to over-awe and civilize the ſtubborn and diſorderly part of the Country. But all theſe plauſible pretexts were only a colour for the hidden and real deſign and meaning of theſe Courts; which was ſo to frighten and harraſs the People every where, eſpecially thoſe who were not of their taſte, into ſubmiſſion, for fear of proſecutions or falſe impeachments; and therefore by threatnings, and ſuch like arts, the People of all ranks, in order to ſecure their ſafety, were under neceſſity to give them money.

This ſcheme of the Earl of Arran's hatching, tho' low and wicked, yet levied large ſums into his coffers, which, with many barefac'd acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, were the immediate cauſes of his unregretted downfall, and pav'd the way for the Queen-dowager's advancement to the Regency.

There being now a ſettled peace both with England and France, all the diſadvantages to which Scotland was ſubjected, were imputable to the adminiſtration of the Earl of Arran (Regent) and the perſecutions of the popiſh faction in the Nation. By the treaty concluded in April 1550, at Boulogn in France, and ſign'd by the Miniſters of the contracting Powers, the Earl of Bedford, on the part of the King of England, did engage to evacuate Scotland of all their guards and garriſons, which the Engliſh had in poſſeſſion before the ſignature of the treaty. The Count de Caſtilon, on the part of the French, had engag'd that the French ſhould withdraw all their forces from Scotland, which was accordingly executed with punctuality; and David Painter Biſhop of Roſs, who repreſented the Kingdom of Scotland, did by his ſignature ſolemnly engage for the Scots Nation, that they ſhould commit no future hoſtilities by ſea or land, and that all the priſoners of the Engliſh Nation ſhould be at full liberty to return home, as well as thoſe of the Scots Nation priſoners in England, who by the ſame treaty were fully reſtor'd to their liberty.

A view of the Engliſh affairs.

Matters remain'd in this ſituation for three years, as to foreign affairs; but in 1553, the Proteſtant intereſt and the peace receiv'd a dangerous and unexpected wound from the death of Edward the VIth, and the convulſions in England concerning the ſucceſſion. The Romiſh party ſet up Mary King Henry's daughter by Queen Katherine, but the Nobility and Privy-councillors, who favour'd the Reformation, iſſued out their proclamations for declaring and proclaiming directly the Lady Jane Grey Queen of England. Lady Jane Grey was daughter to Henry Lord Grey, by his Lady Frances daughter to Charles Branden Duke of Suffolk, who married Mary ſecond ſiſter to Henry the VIIIth, after the death of her firſt huſband Lewis King of France: ſo that Lady Jane Grey was grand-daughter to Mary ſiſter to King Henry, and King Henry the VIIIth's great neice. But this unfortunate Lady, with her huſband Dudley Earl of Guilford ſon to the Duke of Northumberland, and his father the Duke, were all taken and beheaded by Mary the King's daughter, who firſt diſplay'd her Royal Standard in Norfolk, and in a few days had a numerous reſort and acceſſion of ſtrength from the Nobility and Gentry, with their men who join'd her, ſo as to enable and encourage her to advance to London, and to repel all the force they met with.

Upon

Queen Mary's cruelty.

Upon Queen Mary's approach to London, the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with Lady Jane Grey, and many more Nobility, were all deſerted by their friends; and, not being able to withſtand Queen Mary's increaſing power, came in to make their ſubmiſſion and ſubjection to her; but, inſtead of pardon and acceptance, Mary begun the year 1554 with the commitment ofall theſe and many more to the Tower. In the month of January they were brought to trial, and in February beheaded by Queen Mary. Lady Jane, with her huſband the Duke of Suffolk, were beheaded February the 12th, and the Duke of Northumberland the 19th of the ſame month. The next thing following the execution of theſe and many more, was the eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh Religion, by order of Parliament. All theſe events prov'd favourable to the Papiſts and reigning Clergy of Scotland; therefore, the Queen-mother of Scotland embrac'd this calm and favourable opportunity, to viſit her daughter the young Queen Mary Stewart, and her relations the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe; and ſet ſail for France this year (1554) with conſent of the Earl of Arran, and attended by the Biſhop of Roſs, with Sir Robert Carneagy of Kinnaird, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. Many of the Scots Nobility were already at the Court of France, attending young Queen Mary of Scotland, whom Henry the French King had publicly declar'd he intended for his Son Francis Dauphin of France.

The Queen-mother goes to France.

The Queen-dowager, in the month of June, landed at Rochelle; then with her retinue proceeded to the Court of France. Her Majeſty was receiv'd with great affection and regard at Paris; and, after receiving the compliments and congratulations of the French Court, went to her brother's Palace. Her brothers the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe were in high regard with Henry of France, and of great influence with the whole Court. The Queen-dowager of Scotland remain'd here for one year, to ſettle all her deſign'd ſyſtem. The French King agreed with her, that young Queen Mary of Scotland ſhould be married to the Dauphin how ſoon ſhe was of age: Next the Queen-mother propos'd, that his Majeſty of France ſhould interpoſe his influence, and join his endeavours to have her ſettled in the Regency of Scotland. In order to engage the French King the more heartily in her intereſt, ſhe repreſented to him the preſent ſtate of the Scots Nation; how ſhe, if entruſted with the government of Scotland, had a favourable opportunity offer'd her to ſupport and eſtabliſh the true Catholic and Chriſtian Faith, and to root out the Heretics of Scotland; and, to prevent any future progreſs of Hereſy, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, England would ſupport her in this ſyſtem, Mary of England having eſtabliſh'd by law the Catholic Faith, and reſtor'd it to it's antient condition and privileges.

The French King engages to procure her the Regency.

Theſe, and other political motives of connecting the intereſts of France and Scotland together by the ſtrongeſt ties, induc'd King Henry of France to engage heartily in promoting the Queen-dowager of Scotland to the Regency of that Kingdom; and, in order to accompliſh it with the greater addreſs, without tumult or oppoſition, his French Majeſty concerted to procure the Earl of Arran's reſignation. Accordingly, King Henry of France, to engage the Earl of Arran to a voluntary reſignation, without any compulſion or reluctancy, ſhew'd particular marks of eſteem and favour to all the Regent's friends and favourites, and beſtow'd preſents upon them: ſome he preferr'd to places and employments, others he engag'd by promiſes, to ſecure their conſent to the ſucceſſion of the Regency, in the perſon of the Queen-dowager of Scotland. Next he ſent over to Scotland, Sir Robert Carneagy of Kinnaird, to make the propoſal of reſignation to the Earl of Arran in favour of the Queen-mother, with poſitive aſſurances of his French Majeſty's future favour, friendſhip, and eſtabliſh'd regard. Sir Robert Carnagy had orders, from the King of France and Queen-dowager of Scotland, to declare and promiſe in their name, that the Earl of Arran ſhould, upon his Reſignation, be fully indemnified of all the effects, treaſure, and revenues, beſides the rich furniture of the different Palaces, the plate, jewels, and eſtates of the Crown, which by uſing during his Regency might have been embezzel'd; provided, that whatever effects, furniture, equipages, jewels, plate, or other branches of property which were in the Earl of Arran's cuſtody ever ſince the death of James the Vth, ſhould be reſtor'd to the poſſeſſion of the Queen-dowager; and that, upon his cordial and chearful reſignation of the Government of Scotland in favour of the Queen, his Majeſty of France would ſettle upon the Earl of Arran 12000 piſtoles a year; and for the Regent's future reſidence he ſhould be aſſign'd the Caſtle of Dumbarton, with a guard for his protection.

The Regent conſents to a reſignation.

Upon hearing theſe favourable and encouraging offers from the French King, the Earl of Arran (Regent) appear'd thoroughly ſatisfy'd, to yield the Government of Scotland to the Queen; and accordingly gave power to Sir Robert Carneagy, in his name, to aſſure the King of France of his conſent and agreement to the propoſals made.

Upon notice ſent his Majeſty of France of this, he, with the Queen-dowager, ſent over Doctor Painter Biſhop of Roſs to ſupport the negociations of Sir Robert Carneagy, and to ſecure the intereſt of all the Noblity and Commons of Scotland in favour of the Queen, particularly the friends of the Earl of Arran by gifts and preſents. Theſe Gentlemen had ſucceſs with all, ſave the Primate of St. Andrew's the Regent's brother, and his nigh relations; but they appear'd deſerted, and juſtly, by the body of the Scots Nation. From this immediate proſpect of the Queen-dowager's aſcent to the Government of Scotland, we may date the eve of the commence-

commencement of a French Government, which involv'd Scotland in ſo much bloodſhed and miſery.

The Queen-dowager being inform'd, that all matters proceeded favourably for her, with all diligence made the neceſſary preparations for her return to Scotland. Henry the IId of France and the Guiſes were hearty and zealous for the Queen's promotion, knowing her to be all French in her maxims and affections; and, being bigotted to the Romiſh Faith, now that Queen Mary had reſtor'd the Romiſh Religion to it's antient eſtabliſhment in England, the French King thought he had the faireſt proſpect, not only of ſuppreſſing totally the Proteſtant Faith in Great Britain, but of ſubjecting Scotland to a future dependence on a French model of Government. The Queen returns.

This year the famous Reformer John Knox appear'd again publicly in Scotland, and not only went about privately, promoting the good work of the Reformation in Scotland; but, by encouragement of his friends, preach'd and taught publickly, to crouded congregations, the Doctrines of the New Teſtament and the Reform'd Religion, with great ſucceſs. This ſo enrag'd the Biſhops, that they commenc'd a proſecution againſt John Knox, and order'd him to be taken into cuſtody, offering a reward to any one who ſhould apprehend him. This forc'd Knox to retire and get over to Geneva, where he became acquainted with John Calvin, who differ'd in many points from Luther his maſter.

The Queen-dowager having got all matters at the Court of France to her ſatisfaction, and having engag'd the King of France, the Duke and the Cardinal of Guiſe (her brothers) to grant ſecurity for her good and faithful adminiſtration of Government to the Kingdom of Scotland, and to be as her Guardians to direct her councils and conduct, ſhe, the beginning of 1555, embark'd for Scotland, attended by Monſieur d'Ozell, who, by the French King's appointment and the Guiſes, was to act as chief Privy-councillor and Secretary of State to the Queen-dowager during her Regency. This was the firſt ſtep to French Government, and the higheſt indignity to the Scots Nation, becauſe it carried with it a practical affirmation of the incapacity and failure in point of wiſdom, in the Nobility of Scotland to hold the reins of Government: but this encroachment of the French upon their too faithful and too generous ally the Scots, was owing to nothing but the folly and bad management of the Scots Nobility, who put their Queen into ſuch an alembic as to be intirely at the diſpoſal and in the poſſeſſion of France, ſo as to enable France to make her exorbitant and higheſt demands to enſlave Scotland.

The Queen, with Monſieur d'Ozell, arriv'd in Scotland fully intruſted and prepar'd to carry their ſcheme into execution; and to procure the Queen's immediate acceſſion to the Government, the King of France ſent over with the Queen a patent, creating the Earl of Arran Duke of Chatle le Rhault, a little from a ſmall Town upon the Vien in Dauphiny. She likewiſe deliver'd a Grant from King Henry to the Earl of Arran of 12,000 piſtoles annually to be regularly paid him for the future, and a ratification of his ſucceſſion to the Crown of Scotland in default of male iſſue from the young Queen Mary, now at the Court of France, and deſign'd for Francis the Dauphin. The Regent over-reach'd, by French artifice, into a conſent of reſignation.

The Queen, by the advice of Monſieur d'Ozell, upon her arrival, and after ſome interviews with the Regent, ſummon'd a grand Council to meet at Edinburgh the 20th of June 1555; and being met, ſhe laid before them all the letters, inſtructions, and offers of King Henry of France relating to her ſucceſſion to the Regency. In this Council it was voted to determine the affairs in Parliament, and that a Parliament ſhould be ſummon'd to meet the 10th day of April next enſuing (1556) in order to the Queen's legal ſettlement and eſtabliſhment in the Government of the Kingdom. In this Council few appeared to oppoſe the Regent's ſurrender of power: his friends were few, and the influence of French intrigues had been ſo ſucceſsful, that the majority by far ſhew'd their diſpoſition for the Queen.

The Earl of Arran, after the Council was over, by the converſation of his brother the Primate, and by the hints from ſome of his family, began to think ſeriouſly concerning the apparent and approaching alteration of his ſtate, when he ſhould be diveſted of all his power and public regard, and at once ſtep from the higheſt pinnacle of public and high life, to the moſt private and retir'd; ſtript of all his influence and authority, and not capable to ſerve himſelf nor his friends. Upon theſe fluctuations of his mind, he would gladly have retracted his promiſe and engagements to reſign the Government of the Kingdom, and for this purpoſe he began to try the diſpoſition of ſuch of the Nobility, whom he ſuppos'd his friends: next he made an attempt to deal with the Queen-dowager to drop her reſolutions or inclinations to the Regency of Scotland. But the Queen, by her own judgment, and by the advice of Monſieur d'Ozell, whom the King of France had ſent over with her Majeſty to conduct and direct her courſe, and to ſuperintend her Majeſty, retir'd from the Regent and deſerted him. Regrets and would retract his promiſe.

She kept her Court at Stirling-caſtle, and thither the Nobility and Gentry repair'd in great numbers; but the Regent was left almoſt ſolitary. The Queen was determin'd to hearken to no private conferences nor conſultations with the Earl of Arran, but to wait the meeting of the Parliament, and there to have the matter determin'd at once. In the mean time, on the 10th of Auguſt, there came over from France a full ratification and ſecurity from King Henry of France, for all the grants, privileges, and titles, yielded to the Earl of Arran, in conſideration of his reſignation. Notwithſtanding theſe were very large, yet his decline in the eſteem

and regard of his own Countrymen increas'd with ſuch a flood and torrent, as to make him quite low and deſpis'd before the meeting of the Parliament.

Upon the day fix'd for the meeting of Parliament, the Lords and Commons eaſſembled at the Parliament-houſe in Edinburgh City, and the Earl of Arran as Regent went from the Palace of Holyrood-houſe with the uſual ſtate and formalities, preceded by the Regalia, the Crown and Scepter, with the other inſtruments of Government carried in proceſſion to the Parliament-houſe. The Parliament being met and open'd by a ſpeech from his Highneſs the Regent, a motion was made to take into immediate conſideration the ſettlement of the Government of the Kingdom, according to the order of Privy-council, in which, by a great majority, it had been voted to transfer the Government into the hands of the Queen-dowager. The queſtion being put, it was carried to take into conſideration all the propoſals and letters relating to this ſent from his Majeſty of France to the Parliament of Scotland by Monſieur d'Ozell, who now attended in the Parliament-houſe with his inſtructions and powers from his Majeſty King Henry of France, as his Ambaſſador-extraordinary in this Negociation.

The Regent, to avert diſmiſſion, reſigns.

The Earl of Arran, having heard ſome few ſpeeches made in Parliament, and being very ſenſible how matters would be carried on, ſav'd the Parliament the trouble of putting the matter to a vote; and, after a ſhort ſpeech excuſing himſelf from the further fatigues and burthen of the Government, he in form made, in the preſence of Lords and Commons, a ſurrender of his Regency to the Parliament, delivering up all the Regalia and enſigns of Government. Upon which the Queen (without putting the queſtion) was unanimouſly ſettled by the Parliament in the adminiſtration of Government, and declar'd Regent from that date, having all the Regalia deliver'd to her, and the proper officers order'd to their duty and attendance upon her in that Quality.

Suceeded by the Queen.

After this meeting of Parliament was over, the Queen as Regent return'd to the Palace thro' the City, with the ſame ſolemnity, ſtate, and formalities in which the Earl of Arran had gone to open the Parliament; but the Earl of Arran return'd in a private, deſerted, and dejected manner: the merit and reward in part of his former low and contemptible adminiſtration of the Government.

The Nation and Kingdom of Scotland having allow'd the Scepter to depart from their native blood, and to paſs into the hands of foreigners, yea French, were now no more maſters of themſelves, but to be ſubjected in the moſt abſolute manner to French councils, power, and artifice. Monſieur d'Ozell was a perſon of an intriguing, artful, and deſigning ſpirit, well adapted for his preſent truſt, and fit to conduct the Queen in all the meaſures agreeable to the intereſts of the King his maſter.

Upon delivery of the Government into the hands of the Queen, all the places of conſequence, Forts, Garriſons, and Caſtles, were put under her immediate protection, and all offices, civil and military, acknowleged the Queen as now Regent and Guardian of the Kingdom: but the Government of a woman being an event quite new and extraordinary to Scotland, and not ſo agreeable to the manly and warlike ſpirit of that Nation, they were not over ſatisfy'd with the alteration which had now taken place. They juſtly were in jealouſy, that they ſhould be ſold to the French, and reduced to a ſlaviſh dependence upon them; therefore the Parliament and Privy-council of Scotland would by no means, nor from no ſolicitation or conſideration, deliver up to the Queen-Regent the Caſtle of Edinburgh; becauſe they did interpret and explain ſuch a ſurrender of the capital Fortreſs of the Kingdom, to be an immediate and plain acknowlegement of ſubjection to a foreign yoke. In ſhort, the putting this important and firſt Fortreſs into the hands of the Queen, they juſtly conſtructed (tho' ſhe was veſted with the Regency) to be upon the matter delivering their Kingdom and all to the French.

She affects popularity.

The Queen behav'd at firſt ſo as to engage popularity, and amus'd the People with pleaſing and diſguis'd appearances. The contemptible degraded Regent the Earl of Arran, attended the Queen-Regent in a circuit ſhe made over all the Northern and remote parts of the Kingdom, which was undertaken by the advice of Monſieur d'Ozell, with deſign to engage and fix the affections of the ſubjects in all quarters; and, after her return, he retir'd to his place aſſign'd him, the Caſtle of Dunbarton, finding his regard quite vaniſh'd and his preſence no more agreeable at Court. The Queen-Regent, immediately after this, made a total alteration in all the Officers of State, none excepted. Her great favourite Monſieur Ruby, a Frenchman, and artful in all his meaſures and projections, was appointed Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſhold, and Lord Chamberlain; but he did ſoon behave ſo much in French character, as to force the Queen to turn him out of his employments, to gratify the Nobility of the Court, who could not put up with his inſolence and repeated encroachments; yet the Queen found ways and means in a little time to have him reſtor'd, and made a Privy-councillor.

The Queen-Regent found the minds of the People a little agitated and not ſatisfy'd with her Government; therefore ſhe embrac'd all the plauſible opportunities to ſupport her regard, and to ſecure her favour in the affections of the People, by reducing the Nation to order, and compoſing the diſorderly plundering parties, which kept the Low Country in conſtant dread and terror of their depredations. For this purpoſe, ſhe granted commiſſion to George Earl of Huntley to raiſe a body of men, and to march againſt one Murderach Captain-general of

theſe

theſe thieves, and to purſue him with all his parties until taken and deſtroy'd. This Murderach was the Chief of the Clan Ranalds, and had very ſtrong and deſperate parties to ſupport him, by which he had done great hurt all over the Country.

The Earl of Huntley did not execute this commiſſion with that ſucceſs and fidelity which was expected of him; therefore the Queen-regent, with the advice of her Council, order'd my Lord Huntley into cuſtody untill he ſhould ſtand trial for the miſcarriage of his enterprize againſt the banditti. The Lord Huntley, in his own vindication, loaded the Clan Chatton or the Macintoſhes with the whole guilt of his failing of ſucceſs; pretending that they, out of private grudge or ſecret reſentment from an old quarrel, had diſconerted all his meaſures and operations, and inſiſting that the Macintoſhes had held a ſecret correſpondence with the rebels; but nothing of this could be made appear: the Macintoſhes only refuſed and declin'd abſolutely to fight or act under the Earl of Huntley, or to be connected with him in any expedition or command; the reaſon of which was an indignity offer'd and given to the whole name of Macintoſh in the perſon of their young Chief, who was a fine Gentleman and a man of ſpirit. This young Gentleman did refuſe to ſubject himſelf or his Clan to the vaſſalage of the Earl of Huntley, and would not be engag'd to unite with the Lord Huntley, or ackowlege him as his Superior. Upon which my Lord Huntley, under pretence of friendſhip and counterfeiting his reſentment, appear'd to be in a friendly diſpoſition toward the Chief of the Macintoſhes or Clan Chatton, in order to draw the young Chief into a ſnare, which the Earl of Huntley accordingly executed; and, having got this young Chief without guard or ſecurity, he laid hold of him and detain'd him priſoner, ordering him under a ſufficient guard untill he ſhould return from his expedition againſt the Macranalds. In the mean time, the Lord Huntley gave ſecret inſtructions to his Lady, to cut off this young Gentleman of the Macintoſhes in his abſence, and to employ ſome fellows ſecretly to execute the villainy: but the good Lady Huntley, ſiſter to James Stewart Earl of Murray, refus'd to comply; yet, in order to preſerve the young Gentleman's life, ſhe counterfeited her inclinations, and made her huſband the Earl of Huntley believe, tho' ſhe would not be directly concern'd in it, yet ſhe would ſecretly order it ſhould be done with art and addreſs; by which the Lady made her Lord ſecure, and not think of any other manner to cut off the young man. The Earl of Huntley being gone upon his expedition againſt the Macranalds, expecting never to ſee the young Gentleman of the Clan Chatton again. The Lady Huntley took care to provide for Macintoſh's ſafety, and to convey him out of danger, having an utter abhorrence of ſo groſs and bloody a fact as her huſband meditated.

Lord Huntley's defection.

Upon the Earl of Huntley's return, unſucceſsful as I have mentioned, he was not only confin'd and impeach'd for miſbehaviour againſt the rebels; but for barbarity and the confinement of this Gentleman, with deſign to deſtroy him. The Lord Huntley had hinted his intentions to ſome domeſtics and vaſſals, who upon this occaſion were made evidences againſt him; and therefore the Queen-regent and Privy-council, after long hearing and full trial, were in great perplexity how to determine his puniſhment; my Lord Huntley being a man of ſuch extenſive and dangerous influence, poſſeſs'd of ſo large ſuperiorities and eſtates. The French party in the Council were for beheading of him; but the Scots Nobility oppos'd this meaſure as too violent, and not expedient in the preſent conjuncture. They likewiſe oppos'd his baniſhment to France, leſt he, being an artful, deſigning, and moſt revengeful man, might occaſion and promote great uneaſineſs, and diſturb the peace and good underſtanding betwixt both Kingdoms, when matters appear'd ſo cloudy and threatning a war with their neighbours.

Is confin'd,

The Earl of Caſſills, who at this time was a perſon of great influence, and of approv'd judgment and penetration, made a propoſal to the Queen and Council, which was agreed to; that Gordon Earl of Huntley ſhould be pardon'd and have his life and the richeſt part of his fortune, provided he made a voluntary and free ſurrender of all his eſtates, ſuperiorities, and property in the Weſtern Iſlands and Highlands, which he chearfully ratified, and gave ſolemn promiſes and aſſurances to the Queen and Privy-council, to promote all in his power, by the ſtricteſt friendſhip, her Majeſty's intereſt and the welfare of the Nation.

and, after heavy forfeitures, releas'd.

Such was my Lord Huntley's cunning and addreſs, that, in a little time after he was ſet at liberty, he gain'd ſo far upon the Queen-regent, and was in ſuch regard with her, that he became a chief favourite, and was created a Privy-councillor and one of the Lords of the bedchamber. At length, the Queen was ſo much engag'd and attach'd to my Lord Huntley, that his advice determin'd the diſpoſal of all the civil and military preferments in the State. Huntley never digeſted nor forgot the diſmantling him of the Highlands and Iſles; and therefore, tho' apparently zealous in the Queen-regent's intereſt, he ſecretly determin'd to promote and direct all meaſures ſo as to make the Queen-regent hateful and contemptible to all the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland; and the moſt direct way for accompliſhing this, was to perſuade the Queen-dowager to prefer foreigners, particularly, to all offices of truſt and honour over the Kingdom; and thereby he knew, that the Nobility and Gentry would conceive ſuch hatred and diſlike at her Majeſty the Queen-regent, that they would embaraſs and diſturb her Government, ſo as to be capable ſoon to overthrow her adminiſtration. The Queen-regent was chiefly directed by Monſieur d'Ozell and Ruby, with ſome other Frenchmen; and they endeavour'd in all matters to eclipſe and diſregard the Scots Nobility. They likewiſe inſtill'd into the Queen-regent, an apprehenſion and ſuſpicion of danger from the Scots; and that the

Deſigns the Queen's ruin.

ſecurity,

The French advise a standing army.

ſecurity, ſtability, and authority of her Government, depended on ſupporting a conſtant ſtanding force in pay, which, under pretext of guarding and defending the Frontier from England, would effectually overawe and ſubject the malcontents and diſaffected of Scotland. This was a piece of refin'd French policy; and, when in any government the ſuperiors aim at ſupporting ſtanding armies to carry their ſyſtem into execution by the terror of military force and tyranny, there never is wanting a plauſible and well-gilded colour for ſuch encroaching behaviour. The Queen-regent, by the advice and contrivance of Monſieur d'Ozell, and her other favourites of the French Nation, propos'd to the Privy-council of Scotland to ſupport by a land-tax a conſtant ſtanding force, to protect the Kingdom from inſults, and to preſerve order in the Commonwealth. The deſign of this was to introduce French auxiliaries and mercenaries at the expence of Scotland, ſo as to make the Scots Nation pay for their own chains, and the French be capable of commanding, yea dragooning, them into all meaſures with tame ſubmiſſion.

The ſcheme, concerted and offer'd to the Privy-council and Parliament of Scotland, by the cookery of the French Ambaſſador, was, that, in order to be capable to ſupport an arm'd force to be always in readineſs to anſwer and obey the exigencies of State, a tax ſhould be laid and levy'd by order of Parliament upon all mens eſtates, of whatever rank, over the Kingdom, to be collected by the proper officers appointed by Parliament for this end, to be depoſited in a ſeparate treaſury for this purpoſe alone: that all eſtates ſhould be tax'd according to an exact ſurvey which ſhould be made of all eſtates, both of Noblemen and Gentlemen, by public authority.

The People alarm'd and remonſtrate againſt it.

This French ſyſtem alarm'd the Scots Nation out of their lethargy. The Nobility (who of all Nations were in thoſe days the burthen and diſtreſs of a free eſtabliſhment) they, from a contemptible meanneſs of ſoul, and having moſt to loſe, were frighten'd with apprehenſions of the Queen-regent's acute reſentments; therefore were unwilling to declare openly againſt this new ſcheme, or to ſhew their oppoſition; the Houſe of Lords at that time being in the ſame ſtate in which the Peers at many other times have been found to ſubmit moſt tamely to baſe practices: but the Commons, the midling ſort, and the multitude, the honeſt, unguarded, and the braver part of the Nation, they openly declaim'd in public and private againſt this innovation in the State; and having ſummon'd all the Commons, Freeholders, and Burgeſſes, to meet at Edinburgh without delay, there was accordingly a full meeting of all the Gentlemen of the Kingdom, in which they unanimouſly determin'd to ſend a ſolemn deputation and embaſſy to the Queen-regent, with their candid ſentiments on this new and arbitrary meaſure, which was ſo directly calculated to introduce other arbitrary and enſlaving articles, as had a tendency to ſubvert their ancient and truly Roman conſtitution.

The Commons aſſembled, made choice of two the moſt eminent and approv'd Gentlemen to repreſent them, and to carry their addreſs to the Queen-regent, viz. John Sandylands of Calder, and John Weems, Eſqrs; with full power to them to repreſent the whole affair to the Queen in the fulleſt and moſt affecting light. The Gentlemen of the deputation, according to their inſtructions, waited of the Queen-regent, and deliver'd to her the following manly and elegant addreſs; which I expreſs as nigh the ſenſe as the difference of language will admit of.

Their addreſs.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty, our Guardian and Regent,

" We come in name and by authority of the Commons of Scotland, the Freeholders, and Burgeſſes, to repreſent in the moſt dutiful and loyal manner, the bad tendency of the preſent attempt againſt our liberty and conſtitution, by the intended project of a new tax upon all landed men, in ſupport of a body of the moſt uſeleſs and worthleſs part of the Commonwealth, a body and band of ſoldiers to be levied and ſupported for the pretended defence of our Kingdom; when, thro' all ages paſt, the native inhabitants and proprietors have demonſtrated how capable they were to defend their Country againſt all auxiliaries or mercenaries who have attempted to diſturb our national tranquillity. We moſt humbly beg leave to repreſent with great duty, candour, and fidelity, to your Majeſty, as our Regent and Guardian, that we are abſolutely of opinion of the utter inutility, yea ill conveniency, of theſe or ſuch like forces, rais'd upon a fund which muſt diſtreſs and annoy your ſubjects of the largeſt property. Suppoſing ſuch mercenaries and forces to be in your Highneſs's and the Nation's pay, can it be thought or expected, that theſe will act with the ſame vigour, or ſo effectually to repel and check the enemy upon your Frontier as the Nobility and Gentry who take the field voluntarily, who are inur'd to war and come to defend their families, their lives, eſtates, and all that's valuable. There can be no doubt of their bravery nor fidelity; and you are ſure to have them always prepar'd upon any emergency for their own ſafety, which can't be the caſe of hir'd mercenary troops; for, as they have no tie nor obligation upon them but their pay, they are always liable and in danger of being corrupted by the enemy's ſuperior rewards: theſe, who have no obligations but money, are ready to ſerve where beſt paid. This is the evil of all ſtanding armies. They are the burthen and nuſance of the State, except when under the moſt accurate reſtrictions and regulations; they are always doubtful, and by no means equal in certainty or integrity in their operations to the national militia, under the command of their heads and maſters, when call'd to fight in defence of

of their inheritance, properties, lives, and families, which are the chief motives to excite bravery, reſolution, and a deſperate reſiſtance of a foreign enemy. Your Highneſs, by this innovation, muſt give your ſubjects of Scotland ground to ſuſpect you propoſe, by the evil council of foreigners, to enſlave the People of Scotland, and to ſubject them to military force, to make them only ſubſervient to the deſigns and projections of other Nations. This naturally muſt excite a jealouſy, and affect your intereſt and regard in the minds and affections of the People of Scotland, which we hope your Majeſty will preſerve inviolably attach'd to your Majeſty's juſt Adminiſtration. We think it our duty to remonſtrate againſt this dangerous meaſure, which we conceive your Majeſty has been induc'd to offer by the perſuaſion of a latent but dangerous enemy to our Country, it's peace and liberty. Suppoſing the Kingdom of Scotland ſhould agree to this new manner of defence of their Country, Who are to levy this large and extenſive tax? Who are to be accountable to the Nation for the right and juſt application of it, and how ſhall it be executed? In what manner are the levies to be made, and of whom are theſe mercenary troops to be compos'd?---of natives or foreigners, or both? Will this auxiliary army of mercenaries be a ſufficient barrier, and upon all occaſions act with fidelity to their truſt? If not, what have the Kingdom of Scotland to do to introduce this ſervitude upon themſelves and their poſterity? The ſtrongeſt fortification for the eſtabliſhment of your Majeſty's Adminiſtration and Government, is in the love and affections of your ſubjects, and they will neceſſarily love and obey, when they find your Majeſty's tender and greateſt care is to ſecure their properties, their lives and families, and your endeavours ſucceſsful in promoting their happineſs. Robert Bruce, who was the great aſſertor of the honour and independency of the Imperial Crown of Scotland, gave it as a part and branch of his laſt will and teſtament, that there was no way nor mean ſo effectual to ſupport the ſpirit and grandeur of the Scots Nation, as to exerciſe and diſcipline the natives in the art of war: that long and lethargic peace made the People fall into luxury, inactivity, and indolent gratifications of pleaſure, which ſo ſoften'd and weaken'd their minds as to reduce them to a contemptible diſpoſition of ſpirit, and did prepare them for being conquer'd and enſlav'd by all their neighbours; therefore, as long peace with the Engliſh and others was not to be expected, (according to Robert Bruce) it was the evident intereſt of Scotland to ſupport and cultivate the warlike and military genius of the natives, which was the moſt effectual defence and barrier againſt all invaders and foreign enemies, and of evident preference, yea much greater advantage, than any hir'd ot ſtanding force, whoſe integrity and bravery was precarious, and upon no ſure eſtabliſhment."

Theſe manly, ſtrong, and nervous remonſtrances of theſe brave and primitive Caledonians, Deſpiſers of money and of all mercenary and enſlaving arts, proceeded from the native ſimplicity and rectitude of their manners, and from an innate and manly ſpirit of virtue, not acquainted with the politer arts of corruption, venality, dejection, and meanneſs of ſoul, reſerv'd for the diſgrace and infamy of ſucceeding ages; where nothing but the love of money, the deſire of pleaſure, the encouragement of luxury, were to be the receiv'd and eſtabliſh'd principles of civil and political oeconomy, and of the leading examples. This excellent oration I have varied from, only in ſtile and language; the ſenſe, meaning, and ſpirit, according to the antient and authentic records, I have reſerved entire as ſacred and not to be mutilated. It's nervous influence ſufficiently appear'd by it's operation on the Queen-regent's mind and her French Councillors, who, being fully ſatisfied that ſhe was cordial in every meaſure for promoting the French intereſt, made her Majeſty, by her Adminiſtration, promote only ſuch meaſures as might effectually eſtabliſh a future dependency of Scotland upon France; and to this very day it is evident, the Court of France, nor her Monarchs, never had any ſubſtantial regard for this antient Kingdom. The many bloody ſacrifices of Nobility, Gentry, and others of Scotland who have ſuffer'd for their fooliſh and perverſe obſtinate attachment to France, and who by French treachery have been ruin'd in their eſtates and families, ought to be monumental records to make the very name of France hateful to the Kingdom of Scotland.

The Queen-regent, having taken this repreſentation of the Commons of Scotland (who were ſecretly approv'd of by the Nobility) into her conſideration, and having laid the whole before the Privy-council, it was agreed wiſely to drop the intended tax, and to reconcile as much as poſſible the minds of the People, who were upon this occaſion alarm'd, and now ready to watch all the motions of the French Cabinet which the Queen-regent chiefly conſulted. The Queen, to gratify the People and to compoſe their minds, frequently in public declar'd for her own vindication, that this unſeaſonable and offenſive meaſure of levying a new tax for ſupport of a ſtanding army, was the child of ſome Scotſmen of her Privy-council! This made it greatly ſuſpected, that the formation and promotion of the ſcheme came from the Earl of Huntley, who, being reſtor'd to favour and admitted into the Privy-council, had ever ſince his reſtoration promoted ſeveral pernicious meaſures to excite troubles and commotions in the Kingdom; being a man of a turbulent and diſorderly mind, he lov'd to fiſh in muddy and troubled water; and therefore was blam'd for this, tho' I can't affirm it was with juſtice. There was another who likewiſe was impeach'd with the projection of this meaſure, and who had been a faithful tool to the French in negociating all the favourite deſigns of the Queen-regent at the Court of France: this was Painter Biſhop of Roſs, one of the true black

The Queen complies with the People's remonſtrances.

order, perfectly maſter of deceit under the roſe: he was the great promoter of the intereſt and welfare of the Hamiltons, whoſe mean practices and mal-adminiſtration had introduc'd ſuch a ſeries of troubles and misfortunes as the Nation was now threaten'd with.

A treaty of peace with England in agitation.

In the beginning of 1557 there were Ambaſſadors nominated by the Queen-regent and Privy-council, with advice of the Parliament of Scotland, to treat with the Ambaſſadors of England concerning a pacification, and to ſettle and agree upon proper articles for preventing all future miſtakes or miſunderſtandings. The Ambaſſadors of both Nations met at Carliſle: they had had ſeveral conferences, and were in a fair way of agreement. But while they were engag'd in concerting the moſt equitable terms for a future accommodation of all differences, the French King Henry ſent an Embaſſy-extraordinary to the Queen-regent of Scotland with very ſmooth and obliging letters to the Parliament of Scotland; deſiring they would aſſiſt his French Majeſty with ſuccours and ſupport his intereſt againſt England, by declaring War immediately againſt the Engliſh! This was demonſtration now to the Scots, that nothing leſs would ſerve the King of France than to engage and embarraſs the Kingdom of Scotland in all his quarrels, to keep the Scots Nation in a ſtate of conſtant trouble and expence to ſerve their encroaching allies.

The Queen, with Monſieur d'Ozell, upon the arrival of this Embaſſy, and receiving their inſtructions from the Guiſes at the Court of France, ſent expreſſes privately to their Ambaſſadors at Carliſle, to promote obſtacles and difficulties to prevent a ſettlement, and to embarraſs the articles of peace which were ready for ſignature with the Court of London. The Queen-regent likewiſe ſummon'd the Parliament to meet, not at Edinburgh as ought to have been, but at the monaſtery of Newbotle, four miles South and a little Weſt of Edinburgh. There her Majeſty laid before the Lords and Commons all the letters and propoſals ſent by King Henry of France; but the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland did not think fit to agree to them, and excus'd themſelves to the Queen in as ſoft and ſubmiſſive a manner as poſſible. The Queen, with Monſieur d'Ozell and Ruby, were greatly diſappointed at this and in great emotion, yet conceal'd their reſentment with great art. Finding the ſpirit of the Nation did not favour their ſyſtem, they did not think it prudent nor expedient to make an open rupture and breach with the Nobility of the Kingdom; therefore, according to the French mode, they exercis'd their invention to form ſome ſly and proper expedient, which by art and cunning might accompliſh what by force and power they did not think fit to put to the trial. On this occaſion, the expedient of the Monſieur d'Ozell's invention was, that the Queen-regent ſhould reſt ſatisfied with the mind and reſolutions of the Parliament and Privy-council, and appear'd thoroughly ſatisfy'd; but ſhould acquaint her Privy-council in a few days after, that ſhe had determin'd, for the defence of the Nation, and to be as a Frontier and Barrier-garriſon, to erect a new Fort or Citadel upon the river Ay near Eymouth in the Mers, to watch all the motions of the Engliſh.

Interrupted by the machinations of M. d'Ozell,

This artifice of Monſieur d'Ozell's the Queen-regent knew well the Parliament nor Privy-council would not venture to interrupt or quarrel about, being ſhe was authoriz'd to do ſo by her prerogative and character: but her French Council ſufficiently inſtructed the Queen-regent, that it was the moſt direct and effectual means to bring on a war with England, and ſo force the Parliament of Scotland into the meaſures and deſigns of the King of France, which accordingly happen'd; for no ſooner had the workmen and board of ordnance begun to erect the Fortreſs at Eymouth, than the Engliſh ſent parties and demoliſh'd their works, which produc'd the effects ſecretly intended by the Queen and Monſieur d'Ozell, and the Engliſh begun to aſſemble an army to advance toward Scotland.

Upon this the Parliament of Scotland being aſſembled by ſudden proclamation to provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom, they declar'd war againſt England, and order'd out proclamations for aſſembling the ſtrength of the whole Kingdom; in conſequence of which, the national militia were all in great hurry (yet fully) aſſembled and muſter'd at Edinburgh. They compos'd a formidable army of many thouſands, and were order'd to march to Maxwell-hugh, or rock, in Teviotdale nigh the banks of the Tweed. Here they had orders to halt, and not to begin their operations nor enter upon action, untill full orders given by the Committee of Parliament and Privy-council: but Monſieur d'Ozell, from a conceited opinion of his own conduct, and being fully reſolute if poſſible to enhance the honour and glory of defeating the Engliſh, and forcing them to retire into their own Country and to diſmiſs their army, without waiting for orders from the Parliament or Privy-council, proceeded with his French troops to attack different places on the Frontier of England, and to encounter the flying parties of the Engliſh. But what chiefly provok'd and enrag'd the Nobility of Scotland at Monſieur d'Ozell was, that he had prepar'd a train of ordnance, and march'd therewith his French auxiliaries, to beſiege the Caſtle of Werk in form, without waiting for orders from the Parliament or Privy-council his ſuperiors; or having any commiſſion to act.

who, without authority, beſieges the Caſtle of Werk.

The Nobility command his return.

The Nobility of Scotland explain'd this his behaviour as an open indignity and contempt of them and their authority, and as a prelude to their being intirely eclips'd and directed by the French; therefore, having met on this occaſion and taking d'Ozell's aſſuming behaviour into conſideration, they voted, by a conſiderable majority, that d'Ozell ſhould be call'd to anſwer for his conduct, and ſent him expreſs orders to deſiſt from all his operations, to withdraw his artillery and forces from Werk-caſtle, and to return.

The

The Queen-regent and d'Ozell did conſtruct this as an indignity offer'd to the Regent's authority, and to the French King whoſe Ambaſſador d'Ozell was: but the Scots Nobility inſiſted it was their prerogative and birthright to take the chief command of all operations in their own Kingdom, and from this they would not depart; therefore, they came to a reſolution in Parliament, that, if Monſieur d'Ozell did not punctually obey their orders, he ſhould be try'd and brought to puniſhment, as a traitor to the Kingdom. The Queen and her favourite d'Ozell were highly enrag'd at this vigorous reſolution; but were afraid to irritate and inflame the Nobility: therefore they did put up with it, and ſubmitted to the reſolutions of Parliament. In the mean time, they jointly meditated an effectual mean by ſtratagem to fix the chains of France upon the Scots Nation; therefore the Queen-regent and Monſieur d'Ozell ſent over, without delay, a full account of all to the Court of France to acquaint them how uncertain they were of the friendſhip of Scotland from the preſent ſpirit and diſpoſition of the Nation; and therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to form ſome expedient to bind the Scots Nation by ſtronger obligations to the French; for they were unwilling now to quarrel with England, for the Scots and with great truth affirm'd, that the only motive which the French King had to perſuade the Scots Nation to attack England, was becauſe Mary Queen of England had granted ſupplies of men and money to her huſband King Philip of Spain to ſupport him againſt France, and the Engliſh had tranſported a body of troops to the Spaniſh Netherlands to make a diverſion in favour of Spain. Therefore, very modeſtly, the French King wanted to involve and embroil the Kingdom of Scotland in his war, and thereby to put the Scots Nation to all diſadvantages, which was the only end Scotland could propoſe to gain by embarking in a war with England at this juncture. But the King of France being made ſenſible, that the ſpirit of the Nobility of Scotland was diſcontented, and knowing how dangerous it was to excite their rage and reſentment, by the addreſs of the family of Guiſe the Queen-regent's brothers, who were the chief in the Adminiſtration at the Court of France, King Henry concerted a politer and an immediate expedient to connect more neceſſarily and immediately the intereſts of Scotland with that of France; in order to which he nominated a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Court of Scotland to ſignify his royal pleaſure, that the Parliament of Scotland ſhould agree to have their young Queen Mary, who now was of age, married to the young Dauphin, the apparent heir to the Crown of France.

M. d'Ozell menac'd with the treatment of a traitor.

The French demand the marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin.

This Embaſſy was ſent, with proper inſtructions, in the month of October 1557: upon which, a Council-extraordinary was call'd, to deliberate upon the diſpatches arriv'd from France. The Council being met, and having conſider'd the propoſals of his French Majeſty, were under neceſſity of agreeing to it, however diſadvantageous, the French being maſters of the young Queen, and ſo, however contrary to the private ſentiments of many, it was unanimouſly agreed to have the Parliament to meet at Edinburgh, December 20th of this year, to have the national ſanction and approbation to this great and important event; and that the ſolemn deputation of the Scots Nation, who were to witneſs the ſolemnity of the marriage, might be of the parliamentary nomination, and out of the three eſtates of the Kingdom; Lords, Clergy, and Commons.

The Scots forc'd into a compliance.

This year, after that Monſieur d'Ozell was recall'd, there happen'd no action of conſequence upon the Frontier with the Engliſh, excepting that betwixt the Duke of Norfolk and Sir Andrew Ker of Cesford, which was fought at the foot of the Cheviot hills; in which the Engliſh were victorious, after an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance by the Scots, of whom great numbers fell in the field, particularly many perſons of diſtinction. Sir Andrew Ker was taken priſoner, and all his men thereby forc'd to diſperſe: but the Engliſh, becauſe of the numerous army of Scots, who were marching up to make reprizals, thought proper to retire and reſt ſatisfy'd with this victory, and not to continue the preſent campaign any longer for the ſeaſon.

The Parliament of Scotland, being met according to proclamation, the Queen-regent, with the uſual ſtate, went to the Parliament-houſe from her Palace of Holyrood-houſe, and open'd the Seſſions, with a ſpeech plainly indicating her inclinations for her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin of France, and repreſenting the mighty advantages to the Kingdom of Scotland by ſuch a ſtrict and mutual bond of friendſhip and alliance.

The Lords and Commons (tho' many of the moſt diſcerning were highly diſcontented) all of them agreed to the concluſion of the marriage, and made no open oppoſition. They nominated eight to go over to repreſent the Parliament and Kingdom of Scotland at the ſolemnity, and gave them inſtructions how to act and behave, with which the Queen was not at all ſatisfy'd; but as the nomination was ſettled, ſhe ſent ſecret orders to the Guiſes to hurry on the marriage for fear any oppoſition or interruption might happen to delay it. The perſons nominated were, Gilbert Kennedy Earl of Caſſills, George Leſley Earl of Rothes, and James Fleming Earl of Cumbernauld: the Clergy were, James Beaton Archbiſhop of Glaſcow, Robert Reid Biſhop of Orkney, and James Stewart Prior of St. Andrew's the Queen's brother; and two Freeholders, James Seaton Governor of Edinburgh-caſtle, with John Erſkine of Dun Governor of Montroſs.

They appoint an Embaſſy for France to celebrate the nuptials.

Having receiv'd their final inſtructions from the Parliament and Privy-council of Scotland, they were order'd to embark directly, under convoy of ſome men of war; and accordingly, having ſet ſail from Leith, they proceeded on their voyage, and in the Channel met with a violent

violent ſtorm which ſcatter'd their fleet: two of the fleet were ſunk nigh to Boulogn in France, and the Earl of Rothes with the Biſhop of Orkney, on board one of the ſhips, eſcap'd by the aſſiſtance of a fiſhing-boat which took them up and brought them to ſhore at Boulogn. The reſt of the fleet, after being toſs'd at ſea, landed all the Scots Ambaſſadors ſafe; who having met together, went directly for Paris, where they were receiv'd with great honours and marks of diſtinction from King Henry and all the Court of France.

After ſome conferences and articles concerning the ſettlement of the marriage-treaty betwixt Scotland and France, the ſolemnity of the marriage was celebrated with great magnificence and pomp at Paris, the 28th day of April 1558; and immediately after, the marriage of the Royal Pair was conſummated: upon which, for ſeveral days, nothing follow'd but public rejoicings, diverſions, amuſements, muſical entertainments, dancing, and all gaieties in the politeſt taſte of the French Nation. When the whole Court were fully glutted of their mirth and diverſions upon this conjugal ſolemnity, they apply'd themſelves to their old ſyſtem, which was intended by the marriage, to annex Scotland in a perpetual dependency on the Crown of France.

The marriage conſummated.

When all the gaiety and mirth of the Court was over, the King order'd a Council-extraordinary to be ſummon'd, which being met, they invited the Ambaſſadors from Scotland to be witneſſes to all their reſolutions and requeſts: the Guiſes, brothers to the Queen-regent of Scotland, had hurry'd on this match with the greater celerity, becauſe of Duke Momorancy's abſence, being confin'd a priſoner of war by the French King's enemies. At this time the Guiſes brothers to the Queen-regent, who were five in number, carried all before them at the Court of Paris, and they haſten'd the marriage of the young Pair all they could, in which for ſome time both were moſt happy.

The Queen-dowager of Scotland had of her family five brothers all in high regard and power at the Court of France. The Duke of Guiſe the elder brother was Captain-general and Marſhal of all the French armies: the next was nominated to ſucceed in the command of the French armies in Piedmont and the Milaneſe: the third was ſent over, with a dribbling handful of hirelings, to reinforce their hungry and idle countrymen in Scotland: the fourth was General and Commandant of the gallies, a moſt infamous branch of honour and preferment, tho' of French-royal nomination; and the laſt or fifth was the Prieſt (to wit, the Cardinal) whom, by his character and office, all may know to be more knave than fool. By theſe hopeful and numerous fraternity all matters, civil, military, and eccleſiaſtic, were conducted in France; and theſe Gentlemen pretended to extend their influence to Scotland, to dictate to the Caledonians, who had been too often impos'd upon by French council.

The Guiſes, by the conſent of King Henry of France, ſecretly ſuggeſted ſeveral unreaſonable and unwarrantable propoſitions to the French Cabinet-council; therefore, when the French King had ſummon'd a Council-extraordinary of all his Miniſtry and the Princes of the Blood, it was agreed and ſettled in Council, that his Majeſty of France, in name of his Council and Kingdom, ſhould demand in form that the Crown and Scepter, and other Regalia of Scotland, ſhould be ſent over to the Court of France; that the Dauphin ſhould (in right of his Lady the Queen of Scotland) be declar'd and crown'd at Paris King of Scotland; and that the Parliament and Kingdom of Scotland ſhould ratify and acknowlege this act and ſettlement. Next it was propos'd, that all the antient coin of Scotland, bearing the arms of the Imperial Crown of Scotland, ſhould be call'd in and melted down; that no new coinage ſhould be in Scotland, but that the current coin for the future in Scotland ſhould be that which bore the portraiture of Francis II. of France, with the Arms of France quarter'd, and that the French arms ſhould be erected on all the public Offices and Palaces, and the antient arms of Scotland quite eraz'd. This was an extraordinary demonſtration of French modeſty and ſincerity in friendſhip!

The preposterous demands of France.

Theſe very extraordinary and encroaching demands were notify'd to the Embaſſy of the Scots Nobility, Clergy and Gentry, who had come over to France to put the laſt hand to the overthrow of their Country. The Chancellor, the Secretary of State, and all other chief Miniſters of State to the French King, inſiſted that the Ambaſſadors of Scotland, by their ſignature, ſhould engage themſelves for the Scots Nation, that the Kingdom of Scotland ſhould agree to all theſe propoſals and ratify them.

This was ſo unjuſt, exorbitant and vile an encroachment, that the Scots Nobility found themſelves under neceſſity to act with vigour, ſpirit and reſolution; therefore the Embaſſy from Scotland unanimouſly made anſwer, that they had receiv'd particular and full inſtructions as to every branch of their Negotiations and Embaſſy; and, as they were in public character, they were determin'd not to go a tittle beyond their orders and inſtructions. Upon this the French King and his Council peremptorily demanded, that the Ambaſſadors ſhould engage by an inſtrument in writing ſign'd and ſeal'd, that they upon their return to Scotland ſhould uſe their utmoſt efforts and intereſt to procure the Crown and all the Regalia to be ſent over to Paris; and that they ſhould effectually engage the Parliament of Scotland to ratify and agree to all the other propoſitions, which amounted to no leſs than an immediate ſurrender and expoſing to ſale of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Theſe arbitrary, immannerly, and impudent propoſals of the Court of France, were juſtly rejected with indignation by the Scots Embaſſy. Upon which, when the French Court could not

not gain upon them to betray and ſell their national honour and dignity, they were very cooly diſmis'd, and allow'd to return home without any particular marks of regard from his French Majeſty. But ſuch was the fatal honeſty of French and Popiſh alliance, that the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Scots Embaſſy, when they departed from the Court of France, and came to the ſea-port of Diep to embark for Scotland, all of them were ſuddenly taken ill, and their illneſs prov'd ſuch a malignant fever, that the Earls of Rothes and Caſſills and the Lord Fleming, with the Biſhop of Orkney, dy'd in a few hours in extreme agonies. The others, with great difficulty, recover'd. James Stewart the Queen's brother, afterward Earl of Murray, had ſhar'd of the poiſon; but being of a very robuſt conſtitution, eſcap'd death; yet all his life after was afflicted with a trouble in his ſtomach, occaſion'd by the doſe adminiſtred to him on this occaſion. This was a warning to the Scots to be for ever for the future guarded againſt French hoſpitality and integrity.

The Chiefs of the Embaſſy deſtroy'd by poiſon.

Upon return of the Embaſſy, the ſurviving Gentlemen made report of all their Negociations, and how they had been us'd by the Court of France: upon which, the Privy-council order'd proclamations for ſummoning the Parliament to meet at Dumblane, to conſider of all the propoſals and treatment of the French.

A Parliament call'd.

However extraordinary and unreaſonable all this behaviour may appear; yet it is, by all hiſtorians foreign as well as Scots writers, allow'd to be fact and aſſerted: the Engliſh hiſtorians do not refuſe it; and therefore, I hope none will think that I have affirm'd theſe facts from any partiality.

The Parliament being met at Dumblane in July 1558, they took into conſideration the propoſitions and extraordinary demands of the Court of France. The Court of France gave orders to M. d'Ozell to reduce all the demands of France to four capital articles, which they inſiſted to have fulfill'd. The articles were as follows:

The demands of France conſider'd.

Firſt, that the Imperial Crown of Scotland, with the Sword and Scepter, ſhould be delivered up to the French Ambaſſador to be by him ſent over to Paris, with all the other enſigns of Government, for the Coronation of the Dauphin of France as King of Scotland; and that an inſtrument ſhould be at the ſame time drawn up, ſign'd, ſeal'd, and approv'd of by the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, with a parliamentary ratification, acknowleging the Dauphin as King of Scotland, and owning allegiance to him as ſuch, as well as to Queen Mary their real Sovereign. Which inſtrument was by their demand to be directly tranſmitted to France, and deliver'd to the cuſtody of the Dauphin.

Secondly, the French Ambaſſador inſiſted to have all the antient Seals of Scotland alter'd; and that new Seals might be made for the Kingdom of Scotland, bearing the united arms of Scotland and France quarter'd, and that the Coin of Scotland ſhould bear the arms of France as well as Scotland, with the portraiture of the Dauphin as King of Scotland.

Thirdly, the French Ambaſſador had orders to demand of the Parliament of Scotland, that they ſhould enact in their preſent ſitting, that every native free-born ſubject of France ſhould be held in Scotland as a native of Scotland, and be eſteemed, in the eye of the law and conſtitution of Scotland, as naturaliz'd; therefore they ſhould be entituled to purchaſe eſtates and ſettlements in Scotland as well as the native Scots. This was the fineſſe of French modeſty and friendſhip!

Laſtly, the Ambaſſador M. d'Ozell intimated, that it was the King his maſter's pleaſure, yea abſolute order to him, to demand and require poſitively, that all the revenues, taxes, and duties levied, or to be levied, by order of Parliament, ſhould be in the name and for the behoof of the Dauphin of France! This was reducing the Sovereignty and independency of the Crown of Scotland to a ſhadow, and perſuading the Scots, that they were receiving an acceſſion of ſtrength from an alliance with France, when in fact the French were ſtripping the Kingdom of Scotland of all it's honours and power, in order to prepare them for chains and ſlavery.

Theſe propoſals were not only for eſtabliſhing the French King as King of Scotland, but as the moſt abſolute Monarch and Tyrant: however the Queen-regent's influence was ſtrong; and, alas! the true ſpirit of the Scots Nobility almoſt corrupted, none almoſt now of the brave and antient aſſertors of liberty ſurviving: ſo that by a majority theſe points were all granted by the Parliament of Scotland, but with great oppoſition of ſome of the Nobility and the Knights of the Counties. The heads of the proteſting Lords on this occaſion were, the Duke of Chatle le Rhault Earl of Arran, who would not witneſs the ſigning the act granting all theſe demands, but left the houſe with ſome ſtrong expreſſions; and the Earl of Glencairn, who told the Chancellor in Parliament, that they had ſold their Kingdom for iron-chains to France; and immediately after, with ſeveral Lords who had ſeconded the proteſt made by the Earl of Arran, went off from the Parliament-houſe.

Are approv'd.

The late Regent proteſts againſt them.

The diſcontent was ſo evident to the Queen-regent and her French Councillors, that they found it prudent on this occaſion not to provoke and oppreſs the People of Scotland too much; and therefore, tho' they carried all their ſcheme by a vote in Parliament, they did not think it ſafe to carry this parliamentary power into execution, for they did not venture at this time to ſend over or remove the Crown and Scepter of Scotland from the Caſtle of Edinburgh, where

they were depoſited for ſecurity. Monſieur d'Ozell was by the Queen-regent, upon this occaſion, made Keeper or Maſter of the Palace at Linlithgow, and had the Privy-ſeals deliver'd him, which juſtly rais'd the indignation of many of the Scots Nobility at the behaviour of the Queen, and the arbitrary manner in which all matters in Scotland were to be ſubjected to the pleaſure of France.

The ſtate of affairs this year betwixt England and Scotland was cloudy. This year (1558) the Kingdom was diſturb'd with mutual inſults upon the Frontier betwixt the Scots and Engliſh, and by an invaſion of the Engliſh fleet upon the Northern Coaſts and Iſlands of Scotland, under the command of Sir John Clare, Admiral. The Engliſh had ſurpriz'd and defeated a body of Scots forces upon the middle Frontier of Scotland near to Kelſo; and in this action taken priſoners the young and valiant Lord Graham, the Lords Keith and Gray, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. But the laſt of Auguſt this year (1558) Sir John Clare, having landed a body of men to deſtroy the Iſlands of Orkney, and in particular the chief Town and the Biſhop's Palaces, they firſt plunder'd the Town of Kirwall and the Biſhop's Palace there; then intended to have ſet fire to all, and to have reduc'd the place to aſhes: but there aroſe ſo violent a ſtorm and hurricane, that the Engliſh fleet, which rode before Kirwall, were of a ſudden drove from their anchors and forc'd to ſea. The ſtorm increaſing, the Engliſh, who had landed, were not capable to get back to their ſhips; upon which the Country-people roſe, and cut off all the Engliſh in reprizal for their inſult and intended barbarity. The hurricane continued ſo violent, that the Engliſh fleet were ſcatter'd and all ſhatter'd; however, after being ſeveral days toſs'd and in great diſtreſs at ſea, with difficulty they got home; having loſt a great number of their men.

The Engliſh fail in their attempt upon Orkney Iſles.

The Queen-regent finding that the People of Scotland were not ſatisfied with her behaviour in matters of Religion, and that the majority of the People were in the intereſt of the Reformation, and that great numbers of the Nobility and Gentry were their friends and ſupporters, in order to fortify her oppoſition and perſecution of the Proteſtant Faith, her Majeſty impos'd a tax upon all the Boroughs and Towns over the Kingdom, and upon all the Clergy. The Clergy, by the tax, were to raiſe ſixteen thouſand pounds for the Queen-regent's uſe, and the Towns eight thouſand, which money was order'd to be levied directly into her Majeſty's treaſury, under the ſevereſt penalties. Her Majeſty was determin'd to uſe all her efforts to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants, and to exert herſelf with the ſtricteſt rigour againſt them. Accordingly her Majeſty iſſu'd out orders for the proſecution and apprehending of the Reform'd Preachers in all quarters. There was an antient and very poor but honeſt Prieſt, who, conſcious of his former miſtaken Religion and the impoſture of his craft, had, upon ſerious deliberation and enquiry, laid aſide the adminiſtration of Maſs, and other articles of the Romiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and appear'd ready to forſake the Romiſh Faith entirely. The Regent, by advice of her Clergy, order'd this poor man (Walter Mills) to be apprehended, and brought to trial for hereſy. The man was in a very advanc'd age, and in great poverty; but, being apprehended by Sir Andrew Curry and Sir George Strahan both Prieſts to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, they were determin'd to make an example of him; and accordingly the Primate order'd the Clergy of his Dioceſe to meet at the Abbey-church of St. Andrew's, and that the priſoner ſhould be brought there before him and his Clergy in order to his trial. The trial was uſher'd in by a ſermon from Friar Maltman, who preach'd up violence, rigidity, and total extirpation to all the heretics. Walter Mills, upon hearing of Friar Maltman's ſermon, which was ſo abſurd and foreign from the text, cry'd out, in full hearing of all the audience, "My brother-friar is not aſham'd to lie."

The Reform'd Preachers perſecuted.

Mills apprehended for hereſy.

After the introductory farce of the ſermon was over, one Andrew Oliphant was appointed by the Primate of St. Andrew's to impeach Walter Mills; which he did, introducing his accuſation by a ſpeech dreſs'd up in all the holy and gilded apparatus of deceit and prieſtcraft; then narrated the heads of his impeachment, which were, that he had been Prieſt to Lunan Pariſh for twenty years; that he had, in confederacy with another, deſerted the care of his flock, and revolted from the Catholic Faith, and had adopted heretical doctrines which tended to the ſubverting of the Catholic Church.

Tried;

Mills deny'd the whole of the impeachment, and anſwer'd, that he had ſtill preached and inſtructed his People to their ſatisfaction in the doctrines of pure Chriſtianity; that he had acted according to conſcience; and that he had been forc'd from his Church by the iniquity and tyranny of the violent late Cardinal, who perſecuted him without ground or mercy.

This ſpiritual Court of the Romiſh Clergy eſtabliſh'd the decree and ſentence of the Cardinal, by which Mills was adjudg'd to the flames for hereſy. They unanimouſly, according to their bloody ſpirit, condemn'd him as a heretic; but left the finiſhing of his puniſhment to the civil power. The Primate was ſoon made ſenſible, that, by intending the ſacrifice of this antient and honeſt innocent perſon's life, he had incurr'd the juſt diſpleaſure of all the City of St. Andrew's, and of the beſt of the Kingdom; therefore he loaded the Queen-regent with the burden of all. The Primate could not prevail with any of St. Andrew's to ſit upon Mills the criminal heretic, to condemn him and paſs ſentence of death. The traders all ſhut up ſhop, and would ſell no materials for execution, and none of them would undertake the dirty work of being civil magiſtrate in this affair. At length the Primate found out an abject fellow, one Alexander Somervill, a kinſman and dependent of his own, whom he appointed to

ſit

ſit as Magiſtrate. The poor antient Prieſt Mills was brought before this Somervill, who, upon the charge of hereſy brought againſt him, order'd him to be next day burnt at the ſtake. and executed.

All ranks diſapprov'd of this act of barbarity and injuſtice to this inoffenſive perſon. The People of St. Andrew's erected a large pile and mole of ſtones upon the ſpot where Mills ſuffer'd, to be as a monumental heap to tranſmit to future ages the memorial of this ſacrifice.

It was an antient humour and cuſtom, among the Scots, to erect a heap and hill of common hill ſtones upon the ſpot of ground where any tragical event, murder, or action had happen'd; and the tradition of the hiſtory of the occaſion of ſuch a monumental heap, was tranſmitted carefully from father to ſon, and ſo to the ſucceeding ages. But, in the preſent caſe, thoſe inhabitants of St. Andrew's who were Papiſts, in the night, carried off all the ſtones heap'd up on this ſpot; and, that they might prevent any ſuch memorial, they always carried off the ſtones from this place for their buildings, as they were gathered: upon which ſome tumults aroſe, and ſeveral were ſeverely wounded on both ſides.

The Queen-Regent next, by advice of her Clergy and her French Councillors, iſſued out her proclamation for all the heretical, i. e. Reform'd Preachers, to appear before the Privy-council, and then before the Biſhops and Clergy: firſt, for contempt of public and royal authority; and next, for ſchiſm and hereſy in the Church.

An aſſociation form'd in ſupport of the Reformation.

Paul Methewen was particularly mentioned in the Queen-regent's proclamation; which, with other threaten'd ſeverities againſt all who heard or encourag'd their preaching, alarm'd the People of Scotland, who now were moſtly in the intereſt of the Reformation; therefore, they were determin'd to make a vigorous ſtand in defence of their liberty. The principal Towns in the Counties of Fife, Perth, Angus, and Mearns, were all aſſociated for the defence of the Reformation, and did avowedly ſupport and encourage Paul Methewen, and other Proteſtant teachers, to preach publicly. The chief men, Magiſtrates, and others, did countenance the preaching of Reform'd doctrines with ſpirit and reſolution; and, in order to fortify and promote the common intereſt of their Religion and liberties, they met in an aſſembly at Perth, and enter'd into an aſſociation, ſign'd and ratify'd by oath in the moſt ſolemn manner, to adhere to one another; and to promote, with their united force and intereſt, the cauſe of the Reformation; and to inſiſt, by proper petitions to the Privy-council and Parliament, for the free exerciſe of the Common-prayer and of the Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, in their own language. They likewiſe enter'd into an unanimous reſolution to preſent to the Council and Parliament, the moſt nervous repreſentations againſt the enormities and groſs abuſes, impoſitions and tyranny, of the eſtabliſh'd Clergy of the Romiſh Faith.

The heads of this grand aſſociation, which carried on afterwards the Reformation with ſpirit and ſucceſs, were Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, James Earl of Morton, Archibald Lord Lorne, Sir James Sandylands of Calder, and John Erſkine of Dun and William Maitland of Ledington, Eſqrs.

They, at their firſt meeting, having taken a moſt ſolemn oath of fidelity to carry the articles of their aſſociation into execution, agreed to begin with two capital articles:

The reſolutions of the Reformers.

Firſt, to inſiſt that the leſſons and prayers of the Old and New Teſtament, ſhould be read, by the Prieſts to their ſeveral congregations, in their own known and native language, on Sundays and all feſtivals, according to the ſeveral forms of the book of Common-prayers which had been approv'd of at Geneva: and that, upon the refuſal of the Prieſts to comply, then others of ſober and good character ſhould be appointed to ſupply their place, and to inſtruct the People in the Old and New Teſtament.

Secondly, they agreed, that the preaching and interpretation of Scripture ſhould not be public but in private families and houſes, for fear of exciting tumults and diſorder from the Papiſts, untill that they had made trial of their applications to the Queen-regent and Privy-council.

This powerful aſſociation, which now receiv'd the denomination of the Lords of the Congregation, appear'd ſo formidable, and was ſupported by ſo conſiderable a poſſe of the People of Scotland, that the Queen-regent, with the Romiſh Clergy and the French, apprehended great danger and oppoſition juſtly to all their intereſts, and an immediate proſpect of a national revolt. The Queen-regent, with her friends, were at Stirling-caſtle when they receiv'd the news of this numerous aſſembly and grand aſſociation. Upon this ſhe held a Council-extraordinary, and, after the breaking up of the Council, ſent expreſſes to all the Nobility her friends, particularly the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earls of Huntley and Athol; and iſſued out her proclamation for the meeting of the Parliament in October following: then ſhe repair'd to Edinburgh to her Palace of Holyrood-houſe.

This happen'd near the feſtival of St. Giles, who was the tutelar Saint of the City of Edinburgh, and then in high veneration with the Popiſh Clergy. This feſtival was annually ſolemniz'd, by the devotees of the Romiſh Faith, with great ſolemnity and farce the firſt of September. The effigy of the Saint was carried tho' the City in grand proceſſion, and the proceſſion ended in regaling and magnificent entertainments. The Queen-regent was invited on this occaſion to grace the ſolemnity and proceſſion. She accepted the invitation, and headed the

the proceſſion with all her officers of ſtate, not only in view of pleaſing the People and to gain their affection, but likewiſe by her preſence to influence the multitudes, and to prevent thereby any inſults. In this her Majeſty was diſappointed, for unhappily there aroſe a mob; the Saint was carried off, and the proceſſion expos'd to the ridicule and ſcorn of all.

The Romiſh Clergy, this month of September, finding the decline of their power and impoſtures hurrying in like a flood, by the approbation of the Queen-regent, order'd a meeting of all the ſuperior and other Clergy to aſſemble at the Blackfriars at Edinburgh. This meeting of the Romiſh Clergy was very full; and in it they, in order to ſatisfy the minds of the People, and to ſtrengthen their falling cauſe, made ſeveral regulations, and enacted different eccleſiaſtic ſtatutes for the better regulation and government of their inferior Clergy, who excell'd in debauchery, ignorance, and diſſolute lives. But theſe remedies were too late, and the corruption too malignant in doctrine and worſhip to be remov'd by ſuch ſlender and ſham temporary expedients.

October 29, 1558, the Parliament met according to appointment. The Court of France had taken care to have ſent over, ready for the meeting of Parliament, the ratification of an inſtrument and grant under the Great-ſeal of France, granting the ſame privileges to the natives of Scotland to be naturaliz'd in the Kingdom of France, as the ſubjects of France had lately obtain'd in Scotland by the addreſs and management of the Queen-regent and Monſieur d'Ozell. This was intended to gratify and compoſe the minds of the Scots Nation; but did not fully anſwer the end.

The Reformers petition for redreſs of grievances.

The Lords and others of the Congregation, being fully determin'd to carry on the Reformation, drew a petition to the Queen-regent and Parliament, ſetting forth the heads of thoſe grievances they wanted to be redreſs'd, which in ſubſtance conſiſted of the following articles:

Firſt, that the Miniſters of the Church and Clergy, in their public prayers and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, ſhould be oblig'd to deliver themſelves in the native and vulgar language of the Country, ſo as to be underſtood by the People.

Secondly, that the election of the Miniſtry for the Church ſhould be after the manner of the primitive Church; and that particular attention ſhould be given to the life, character, and conduct of all Preachers.

Thirdly, that all ſcandalous and diſſolute Clergy ſhould be diſcharged from their offices; and pious, learned, and prudent men placed in their ſtead.

Fourthly, that the adminiſtration of the Sacraments ſhould be in the manner directly appointed by the New Teſtament.

The Queen evades compliance.

Theſe articles were order'd by the Lords of the Congregation to be firſt preſented to the Queen; and, if not well receiv'd nor granted, to be laid before the Parliament. The Queen, chuſing rather to evade than to deny the demand of the Congregation, did aſſure them that whatever in reaſon they could require, ſhould be yielded to them; and that they ſhould, in the mean time, be allow'd public prayers, and the uſe of their Bibles in their own language, provided they did not attempt to meet publicly in Edinburgh or Leith, nor to have their Preachers inſtruct in any of thoſe places nigh the Capital.

This however did not ſatisfy the Lords of the Congregation; for they drew up a full repreſentation of their further demands, which they laid before the Parliament, and was to the following purport:

That they, as ſubjects and Chriſtians, did demand that the tyrannical and arbitrary procedure upon trials for hereſy ſhould be totally aboliſh'd: that all perſons accus'd of hereſy, ſhould have the articles of their accuſation deliver'd to them, and a competent time allow'd them to anſwer: that their lawful and juſt defences ſhould be allow'd of in Court: that every criminal accus'd of heretical doctrines ſhould be allow'd fully to explain himſelf for his vindication, to give ſatisfaction to the Court; and that the Clergy ſhould not have power to accuſe any, except ſuch as appear'd, by undoubted evidence, to be obſtinate in wicked and dangerous opinions: that in all trials, the objections and exceptions made by the perſon againſt the evidences call'd in Court againſt him, ſhould be maturely conſider'd.

Next they inſiſted, that all rational means might be us'd to convince the party offending; and that if, by reaſon and arguments from Scripture, they were perſuaded to reject their former opinions, then all proſecution for hereſy ought to ceaſe and to be drop'd; and that upon the whole they demanded, as their natural and moſt equitable right, that all former laws eſtabliſh'd for proſecutions of hereſy, and for authorizing the Churchmen to carry on theſe proſecutions, might be immediately and directly repeal'd, or at leaſt ſuſpended untill the event of the determination of a general Council.

Theſe propoſitions, however equitable, when offer'd to the Queen (before they were preſented to the Parliament) met with very cool and evaſive reception from her Majeſty, who would gladly have prevail'd upon them to drop their application to Parliament, promiſing to give

give due attention to their demands; but finding the Parliament had receiv'd the repreſentations of the Congregation, which the Lords of the Congregation had deliver'd in, with firm reſolution determin'd to inſiſt upon the mind of the Parliament concerning them, the Queen-regent, by the inſtigation of the French, and her Popiſh Clergy, did uſe her utmoſt efforts to render this repreſentation of no effect. She had ſuch influence as to prevent and delay their taking it into conſideration, or giving any parliamentary reſolution upon it: upon which, the Lords and others of the Congregation enter'd into a ſolemn and vigorous proteſt for aſſerting of their rights. The ſubſtance of the proteſt, as deliver'd by Biſhop Spotſwood in his hiſtory, is as follows:

They are poſitive in their demands,

" It is not unknown to this honourable houſe, what controverſies have of late ariſen betwixt us and them who denominate themſelves Prelates, Miniſters, and Churchmen; and how we have inſiſted for the true and pure worſhip of God, for the duty and fidelity of Church Miniſters, and for the good order, decency, and purity of Religion in this Kingdom. It is likewiſe well known, that we have, in the moſt dutiful and ſubmiſſive manner, complain'd to the Queen-regent of the heavy burthen with which our conſciences have been loaded by ſuperſtition and idolatry, and groſs abuſes in the Church: that we have often complain'd of the mal-practices and uniform impiety and irregularities amongſt the Clergy of all ranks; and of their heavy encroachments and perſecutions carried on againſt us, contrary to all humanity and reaſon. We believe this honourable houſe are not ignorant that we intended to make our applications for redreſs this ſeſſion, and that we had drawn up our repreſentations to be laid before your Honours; but finding that the troubles, animoſities, and diviſions which prevail, make it impoſſible for us to obtain the Reformation and the redreſs of grievances we hop'd for, for the eſtabliſhment of our national happineſs in Church and State, leaſt it ſhould be conſtructed, by our oppoſites and enemies, that we have dropt our upright and juſt intentions, to demonſtrate to this honourable houſe, that we perſiſt in our reſolutions to uſe all proper and juſtifiable meaſures to obtain redreſs; we therefore can't ceaſe to enter this our proteſt againſt the unjuſt tyranny and uſurp'd power which we have ſo long and ſo painfully endur'd yet patiently.

and enter into a vigorous proteſt.

" Firſt then we do proteſt, that as we can't obtain that reformation in Religion and Government which we ſtruggle for, and which we have a right to inſiſt for, that we be free to uſe that form of worſhip and liberty in matters of Religion and Conſcience which we are anſwerable for to God; and that we be free from the juriſdiction, power, or ſuperiority of the Clergy now reigning, untill they can prove themſelves the true Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt; and that they can clear themſelves of the crimes, enormities, and baſe practices we can make appear, and which we offer to prove to the conviction of all good men.

" Secondly, we do proteſt, that no perſons who do join themſelves to us in public worſhip, nor thoſe who peaceably ſerve God in their own native language, be liable to any pains, penalties, laws, or perſecution, eſtabliſh'd in favour of our adverſaries; and which were enacted in oppoſition to the authority of Heaven, to the gratification of wicked men.

" Thirdly, we hereby proteſt, that it is our deſire that all things be reform'd in Religion, according to order, decency, meekneſs, and mutual love: that we aim at nothing but the reforming of abuſes and real grievances; and therefore if any tumults, diſturbance, or diſorders, do ariſe in the progreſs of Reformation, the conſequences, however fatal and hurtful, be imputable to thoſe who oppoſe and ſtop the reformation of Religion, and the eſtabliſhment of good order in the Church: and that they be accountable for all evils that may enſue, who ſtifle and ſtop the good work we have begun.

" And laſtly, we do proteſt, that this our declaration and proteſt be conſtructed as our real and ſincere ſentiments, proteſting ourſelves to be moſt faithful and dutiful ſubjects to our Nation and to the Parliament; and that what we deſire is only a reformation of real abuſes in Religion, and the eſtabliſhment of purity and piety in the Church; and this we, with duty and regard, require to be inſerted as our declaration in the records of Parliament."

The Queen oppos'd this; and, with all the bitterneſs and malignity of which ſhe was in full poſſeſſion, prevail'd to have it carried in the negative, and the recording of the proteſt refus'd by order of Parliament; this ſeſſion of Parliament was ſoon put to an end, to prevent any future applications or attempts of the Reformers: having executed all the dirty work the Queen-dowager and now Regent had propos'd to them, they were diſſolv'd. The Queen-Regent, with an air of contempt and inſult, anſwer'd the Reformers in Parliament, when they requir'd the recording of their proteſt, that ſhe was very capable to retain in her memory all their proteſt, and therefore the record of it was not neceſſary.

The Queen, chagrin'd, refuſes the record of the proteſt.

This ſeſſion of Parliament being over, the Queen, believing ſhe had outwitted the Lords and others of the Congregation, was determin'd to harraſs, and if poſſible ſcatter and baniſh from the Kingdom of Scotland, all the Preachers and Miniſters of the Reform'd and Proteſtant intereſt, which ſhe thought would effectually cool the zeal of the party; but, to her great ſorrow and diſappointment, they renew'd their vigorous reſolutions. Unanimity, ſpirit, fidelity, and manly virtue, ſo enrich'd, fortify'd, and excited their minds, that, when the Queen-regent, in a mixture of wrath and contempt, had iſſued out her proclamation, ſummoning

Determines the extirpation of the Reformers.

moning all the Preachers of the Congregation and of the Reform'd Proteſtant Faith to appear before the next ſeſſion of Parliament, indicted to ſit at Stirling the 10th of May 1559; the Lords, and others of the Congregation, ſent their circular letters to all their friends and the promoters of the Reformation and Proteſtant Faith, with full accounts of their ſituation and danger; and in all quarters the Proteſtant Preachers were ſupported: they preach'd and taught with power, authority, and ſucceſs, like unto their great Lord and Maſter, inſtructed by the ſame divine ſpirit, and following his great example. But to her Majeſty the Regent's great and juſt mortification and humiliation, when meditating the extirpation of the Proteſtant Faith, and breathing nothing but violence, blood, maſſacre, and cruelty, as a proper Romiſh commencement of the Year 1559; her frenchified Majeſty, the Regent of Scotland, was however much depreſs'd in ſpirit, and abridg'd in her projected ſyſtem, by the death of Mary of England. The preceding winter, upon the 17th day of November 1558, the bloody Queen Mary of England had departed this life; which great and happy event of Providence open'd a new ſcene, and gave a different turn to the grand movement of the State-machine in Europe; ſo as to eclipſe the great and glaring proſpects of the Popiſh faction, and to uſher in glory, honour, ſucceſs, and triumph, to the Proteſtant Faith, by the ſucceſſion of Elizabeth, who, being once ſeated on the throne, gave ſtanding patterns and rules of government by the grandeur and excellency of her Adminiſtration, ſufficient to perpetuate and eſtabliſh, thro' a laſting futurity, the glory, the greatneſs, and excellency of ſuch a reign; which can be no way more evidently demonſtrated than by the errors, abſurdities, mean and low practices of future Sovereigns, and their miſtaken conduct, to ſay no worſe.

Diſconcerted by the death of Queen Mary of England,

Queen Mary of England being dead (to the deliverance of all honeſt Proteſtants, whom ſhe had not cut off) Elizabeth was declar'd ſucceſſor and Queen of England by the Parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on this occaſion. Queen Elizabeth had been no ſooner ſeated on the Throne, than ſhe teſtify'd her generous concern for the Proteſtant intereſt, and her good diſpoſition to promote the Reformation in Scotland. The Lord Cobham was ſent to Spain, to notify her acceſſion to King Philip Queen Mary's huſband; to the Emperor Ferdinand, Sir Thomas Challeneur; to the Court of France was ſent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, more however with intent to watch the motions and intrigues of the French Court, than to notify her acceſſion.

and the ſucceſſion of Elizabeth, the Patroneſs of Reformers.

Upon the news of the death of Mary of England at the Court of France, King Henry of France ſecretly us'd all his art and influence with the Court of Rome to have the Pope emit his fulminating excommunication againſt Elizabeth, declaring her an heretic; and diſſolving all the obligations of her ſubjects to duty and allegiance from her. Next, having fail'd in this attempt, he order'd his ſon the Dauphin, with Queen Mary his Daughter-in-law, as heireſs-apparent to the Crown of England, to have the arms of England quarter'd upon all her Palaces, furniture, plate, and all public places where the arms of Scotland and France had been put up. King Henry of France likewiſe order'd his ſon and daughter (the Dauphin and Queen Mary of Scotland) to iſſue out their orders, that all patents, gifts, grants, or commiſſions, for the future, ſhould be in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland; which encroaching and uſurping conduct was loudly complain'd of by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, then at the Court of Paris. Throgmorton acquainted Queen Elizabeth with this arret and edict, and receiv'd orders from the Privy-council of England to inſiſt againſt it, and, to ſhew how extraordinary and unwarranted this conduct was, in the time of Queen Mary of England no ſuch thing had been attempted, even tho' France was at war with her; and now, after the concluſion of a treaty of peace and friendſhip, to invade the rights and titles of the Queen of England upon her acceſſion to the Throne, appear'd ungenerous, and by no means equitable.

This year, King Henry pour'd in more French auxiliaries into Scotland, to aſſiſt the Queen-regent in ſuppreſſing the Reformation, and to enable her to diſturb Queen Elizabeth; notwithſtanding he had given aſſurances to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, that he was to draw off his forces from Scotland.

Matters in Scotland were now in a doubtful ſtate, and the Queen-regent, after diſſolving the ſeſſions of Parliament for the preceding year, return'd to her former perſecution of the Proteſtant Preachers over the Kingdom, as already hinted. Her Majeſty ſummon'd a Council-extraordinary to meet at her Palace at Stirling-caſtle, where ſhe then reſided; and, having repreſented to her Council, by the inſtigation of the Biſhops and Clergy of the Romiſh Faith, the overgrown power of the heretics, ſo call'd, preſs'd the neceſſity of an immediate check to them for their inſolence. The ſituation of the affairs of the Nation at this time, and the perplexity in which the Queen found herſelf, was the pretended and colour'd reaſon given which determin'd the Privy-council to order out proclamations for the meeting of the Parliament at Stirling, May 10th 1559, to conſider of the preſent ſtate of the Kingdom, as they term'd it.

Reform'd Preachers ſummon'd to appear before theParliament.

In the mean time, orders were iſſued out for all the Reform'd Preachers, particularly John Knox, Methewen, and John Douglaſs, to appear before the Parliament to anſwer for their ſeditious practices, and their contempt of public authority. This ill-tim'd and wrong-concerted meaſure of the Romiſh faction, had no other effect than to haſten their own overthrow; for the Reformers took the alarm, and, inſtead of being frighten'd, were reſolute and united in their Councils, fully determin'd to ſtand in ſupport of their Religion and Liberty.

The

The Primate of St. Andrew's wrote to the Earl of Argyle, ſignifying his ſurprize and diſpleaſure, that my Lord Argyle ſhould have and employ John Douglaſs as his domeſtic-chaplain; and, with many prieſt-like, diſguis'd admonitions, would have endeavour'd to perſuade the Earl of Argyle to reject him, and to accept one of his nomination. To this letter my Lord Argyle made a very direct and proper anſwer: that he was fully ſatisfy'd of the piety and ſtrict morals of John Douglaſs: that he was well ſatisfy'd that his doctrine was agreeable to the New Teſtament; and that, in matters of Faith and Religion, he was to conduct himſelf according to Scripture, reaſon and conſcience: that he had no further connection with the Preacher John Douglaſs, than as his being a primitive, plain and ſincere man. This return highly offended and diſconcerted the Primate, but yet unregarded by the Earl of Argyle.

They ſend a deputation to demand the cauſe,

Upon the execution of the ſummons from the Privy-council and Regent againſt the Reform'd Preachers, their friends of the Congregation aſſembled together in different places, and came to an immediate reſolution to have a general meeting at Dundee, which they had accordingly. They from thence ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Queen-regent and to the Privy-council, to demand the reaſon and grounds of ſummoning the Preachers to Stirling to anſwer the 10th of May. The perſons ſent upon this occaſion to the Regent from the Reformers were, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell High Sheriff of Air.

The Queen-regent receiv'd them in a very haughty and diſagreeable manner, and told them, ſhe was determin'd to ſupport the authority of the eſtabliſh'd Church and her Government; and ſhe had finally reſolved, that theſe Preachers of the heretical ſtamp ſhould be all baniſh'd Scotland.

and declare the diſſolution of their allegiance.

My Lord Glencairn, with Sir Hugh Campbell, with ſpirit made their reply to her Majeſty, in name of the Lords and others of the Congregation: that they were order'd to acquaint her Majeſty, that when it was undeniable they all were true and faithful ſubjects, inoffenſive and wanted nothing but their birthright, their liberty, and juſtifiable exerciſe of the true Religion, if her Majeſty, through any perſuaſion, did deny them this their undoubted right, then the whole body of the Congregation had given them orders to ſignify to her Majeſty, that they did not think themſelves bound to own ſubjection or allegiance to her.

This unexpected, yet manly, intimation, ſtruck her Majeſty with great ſurprize. She endeavour'd to ſoften and calm her mind. She counterfeited a mildneſs and ſubmiſſion, to perſwade them to accept of her evaſive anſwer, to the following purport: that ſhe would directly take into conſideration the moſt ſafe and effectual remedies for ſatisfying all their demands. However this anſwer did not appear to the Lords of the Congregation to be any more than a blind; therefore, upon the return of the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hugh Campbell, they came to an immediate reſolution, that circular letters ſhould be ſent to the Reformers in all quarters to repair to Perth, as the place appointed for a general rendezvous; and that, in the mean time, ſuch of the Nobility and Burgeſſes, as were at Dundee, ſhould repair to Perth directly, to be join'd by their friends, and to act in concert. This ſtep was taken in order to diſconcert the intended proceedings and ſeverities againſt John Knox, and others, ſummon'd to appear before the Parliament at Stirling, which now was nigh hand.

The Reformers riſe in their defence, and aſſemble at Perth.

The Queen-regent, having receiv'd intelligence that the Reformers were aſſembled in a formidable body at Perth, headed by ſeveral Nobility and Gentry, ſent John Erſkin of Dun in her name to demand the meaning of ſuch an inſurrection; and if poſſible to perſwade them to ſcatter and repair to their ſeveral habitations. The Queen, finding her ſituation tottering, gave orders to Mr. Erſkin of Dun to aſſure the Congregation, that ſhe would take care that no proſecution ſhould be ordered by the Parliament, which was to meet the 10th of May at Stirling. At the ſame Time ſhe ſent for Lord Ruthven, and order'd him to advance with a body of men againſt theſe rioters, as ſhe call'd them. The Lord Ruthven, with a ſneer (ſecretly favouring the Reformers) anſwer'd her Majeſty, he would make their bodies good ſubjects, and ſubject their eſtates to her Majeſty, but he could not pretend to operate upon the minds and conſciences of men, and their affections, when, in all appearance, ſo reſolute and well grounded.

The Queen-regent in rage anſwered my Lord, ſhe would make him and them repent their inſolent and undutiful practices: upon which ſhe diſmiſs'd my Lord Ruthven, and call'd her Cabinet-council, in which Monſieur d'Ozell was chief.

The Queen prepares military force for their ſuppreſſion.

Having receiv'd repeated advices from Perth, that the body of the Reformers were encreaſed at Perth to the number of ſeveral thouſand Nobility, Gentry and common people, well armed and reſolute to make a vigorous defence againſt any attack, her Majeſty having prepared this for herſelf and the Romiſh tribe, ſhe was under neceſſity to ſend expreſſes to the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and to the Earls of Argyle and Athol, to the Earls of Bothwell and Marſhal, and the Lord Linſday with ſeveral others of the Nobility, whom ſhe expected to ſupport her to repell the Reformers. Her Majeſty wrote, to the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, a letter in the moſt affectionate and obliging terms; upon which he ordered all his vaſſals and men to attend him in arms; and, having muſter'd a thouſand men, he march'd with them to join the Queen and her French auxiliaries.

This is the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, who, in a late hiſtory of England, is denominated the man of honour, the man of ſpirit and integrity; I ſhould therefore be very glad to know one ſubſtantial and real proof of his honour and ſpirit. When Regent it is notorious how often

ten he turn'd his coat: firſt he was apparently a friend to the Proteſtant Faith! next he ſolemnly renounced it to gratify Cardinal Beaton. He was covetous and avaritious in all his meaſures: he was the cauſe of the overthrow of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, in that fatal action near Muſſelburgh, when the Duke of Somerſet defeated the Scots army, and cut off the Heads and Chiefs of the beſt families of the Kingdom. Was he not notoriouſly the tool of the Queen-mother, 'till at length ſhe outwitted him; and, having made his mean practices, and the variable fluctuating low ſtate of his mind, produce ſuch events, as render'd him hated and deſpis'd by his Nation, ſhe artfully, upon the decline of his regard and affection with the People, made a patent-way for her own acceſs to the Regency of the Kingdom?

I have made it appear in part, in the preceding numbers of this hiſtory, that the whole ſeries of his adminiſtration (while Regent) was a chain of variable, inconſiſtent practices, mean even to contempt; and that he was the perſon who enabled the French intereſt to gain ſuch footing in Scotland, by his miſtaken conduct. He ſold the Government of his Kingdom to the Queen-regent, when he had render'd himſelf, thro' contempt, and, from inconſiſtent conduct, incapable of holding the reins of Government with authority, regard, or affection any longer. But I am not more ſurpriz'd at this character of the Earl of Arran Duke of Chatle le Rhault, than at the open and direct contradiction, in expreſs terms, in the character of John Knox Reformer.

The miſrepreſentations and incoherences of a modern hiſtorian detected and expos'd.

The author of this late hiſtory of England ſays, to uſe his own words, that John Knox, in his private life, was irreproachable; his declamations againſt luxury, vice, and pride, had every character of that natural antipathy which cannot be counterfeited or diſembled. Now theſe are the words of the new hiſtory of England; and I refer it to my reader, if theſe articles be not an evident contradiction to what this hiſtorian ſubjoins in the ſequel of his character of John Knox. He ſays, his ambition was ſuch he could not be ſatisfied with what Crowns could beſtow on him, but only with the rank and character of a deſtroying Angel. In eccleſiaſtic matters (ſays our hiſtorian) he out-did the tyranny and inſolence of a Pope. He was perfect maſter of diſſimulation: he conducted his mines with art, and was expert in ſpringing them; yet (continues our hiſtorian) his manners were unpoliſh'd, his learning mean, and his education illiberal: notwithſtanding (he affirms) that he rais'd, guided, and enjoy'd the tempeſt, which reduc'd his Country and it's Crown to beggary, the Independency of Scotland to a ſhadow, and her Churches to ruins.

Theſe are the expreſs and contradictory articles which this hiſtorian delivers as the implements of John Knox's character. The evident oppoſition of theſe qualities my candid reader will, at firſt view, obſerve. I would only further on this head take notice, that, as John Knox was the great promoter of the Proteſtant Reformation in Scotland, it is evident the hiſtorian ſeems to think that, by the Reformation, the Crown of Scotland was reduc'd to beggary, and it's Independency to a ſhadow; which indeed is a very ſurprizing paradox, for the principles of the Reformation were directly founded upon the natural rights of mankind, the liberty of the ſubject, the principles of true Chriſtianity, of peace and mutual forbearance, without tyranny, bloodſhed, or maſſacres. The principles and the weapons of the true Proteſtant Reformation operated by perſuaſion upon the mind, and by conviction of the reaſon of every honeſt and judicious perſon. It is well known, and it is undeniable, that the Proteſtant Faith forc'd it's way, and gain'd ground, not by military law, not by blood, maſſacres and cruelty; but in oppoſition to tyranny, ſuperior power, the united reſentments and alliances of the moſt powerful and extenſive Sovereignties of the Continent of Europe: and therefore it is very extraordinary, that this modern author, whoſe anceſtors were in fact brave fellows and true Proteſtants; that he, under a Proteſtant Government, breathing in a free, wholeſome and Proteſtant air, ſhould emit ſuch malignant and virulent fumes from a mind corrupted with maxims of Anarchy and falſe Government, as to throw dirt and ſpit fire at the original foundation of the preſent Proteſtant Government, who have eſtabliſh'd him into genteel life, and to handſome appointments, for no aſſignable nor known reaſon upon earth.

Were I to be an undertaker in ſtate-chicanery, I have a good precedent to encourage me to expect a ſettlement and good ſalary, for railing and declaiming Billingſgate-ſtuff againſt his Majeſty and all his Miniſtry from the ſucceſs of this good hiſtorian, who bully'd the Miniſtry to make a genteel ſettlement upon him and his, &c. for abuſing, expoſing, and rendering ridiculous, the K——g, the D——ke of N———e, and all his Majeſty's friends. This author and hiſtorian of all is the more remarkable; becauſe he ſet out as an Argus Centoculi, and no body, from his ſyſtem, would believe that he was ſo happy as to ſee the length of his own noſe; but as time-ſervers are eaſily known, I paſs all; with regret however, that I ſhould meet with ſuch inconſiſtencies in a novel hiſtory of England; and all I ſhall add on this head, is, that I am much ſurpriz'd at the character I find in this new hiſtory of England given to James Stewart Earl of Murray. I will in this, and the following part of this national hiſtory, make it evident to any honeſt and diſcerning perſon, that the Earl of Murray, Regent and Guardian to King James the Iſt, had the ſtrongeſt and beſt reaſons to be always in oppoſition to the faction and meaſures of the Queen his ſiſter; and if he was not ſo artful nor diabolical in his devices, he was a perſon of far ſuperior integrity and candor to his oppoſites. But, paſſing this, I go on with the thread and connection of the hiſtory of Queen Mary, as to the great events which happen'd this year 1559.

The

The Queen-regent, having receiv'd intelligence that the Earl of Glencairn and his aſſociates, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltry, Sir Hugh Campbell High Sheriff of Air, with Craigy, Seſnock, Carrall, Bar, and Garthgirth, Eſquires and men of fortune, with all their men, were in full march to join the Congregation now aſſembled at Perth; her Majeſty in great hurry got all the force ſhe could aſſemble, with her French hirelings, and order'd them under the joint command of the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earls of Argyle, Marſhall, and Athol, with Monſieur d'Ozell, to march directly for Perth to ſurround the Town, and prevent any ſuccours or reinforcements. But before the arrival of the Queen-regent's forces, numbers from all quarters pour'd in to ſupport the body of the Congregation now in Perth.

This was a voluntary act, and not a tyrannical impoſition, which engag'd whole Counties, rich and poor, to turn out to leave their dwellings, to riſk all, in oppoſition to a ſtanding army and a far ſuperior force; for aſſerting and eſtabliſhing the Religion which they believ'd the moſt pure and immediately directed from the New Teſtament. Such a ſuperior and an exalted zeal for Religion, founded upon knowlege and truth, is evident demonſtration of that manly and irreſiſtible virtue which operates from a mind fortified by true Religion and the love of it. The Grecians, i. e. the Athenians and Lacedemonians, and the Romans who copied from them, were only great, ſucceſsful, and glorious, when faithful and reſolute in their Religion, and heroic in virtue. When fortified by manly virtue, and ſublime ſentiments of pious regard to their Religion, they acted like lions in the cauſe of liberty, and ſtruck terror to all their oppoſites. The reverſe holds true in all reſpects in an oppoſite ſituation, when a Nation become diſſolute and totally corrupted.

The majority of the Nation declare in favour of the Reformation.

The Counties of Lothian, Fife, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and all the chief Towns, join'd againſt the Queen-regent on this occaſion. Her Majeſty had only the neighbours to her Palaces, her Officers of State, and her dependents, to ſupport her at this time; the bulk of the Nation, by a great majority, having now openly declar'd againſt the Popiſh faction, which made all the Nobility of her friends very careful how to act.

The Lord Glencairn, with his friends, march'd two thouſand five hundred men to join the Congregation; and upon notice of their approach to Perth, the Lords and others of the Congregation march'd out to join them; the Queen's army, with her French under the command of Monſieur d'Ozell, not daring to advance nigher than Auchterarder, where now they were encamp'd. Here the Queen-regent's army thought ſafe to halt, being acquainted by their ſpies, that the Reform'd army were far ſuperior in number.

The Queen-regent, by the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and by the other Nobility, being acquainted of their preſent danger, ſhe propos'd to them to bring matters to a compremiſe, to gain time, in order to ſtrengthen her army; therefore ſhe nominated the Earl of Argyle and the Prior of St. Andrew's, as her Deputies and Plenipotentiares, to meet with the Earl of Glencairn and John Erſkine of Dun, whom the Lord of the Congregation had nominated of their ſide: ſo having met, the Earl of Glencairn, in name of the Lords and others of the Congregation, notify'd to the Queen-regent's Deputies, the terms on which they were determin'd to yield to an accommodation with her Majeſty; which were as follow:

A treaty between the Queen and the Reformers

Firſt, that both armies, unmoleſted, ſhould be allow'd to ſeparate and return to their habitations; and that the Town of Perth ſhould be evacuated for acceſs to the Queen-regent.

Secondly, that none of the Town or neighbourhood of Perth ſhould be diſturb'd or perſecuted, for the change of their Religion, and embracing the Proteſtant and Reform'd doctrines.

Thirdly, that none of the French auxiliaries ſhould approach within three miles of Perth, nor attend the Queen-regent, in the Town, under any pretext; and that, when the Queen-regent retir'd from the Town of Perth, all the French ſhould be forbid to come nigh the place.

Fourthly, that all other controverſies ſhould be delay'd and finally determin'd by the Parliament at their next meeting.

concluded.

This agreement and capitulation was agreed upon and ſign'd, the 29th of May, 1559.

Upon this ceſſation of hoſtilities and agreement, the fam'd John Knox was, by the Congregation, order'd to return thanks to Almighty God, in the moſt ſolemn and public manner, for the happy event of the preſent troubles; and at the ſame time, all the Lords and others of the Congregation took a ſolemn oath, and ſign'd an agreement in the moſt binding terms, to adhere to one another and ſupport the intereſt of their Religion, if again attack'd by the Queen-regent, or any oppoſition threaten'd them; and if her Majeſty ſhould depart from her engagements, they ſhould aſſemble again for their mutual defence and ſafety to oppoſe the rigidity and perſecution of their common enemy.

This John Knox had come over from Geneva the end of 1558, in order to promote the Reformation. He came not over from any motives of ſedition, or to raiſe tumults; for he was encourag'd and invited over by many of the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, to ſupport and propagate the doctrines of the Proteſtant Faith, and by Queen Elizabeth and the Court of London was receiv'd with great and juſt marks of regard, as a perſon of integrity, piety and reſolu-

tion. When the Lords and others of the Congregation had aſſembled at Perth and ſtood to their defence, in April of this year 1559, John Knox, in preſence of the whole army and others of the Reform'd intereſt, before they proceeded to extremities againſt the Monks and Friars in the Town and neighbourhood of Perth, preach'd ſuch an elegant and approv'd ſermon as was admir'd by all the Nobility, Gentry, and others of judgment preſent. His doctrines convinc'd the mind, gave ſpirit and reſolution to his audience, confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd them by truth, of the rectitude of the Proteſtant Faith, of the horrid impoſture of the Romiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and of the great abſurdity and falſity of their manner of devotion and worſhip. The multitudes believed in his doctrines, becauſe plain and intelligible, and convincing to reaſon. The ſeverities, the foollery, and the groſs abuſes of the Romiſh eſtabliſh'd Prieſthood in Scotland, had ſufficiently rais'd the indignation and reſentment of the People againſt them. The Reformation-intereſt was ſupported and advanc'd by promoting and encouraging knowlege, and informing the underſtandings of the common People. The Popiſh faction, and all their mercenary tribe of Clergy, were degraded, and ſunk in the eſteem of the multitudes, for ſupporting and eſtabliſhing ignorance to deceive them. Theſe aſſertions are evident to all, and therefore amount to demonſtration, that the Reformation was the real intereſt of Scotland, notwithſtanding the Reformers were branded by ſome modern hiſtorians of England, with infamous calumnies; yet all theſe, to every inquiſitive, honeſt, and judicious perſon, muſt appear to be invectives proceeding from a virulent and corrupted mind, furniſh'd with a Corinthian ſtock in front, capable to miſrepreſent the moſt candid and truly commendable actions. To repel tyranny, is glorious and worthy; to ſupport and to propagate true and pure Religon, is great and noble; to ſubvert and undermine ignorance and ſuperſtition, and to replace it with juſt and true knowlege in matters of Religion, is honeſt, and merits the higheſt rewards. The attempts of the firſt Reformers, in Scotland, pointed at nothing leſs; therefore they were juſtifiable: but their oppoſition and acts of violence were forc'd in ſelf-defence, by the outrages and perſecution of the Romiſh Clergy.

The Proteſtant mob demoliſh Monaſteries, &c.

I own, that after John Knox had preach'd his ſermon before the Lords and body of the Congregation, that the common People and private ſoldiers of their army proceeded and demoliſh'd all the Monaſteries round Perth, and defac'd many beautiful ſtatues, images, and paintings. This was, as always is the caſe, the effects of the reſentment and indignation of an enrag'd mob. There were at Perth a Monaſtery of Franciſcans, of Dominicans, and a third of Carthuſians. When the mob broke in upon the two firſt, the Franciſcans and Dominicans, they found great plenty of all proviſions and elegant furniture; nothing reſembling the poverty they counterfeited, but the reverſe. The Carthuſian Monaſtery was a repoſitory and ſinking fund of treaſure. The mob here were generous: they allow'd the Prior, or Head of this convent, to carry off his load of gold, ſilver, and jewels, and the remainder they faithfully diſtributed to the real poor; none of the Nobility or Gentry of the Congregation being in the leaſt concern'd in the plunder. The Charter-houſe of Perth was an elegant and large coſtly edifice, and had been the Palace and reſidence of Kings. Here King James the Iſt was murder'd barbarouſly. This grand pile of building, erected by the amaſs'd wealth and paid-for maſſes, was ſo rapidly demoliſh'd by the People, that, in few days, there was ſcarce a foundation-ſtone left as a memorial of the place. But paſſing this; the Queen-regent, having got clear of the Reformers, and of all the body of the Congregation, who with honour peaceably fulfill'd their agreement and capitulation; her Majeſty in few days, forgetting her promiſes and engagements, order'd the French into Perth; and next call'd upon the Magiſtrates and others, to ſtand trial for treaſon and rebellion, under pain of outlawry. Her Majeſty, before her departure from Perth, chang'd the Magiſtracy, Kilſauns was appointed Mayor, and the Lord Ruthwen order'd into cuſtody, with many more: but my Lord eſcap'd, and went to the Lords of the Congregation.

The Queen-regent violates the truce.

The Queen-regent, inſtead of punctuality to her engagements, in four days after the departure of the Congregation from Perth, order'd a body of French into the place; and one of the French, paſſing the ſtreets, ſhot Mr. Patrick Murray's ſon, without any provocation, only from inſtigation, becauſe the father was one of the Magiſtrates of the place, and known to favour the Proteſtants. Then her Majeſty proceeded to other acts of cruelty and injuſtice.

Having thus violated her faith and honour to the Lords of the Congregation, which had been fully told the Congregation before the capitulation by John Knox, who aſſur'd the Lords of the Congregation, that there was no depending upon the Queen-regent's veracity nor integrity as to her promiſes.

Provokes her friends to deſertion.

The Earl of Argyle and the Lord James Stewart, juſtly reckon'd themſelves highly affronted by the Queen, who had made ſuch ſteps, and committed many acts of violence in oppoſition to what they had engag'd and promis'd in her name and by her orders; therefore, having acquainted her Majeſty, that they would be no more concern'd for her nor amus'd with her deceit, they immediately departed for St. Andrew's to join the Nobility and Gentry of the Congregation. The Nobility, Gentry, and others of the Proteſtant intereſt, here held a general conſultation of what was proper to be done; for they expected a viſit from the Queen-regent and her French auxiliaries. The Regent was at her Palace at Falkland, and her French guards here in waiting: they therefore ſent to all their friends in Lothian, Mearns, Fife, Perth

The Proteſtants re-aſſemble their forces.

and

and Angus, Stirlingſhire and the Weſt, to aſſemble and join them with all poſſible diſpatch the 4th day of June, and to have their rendezvous at St. Andrew's or Coupar. The interruption of the junction of theſe parties of Reformers, from all different quarters, was defeated becauſe of the impenetrable ſecreſy, and the celerity of all their operations; beſides the Country every where were well affected towards them, and the Romiſh faction hated and contemptible.

They clear Fife of papal pageantry.

By the time fix'd, the army and friends of the Congregation were fully aſſembled, and in high ſpirits; but in the interval of time, betwixt the notice ſent their friends and the 4th of June the day of rendezvous, the Congregation went along the coaſt of Fife. Firſt, they enter'd Creil, where they demoliſh'd all the inſtruments and pageantry of image-worſhip. Next, they operated in the ſame manner at Anſtruther, which they clear'd of Prieſts and Popiſh trumpery. Then they proceeded to act uniformly; and, being inform'd that Hamilton Primate of St. Andrew's was in dread of a reforming viſit from the Congregation, which would change the inſide of his Churches, Chapels and Palaces, his Grace prepar'd an arm'd force to reſiſt them: but the inhabitants of St. Andrew's, which at this time was a magnificent and populous City, gave his Grace ſoon to underſtand, that they were no way affected toward him, but the contrary; therefore the Primate of St. Andrew's, finding himſelf not ſafe, thought fit to depart from the City, and went to the Queen at Falkland.

Make the like viſit to St. Andrew's.

The Lords and others of the Congregation, upon this went to viſit the Primate's Palaces and Churches, and were receiv'd into the City of St. Andrew's with the ſhoutings, joy and acclamations of the whole inhabitants. John Knox next day, being Sunday, preach'd in the Abby-church to the Lords and Gentry of the Congregation. The multitudes who reſorted to hear him were ſo crouded, and ſo enrag'd againſt the Popiſh Clergy, that they were, with great difficulty, reſtrain'd from immediate acts of violence and barbarity. Knox chuſed for the ſubject of his diſcourſe that article of the New Teſtament which narrates our Saviour's entering the Temple at Jeruſalem, and purifying it and cleanſing it of all who polluted and corrupted the true worſhip, and who converted Religion into merchandize and impoſture.

Knox preach'd ſo as to affect his numerous and crouded audience of many thouſands, with ſuch high ſentiments of Religion, with ſuch diſtaſte of image-worſhip, and with ſuch zeal for the Religion they now intended to ſupport and defend by their lives, that no ſooner was divine ſervice over, than the multitudes contrary to the expreſs order and repeated intimations of the Lords and Chiefs of the Congregation, march'd in great bodies and attack'd the Churches and Monaſteries of St. Andrew's, which were elegant and noble ſtructures. The great Monaſteries of the Gray and Black Friars were raz'd to the foundation, and all belonging to them forc'd to fly to the French camp at Falkland. The images and all the other coſtly apparatus of Romiſh worſhip were immediately ſeiz'd upon, and the mob ſetting their leaders at defiance, plunder'd all belonging to the Churches and Monaſteries; and here they collected rich booty and plenty of hidden treaſure, notwithſtanding the pretended poverty of the Monks and Friars: but counterfeit and deceit, in order to ſecretly amaſs the beloved idol of gold and ſilver, has been of long practice, with great ſucceſs, made uſe of by Prieſts of all denominations. An honeſt reforming mob, upon this and other ſuch like occaſions, prov'd the beſt Phyſicians to ſuch a lurking diſtemper.

When the Lords of the Congregation, and all their friends of figure and rank, order'd the heads and ringleaders of theſe tumults and mobs to be call'd to account, and brought before them for their outrages, they appear'd, and with boldneſs extraordinary anſwer'd their leaders, that they had only executed juſtice, which was not to be obtain'd any other way than by extremities; that the Prieſts, Monks, and Friars, had murder'd the ſouls of thouſands, and deceived thouſands more, and therefore merited examplary extirpation; ſecondly, they gave as an apology for their ſo ſudden attack, that they had receiv'd good intelligence that the Queen-regent was preparing to march the French and her other forces, in the night, to maſſacre them all, and to put the whole Reformers in the ſeveral Towns to the ſword. So far was indeed fact, and by our beſt hiſtorians, who favour'd the Queen, not refus'd, viz. that the Queen-regent, having intelligence at Falkland of all that paſs'd upon the coaſt of Fife and at St. Andrew's, and being inform'd of the proceeding, particularly at St. Andrew's, ſhe had given ſecret orders to her French guards, with the Scots under the command of the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, to march in the night, to ſurprize and cut off the Reformers at St. Andrew's without mercy. However, the Reformers were before hand with her, and march'd in the night to Coupar of Fife, to wait for the Queen's forces, and to intercept them in parties. The French had determin'd to have a ſtrong detatchment the ſame night at Coupar; but, being prevented, they were diſconcerted, and all their meaſures put into confuſion.

The Queen's deſign of a Proteſtant maſſacre anticipated.

By Monday ten o'clock the Lords and others of the Congregation had us'd ſuch art and ſecreſy, that their army was above 3000 ſtrong to intercept the Queen-regent's forces, and diſpute the matter. The Earl of Rothes, with the Lord Ruthven, had join'd the Congregation at Coupar in time, with all their friends of Lothian, Calder, Orminſton, Reſtarig, Coalſton, and many more Eſquires of fortune, who had come volunteers. The Gentry of the Mearns and Angus, and thoſe of Dundee and Perth, were come up, under the command of James Halyburton, Mayor of Dundee, and Sheriff, who, as a Gentleman of great conduct and popularity, had a chief command in the army of the Congregation. The French did advance with great hurry to attack the Reformers before they ſhould receive further reinforcements. As they had intel-

intelligence of multitudes advancing to join them from all quarters, they thought to have ventur'd an action. But the Lords of the Congregation with their army march'd out of Coupar, and advanc'd toward the Queen-regent's army under the command of the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and M. d'Ozell, which did not make 3000.

Adverſe armies in ſight of each other.

Both armies next morning were in ſight of each other, and having approach'd, the fog being diſpell'd, nothing ſeparated, but a ſmall river and an intervening heath on the oppoſite ſide to where the Queen-regent's forces encamp'd. The parties of French and of the Duke of Chatle le Rhault's corps reconnoitred the forces of the Congregation. Finding them ſuperior in number, and form'd in order of battle, they thought proper to ſtop their march; being afraid of a warm reception from the Lords of the Congregation.

The Lord Ruthven, with the cavalry, advanc'd in the van of the Congregation. The Nobility, Gentry, and perſons of rank, who came in volunteers from Lothian, Fife, Mearns, Angus, Perth, and Stirlingſhire, compos'd the center of the army of the Congregation, and drew up in great order. The infantry, conſiſting of all the Counties, were plac'd in the rear. The corps de reſerve conſiſted only of ſome hundred of the beſt militia to the right of the army. Their encampment was ſo commodious, that they plac'd their cannon to ſuch advantage as to play upon the enemy from all quarters.

The reſolution of the Reform'd army intimidates the Queen's.

This evident reſolution of the Congregation put the Queen-regent's forces into great uneaſineſs, and diſpirited them ſo as to threaten a mutiny in the Queen's army. Upon this the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, with Monſieur d'Ozell, having held a Council of war with the Lords of their army, they reſolv'd to acquaint the Queen with the ſituation of her affairs; and accordingly they wrote the Queen-regent an account of the ſuperior numbers, of the reſolution and ſpirit of the whole Congregation, and that it was moſt prudent to ſoften them by offers of accommodation, which the Queen agreed to, and in conſequence of orders from her Majeſty, they ſent my Lord Lindſay and Waughton to treat with the Congregation in their camp; but they were not allow'd to approach the camp of the Congregation, but order'd to return under pain of being fir'd upon.

The Lords of the Congregation ſent a trumpet to theſe Deputies from the Queen's army to acquaint them, that, as her Majeſty had ſent theſe her French mercenaries to attack and deſtroy them, her true ſubjects, they were determin'd to ſtand to their defence, and not to be enſnar'd nor amus'd by her Majeſty's deceiving promiſes; that her Majeſty had never kept faith with them. However theſe Deputies inſiſted, in ſo ſubmiſſive and obliging a manner to be heard, that their meſſage was receiv'd; but the Lords of the Congregation made anſwer, that they would liſten to terms of accommodation only upon the two following Conditions:

First, that her Majeſty ſhould diſmiſs her French hirelings; and next, ſend them home.

And ſecondly, that her Majeſty ſhould give ſecurity that all, who profeſs'd the true Religion, ſhould receive no violence nor harm.

The Queen-regent, for the firſt acquainted the Lords of the Congregation, that ſhe could not in reaſon, diſmiſs the French, without firſt having the mind of the French Court; and as for the ſecurity demanded in the ſecond article, ſhe did not think it conſiſtent with her honour to give any other than her word and promiſe as their Sovereign, which they might ſafely truſt to; and ſhe aſſur'd them, upon her royal word, that no harm ſhould happen, nor no proſecution be carried on againſt any of the Congregation.

Another truce agreed upon.

Upon this, a truce or ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, the capital articles of which were, that the French troops ſhould be order'd to paſs the Forth, and have their cantonments in the Southern and Eaſtern parts of Lothian, untill recall'd: that indifferent and neutral perſons ſhould be ſent, before the expiration of the truce agreed upon, to meet at St. Andrew's with the repreſentatives of the Congregation, to ſettle and eſtabliſh articles for a laſting and ſolid pacification. This agreement, on the part of the Queen-regent, was ſign'd and ratified by the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and Monſieur d'Ozell the French Secretary, upon the 13th of June 1559: upon which the Lords of the Congregation, to be ſtrict to their honour, diſmiſs'd all their men, and ſent them to their ſeveral habitations. But the Queen-regent was become haughty and obſtinate: ſhe in the time limited never ſent any Plenipotentiaries, as agreed upon by her General, and ſettled by their ſignature. Inſtead of making any one ſtep to promote a reconciliation and agreement, complaints were brought to St. Andrew's, to the Lords of the Congregation in waiting there, from Perth, and from all the neighbourhood, of the ſeverities, perſecution and barbarity of Kilfauns the Mayor of Perth, and all the other perſecuting tools of her French Majeſty the Queen-regent.

Violated by the Queen.

The Proteſtants, enraged, re-aſſemble and march to reduce Perth.

This breach of ſolemn faith in the Regent, ſo often repeated and ſo patiently forgiven, did at length ſo enrage the Nobility and Gentry of the Congregation, that they were determin'd to exert their utmoſt efforts; therefore, with ſurprizing rapidity and uncommon diſpatch and ſecreſy, they collected their friends and adherents from all quarters; and, in few days after the 24th of June (the time fix'd for ſetting a ſolid peace with the contending parties) the Lords and others of the Congregation, aſſembling their force which was conſiderable, march'd for Perth to diſlodge the French garriſon, and to be maſters of the place.

Upon

Upon their approach to Perth, they ſummon'd the Mayor of Perth and the French garriſon to ſurrender, which was refus'd; and for anſwer, the Lords of the Congregation were told, that they had promis'd to the Queen-regent to defend the place, and were reſolute to be ſacrific'd in the ruins of it, rather than ſubmit. Upon which the attack immediately begun from the Eaſt and Weſt quarters. The Lord Ruthven commanded the attack from the Weſt quarter; the Mayor of Dundee with his battalions, and a great number of volunteers from the Eaſt quarter, play'd their artillery warmly upon the Town.

The Mayor and his French garriſon, finding the Town attack'd with ſuch fury, by the diſcharge of their cannon from Weſt and Eaſt, were ſtruck with confuſion, expecting nothing leſs than their Town reduc'd to aſhes. The ſuccours expected did not come to the relief of the place; for the Queen-regent had planted detachments at all quarters to intercept the reinforcements marching up to join the Lords of the Congregation before Perth. This weaken'd and divided the Queen's ſtrength, and ſhe further had order'd a ſtrong garriſon of French to take poſſeſſion of Stirling-town, to intercept and ſtop all the friends of the Congregation, who were to croſs the Forth at Stirling, and to proceed to Perth. But the Reformers upon this account batter'd Perth with great fury, ſo as to force the Mayor (Kilfauns) and the French garriſon to capitulate to ſurrender at the expiration of twelve hours, if ſuccours did not arrive in the Town; and, they not arriving, the Congregation carried the place: they generouſly allow'd the Mayor, with his French garriſon, to depart, and to march out with colours flying. The Lords of the Congregation having finiſh'd this, and ſettled a new Magiſtracy in Perth, and a ſufficient garriſon well provided in the Town, they, in the night after, ſent a ſtrong party of horſe to ſurprize and to take poſſeſſion of the Town of Stirling.

Are ſucceſsful.

Upon their approach they were taken to be the whole body of the army of the Congregation; upon which the Frenchmen, in ſurprize and diſorder, run off and quitted Stirling. The Friends of the Congregation enter'd it without any oppoſition, but the exchange of ſome flying ſhot; and, having gotten poſſeſſion of the Town and bridge, they ſecur'd the junction of their friends from Lothian, Air, Lanerick, and all the places on the other ſide the Forth to the South and Weſt. Then they proceeded to the demolition of all the Monaſteries and Abbies in or nigh to Stirling; which, with the famous Abbey of Cambuſkenneth, were raz'd to the foundation. Having deſtroy'd all the internal apparatus of images in the Churches, and the Altars, &c. they remain'd three days at Stirling, untill join'd by their friends from all quarters. Then they, with a formidable body, paſs'd the Forth and proceeded to Edinburgh the capital City, which they were ſoon maſters of.

Take Stirling,

The ſtrong garriſon which they left at Perth march'd out to the old Palace of Scoon, and there attack'd a ſmall French garriſon who defended the Palace and the Abbey-church there. The French, having made a diſcharge of their ſmall-arms, happen'd to kill one of the Burgeſſes of Dundee; upon which all the men of Dundee (who were upon the attack) were in ſuch rage and reſentment, that they attack'd the place with great fury, carried it, and burnt the Church and the ſtately Palace to the ground.

The Lords of the Congregation, with their main body having paſs'd the Forth, ſent before them a ſtrong party of four or five hundred men to take poſſeſſion of Linlithgow, which they did ſurprizingly with little or no reſiſtance; and here they clear'd the place of images and image-worſhip. This bold and victorious party, favour'd and ſpirited by the affections and countenance of the People, and join'd by their well-wiſhers on the roads, march'd for Edinburgh. Here they had ſurprizing ſucceſs. Lord Seaton, Mayor of the City of Edinburgh and Governor of the Caſtle, who had undertaken the protection of the Grey and Black Friars, ſoon gave way, leaving the whole City and Suburbs to the management of the Reformers; ſo that the multitudes here enjoy'd full plunder and rich booty.

and Linlithgow.

The Queen expected to have interrupted the Congregation from paſſing the Forth over Stirling-bridge, by leaving a garriſon of three or four hundred French in the place, with orders to hold it out to the laſt extremity; by this means effectually to have prevented the junction of the friends of the Congregation from the other ſide the Forth: but the French were ſo warmly attack'd by the detachment of the Congregation in their approach to Stirling, that they ſoon carried the place, put the French to flight, and took poſſeſſion of Stirling-town and Caſtle.

The Queen-regent with her retinue, guards, and friends, having fled to Dunbar-caſtle, the Congregation, with great eaſe, carried what they wanted to be poſſeſs'd of. The Queen's army was dejected and in no ſpirits; and therefore would by no means hazard a general action with the Congregation, but fled before them in dread. This is evident proof what a handful of men, far inferior in numbers, united in a good cauſe, and led on by men of ſpirit and good conduct, can accompliſh; and how they are capable to ſcatter and defeat ſuperior numbers, by ſpirit, reſolution, and magnanimity of ſoul, ſupported by honeſt and upright intentions.

The Queen's party, diſpirited,

The Queen-regent, in her preſent troubled condition, to gain upon the affections of the People, and to excite a jealouſy in the Nation againſt the Reformers of the Congregation, iſſued out her proclamations to all quarters of the Kingdom, containing her declaration in the following terms: that her Majeſty having certain knowlege of the ſeditious, tumultuous and rebellious practices of thoſe who denominated themſelves the Congregation, which ſhe had bore

iſſue a proclamation againſt the Reformers.

bore with for ſome conſiderable time; but ſeeing now they had ſufficiently convinc'd her and the Privy-council that their real intentions (under the cloak and pretence of reformation in Religion) were to overthrow her Government to introduce anarchy and confuſion, and to alter the ſucceſſion to the Crown; her Majeſty therefore, by the advice of her Privy-council, had iſſu'd out this her royal proclamation and declaration; ordering all of the Congregation forthwith to depart from the City of Edinburgh, and all places in the neighbourhood of it; and that the Burgeſſes of the City of Edinburgh and all the natives, inhabitants of the City and Suburbs, ſhould have the free and uninterrupted exerciſe of the Religion they approved of; but that none of the inhabitants of the City, under the pain of treaſon and rebellion, ſhould harbour any of the Congregation, nor any Engliſh, in regard it had been diſcovered, that letters and meſſages from England to the Lords and others of the Congregation had been very frequent of late, and had a direct tendency to favour and to ſpirit up the Congregation to ſupport and promote the ſpirit of diſaffection and rebellion over the Kingdom: that, in order to ſatisfy and conciliate the minds of all her loving and faithful ſubjects, her Majeſty had ſummon'd the Parliament to meet next January, for the redreſs of all grievances, that there they might repreſent all the hardſhips and difficulties they were ſubjected to; but, not contented with this, they aim'd and projected only confuſion, to pave the way for an innovation of Government: that the Congregation had violently taken poſſeſſion of the Palace of Holyrood-houſe, and of the Mint; and that they had, in the moſt treaſonable and daring manner, broken all the coining inſtruments in the Mint, and deſtroy'd great part of the ready coin. Her Majeſty, tho' unjuſtly, further charg'd the Congregation with deſigning to alter the act of ſettlement, in favour of the Hamilton-family, and of deſigning the ſubverting the preſent Government of the Kingdom; with many other falſe inſinuations, tending to diminiſh the regard and credit of the Reformers: but this artifice had ſmall effect on the minds of the People. The Queen, by this her proclamation, inſiſted and requir'd, that all the inhabitants of the City and Suburbs of Edinburgh, ſhould force to depart, from thence and it's neighbourhood, all the Engliſh, and thoſe connected with the body of the Congregation, in ſix hours after proclamation of this edict; and that, under pain of being declar'd traitors and puniſh'd if diſcover'd to harbour any ſuch in the City.

The Queen's ſubterfuge

The inhabitants of the City of Edinburgh were chiefly in the Reformation-intereſt; and therefore, by this proclamation, were put into great conſternation and confuſion, by the ſeverities threatned. The Lords, and other Chiefs of the Congregation, upon this held a general meeting, wherein they agreed to write a letter to the Queen-regent upon the occaſion of this proclamation; and to publiſh, by way of manifeſto, the heads and ſubſtance of what they wrote to the Queen, to convince the Nation of the falſity and injuſtice of the accuſation charg'd upon them by her Majeſty's proclamation.

refuted.

The heads of the letter, ſent to the Queen-regent by the Lords of the Congregation, were, that they were ſurpriz'd how they ſhould be attack'd and charg'd with attempts or deſigns never thought of, nor once mention'd by any of their body: that they deſir'd only an innocent, free, and lawful exerciſe of the pure Chriſtian Faith in their own language: that they never intended nor projected the leaſt innovation nor alteration of the Government and Conſtitution of the Kingdom; that, on the contrary, her Majeſty ſhould find none more dutiful nor more faithful ſubjects, provided their real hardſhips and many grievances were redreſs'd: that they thought themſelves entituled to acceſs to her Majeſty; and, if they had acceſs to her, they would convince her Majeſty, with truth and impartiality, of every meaſure which might promote the eſtabliſhment and glory of her Adminiſtration: as to their entering the Mint, and deſtroying all the coining inſtruments, and taking off the gold and ſilver coin, they own'd they had deſtroy'd all the bad coin, which had given ſuch offence to the Nation in general, and occaſion'd ſuch a ſcarcity and high price upon all neceſſaries, by the ſtagnation of trade, markets, and all commerce; the Country-people refuſing to accept of her Majeſty's new coin, as the price of their goods: that the gold and ſilver coin they had plac'd in the cuſtody of Robert Richardſon, Eſq; Maſter of the Mint; and that this abuſe in the coinage, they had a right to ſee rectify'd, as being native Peers of the Land and Privy-councillors; and therefore, ſeeing they had made this fair and plain declaration, they hop'd her Majeſty would readily grant them their reaſonable and juſt demands, of allowing the free exerciſe of the pure Religion in their own language: that ſhe would ſtop all perſecution for conſcience-ſake, and prevent any future troubles or commotions over the Kingdom, on account of Religion.

This letter and meſſage was deliver'd to the Queen-regent by the Lords Ruthven and Ochiltry, whom her Majeſty ſeem'd to receive with all apparent attention and regard, tho' ſecretly no wiſe diſpos'd to grant the demands of the Congregation. Her Majeſty (the Queen-regent) wanted to act by ſtratagem againſt the Congregation; and therefore, to amuſe them, ſhe ſeemingly comply'd with their demand of granting acceſs to any of the Congregation who ſhould be order'd to treat with her. The Congregation however had ſufficient intelligence of the views of the Queen by this, which were to have an interview with the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Murray her own brother. She expected, as they were leading men of the party who oppos'd her, and in high regard with the Congregation, that theſe Lords would be the perſons nominated by the Congregation to treat with her; and thereby ſhe purpos'd, either to enſnare and lay hold of them for a ſacrifice, or to gain them over and detach them from

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the Congregation, by large promiſes and rewards; but, to her Majeſty's great diſappointment, the perſons ſent to treat with her were Pittarow and Cunningham Head, Eſquires, who were receiv'd but coolly. They repreſented to her Majeſty, in the name of the Congregation, that they would willingly ſubmit all controverſies in Religion to a free Council, or a free Parliament of the eſtates of the Kingdom duly elected; and that they would inſiſt upon nothing but what was undeniably their right: that they would only further demand, as a national intereſt, the return of the French auxiliaries, that the natives and ſubjects of Scotland might not be over-aw'd nor encroach'd upon by mercenaries and foreigners; but that the French forces now in Scotland might be forthwith ſent over to France, and a good underſtanding cultivated betwixt her Majeſty and her ſubjects.

Her Majeſty (the Regent) was not pleas'd with this, but ſhew'd no reſentment openly. She was not pleas'd with the nomination ſent to her, but expected rather the Lords of Argyle and Stewart, or the Lords Ruthven and Ochiltry, to have return'd to ſatisfy her: however, the Congregation did not think it prudent to truſt theſe Noblemen to her Majeſty's preſent care; having receiv'd a hint, that her Majeſty had a deſign to have taken the Lords Argyle and James Stewart into cuſtody, and to have cut them off. One of the Queen-regent's greateſt favourites had in company dropp'd his mind too freely; that if the Queen had once hold of theſe Noblemen, ſhe would ſoon have their heads; and her Majeſty had ſignified to ſome of her Nobility, that ſhe wanted to have an interview with the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart. The notice of theſe hints, from the Regent's Court to the Lords of the Congregation, determin'd them not to ſend the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart: the Queen-regent therefore, diſappointed of all her hopes by ſtratagem, was forced to alter her meaſures; and nominated the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earl of Huntley, the Lords Erſkine and Somerville, with the Abbot of Kilwinning, to meet the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Lords Ruthven, Boyd and Ochiltry, with the Lord James Stewart, Erſkine of Dun and Pittarow Eſqrs. on the part of the Congregation, to enter into treaty, for reſtoration of the tranquility of the Kingdom.

The Queen diſconcerted.

Appoints Deputies to treat with thoſe of the Congregation.

Theſe Deputies, eſcorted by a hundred horſe on each ſide, met at Preſton nigh Edinburgh, in order to ſettle all differences; but, after meeting and conferring above a day together, they came to no reſolutions ſatisfactory to either ſide: Upon which this Congreſs diſſolved without ſucceſs.

They diſagree.

The Queen-regent had given inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries to inſiſt peremptorily, that, if ſhe yielded and did condeſcend to the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant and Reform'd Religion, as her Majeſty had occaſion to remove and to go to the different Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, that, in whatever place her Majeſty reſided, or wherever ſhe came, during her abode in that place, there ſhould be no public worſhip nor divine ſervice, but the celebration of the Maſs, and the worſhip of the Romiſh Church.

The Lords of the Congregation made anſwer to this, by the Lord Ruthven, and Pittarow Eſq; that her Majeſty might uſe what Religion ſhe approved of, but it was neither reaſonable, nor could it be yielded, to ſilence the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Faith in every quarter upon the approach of her Majeſty to any particular place; as the conſequence of which would be to introduce greater diſcontent, confuſion, and diſorder, than hitherto had appeared. The Queen-regent to all reply'd, ſhe ſhould be pleas'd to ſee peace reſtor'd; but, without ever making any reaſonable conceſſion or overture, diſmiſs'd the Deputies. Upon this, the Lords of the Congregation, having held a conſultation, reſolv'd to remain in Edinburgh City; but the Town of Leith was in poſſeſſion of the French auxiliaries, and the Queen-regent's faction.

The Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earl of Morton, and others, now finding no appearance of an accommodation, prepar'd their parties to go to the Queen to eſcort her, and to accompany her from Dunbar to Leith, that they might unite their forces, and if poſſible force the Congregation to retire from the City of Edinburgh. The piquets and foot-guards of the Congregation and of the Queen-regent's forces were with great difficulty retain'd from ſlaughter, as they paſs'd each other. Upon the Queen's return to Leith, ſhe order'd her officers who commanded to draw out her army, and to force acceſs for her Majeſty by the Weſt-gate into the City of Edinburgh.

The Queen deſigns the reduction of Edinburgh.

The Lords of the Congregation, upon intelligence of theſe motions and deſigns, aſſembled their force in great hurry, and march'd out in a body to diſpute the paſſage of the Queen-regent's troops to the Weſt-gate: but tho' the Congregation were reſolute and united in Council; yet, from a miſtaken ſecurity, and from an apprehenſion (ill-founded) that they were in no danger of any attempt from the Queen-regent's forces, who were but few and diſpirited; yet, I ſay, from this miſtake of the Lords of the Congregation, many of their Chiefs with their men had retir'd home for ſome ſhort relaxation, being amus'd with the apparent diſorder, grief, and diſappointment of the Queen-regent and her faction, by the unexpected news of the ſudden death of Henry the IId King of France, who was the great ſupport of their cauſe, and a zealot for the Romiſh Faith. In July this year (1559) arriv'd this diſconcerting piece of news to the Queen-regent; but as ſhe was very artful and cunning, notwithſtanding her bad ſituation, ſhe watch'd her opportunity when the Congregation apprehended leaſt danger and were ſcatter'd; and therefore it was, that ſhe determin'd to force her acceſs to Edinburgh at this juncture.

The death of Henry II. King of France.

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The Congregation were determin'd to ſtand an action, and diſpute the matter with the French, which muſt have occaſion'd a bloody encounter; but the Lord Erſkine, who had been appointed by Parliament to take care of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, having receiv'd ſecret orders from the Queen-regent with large promiſes, ſent a meſſage to the Lords and the body of the Congregation, when drawn out and form'd in order of battle, to acquaint them, that, if they ventur'd to oppoſe the Queen with her friends and guards from entering the City by the Weſt-gate, he was reſolv'd to play his artillery from the Caſtle upon them.

An accommodation propos'd and effected.

The Congregation upon this were much ſurpriz'd, the Lord Erſkine having hitherto behav'd with great moderation and mildneſs, and for moſt part had obſerv'd a ſtrict neutrality as to both parties; but the deſign of this preſent appearance upon one ſide, appeared to be calculated to force the Congregation into a capitulation, for the Queen-regent's preſent accommodation, which had the deſir'd effect; for, upon this, the Lords of the Congregation agreed to capitulate upon the following articles, which were ſign'd and ratify'd by the Queen-regent.

I. That, in twenty-four hours, the Lords of the Congregation, with all their adherents, the native inhabitants and Citizens of Edinburgh only excepted, ſhould evacuate Edinburgh for the Queen's acceſs.

II. That the Lords, and all adherents of the Congregation, ſhould for the future remain in obedience, duty, and peaceable ſubjection to the Queen-regent.

III. That the Congregation ſhould not attempt to diſturb any of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, nor to demoliſh any Churches, places of worſhip, or religious houſes, Abbies, or Monaſteries.

IV. That the City of Edinburgh ſhould enjoy the free and full exerciſe of their public worſhip in the Church of St. Giles's, according to the Reform'd Proteſtant Faith, and as already ſettled.

V. That the Reform'd Proteſtant Preachers ſhould receive no interruption nor violence in the exerciſe of their Religion, or in the public preaching of their doctrines: That they, with the whole body of the Congregation, ſhould enjoy peaceably their eſtates, liberties, rights, and privileges, and the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Faith unmoleſted; and that this preſent accommodation, now ſign'd and ratify'd, ſhould remain in full force, untill the 10th of next January, 1560.

VI. That none of the French auxiliaries ſhould be garriſon'd within the City of Edinburgh; and no forces of the Queen's, either Scots or French, quarter'd within the City, but ſhould be allow'd acceſs about their lawful affairs.

This capitulation being ſign'd (after the proper inſtruments were drawn up, ratify'd, and exchang'd between the contracting parties) matters were apparently in a ſettled ſtate: the Lords of the Congregation, with all their men, march'd out of Edinburgh for Stirling. In their way to Stirling, the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and the Earl of Huntley had a private interview with the Lords of the Congregation, to underſtand one another; and enter'd into concert, that if the Queen-regent ſhould directly or indirectly violate the ſmalleſt article of this capitulation, then they, with all the other Nobility, who had formerly been in the Queen's intereſt, ſhould immediately forſake her and join the Congregation.

The Queen, having fully experienc'd the reſolution of the Lords of the Congregation, and finding an increaſing deſertion of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation from her intereſt, becauſe of her barefac'd partiality in favour of the French, and her attachment to French Councils and influence; ſhe therefore was pretty cautious how to act at this juncture; and, becauſe of the reſentment ſhe drew upon herſelf by her former perfidy to the Congregation, ſhe took care to avoid any open violation of articles: yet, from her bigotted zeal to the Romiſh Prieſthood, ſhe, with very alluring and inviting ſpeeches, us'd her utmoſt addreſs and art to perſuade the Magiſtrates of the City of Edinburgh, to grant her Majeſty the high Church of St. Giles's, for her Majeſty's uſe, and for the celebration of high Maſs for her Majeſty's Court and Houſhold; deſiring alſo, that Mr. John Willocks, the Reform'd Proteſtant Miniſter of this Church, might have another place aſſign'd him for preaching to his Congregation. But this requeſt the Magiſtrates abſolutely refus'd to comply with, and intimated to the Queen-regent, that, as they had got this Church once clear'd of Romiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, they never would be acceſſary nor concern'd in tolerating any ſuch form of worſhip for the future.

The Queen-regent was highly diſpleas'd with this reſolute return made her by the Magiſtrates; but did not think it prudent, in the preſent criſis, to ſhew the leaſt reſentment, nor to inſiſt further upon ſo tender a point: therefore, ſhe thought upon another and more conceal'd expedient to diſturb the Reform'd party in their worſhip, and to tire and weary them out. This was by encouraging ſecretly the officers of the French auxiliaries to enter the Church of St. Giles in time of divine ſervice, and to walk round the People in the area, ſpeaking aloud, and to make ſuch noiſe as to confound both Miniſter and People, by laughter, ridicule, and ſcorn; and in Leith they enter'd the Reform'd and Proteſtant Church, broke down the pulpit and deſk, and committed other exceſſes, purpoſely to excite the Reformers to repel them, in order to have a handle againſt them, and to form a colour of excuſe for breach of

The Queen's artifice to provoke the Reformers to a breach of treaty.

of the capitulation: therefore the Reformers wiſely did put up with and bear theſe unprovok'd inſolencies, and determin'd to preſerve the peace; but their oppoſites in all quarters, with their French friends, endeavour'd (tho' without ſucceſs) to perſuade the multitude and the lower claſs, that the Lords of the Congregation and the Reform'd Preachers intended only to ſubvert the preſent Government of the State, and to alter the ſucceſſion in favour of Lord James Stewart, the young Queen of France and Scotland's natural brother. All theſe and many ſuch falſities had no effect upon the minds of the People, tho' aſſerted with very plauſible circumſtances, and made appear very probable.

Monſieur Crook this ſeaſon came over from their Majeſties King Francis the IId and Queen Mary, with a formal notification of their acceſſion to the Throne of France, and acquainting the Court of Scotland, that they had taken upon themſelves the title of King and Queen of England and Ireland, as well as France and Scotland; and that all orders, commiſſions, diſpatches, and ſignatures, were to be addreſs'd to their Majeſties with theſe titles annex'd to their former hereditary titles.

Francis and his Queen notify their acceſſion.

This gave great offence to the Queen and Privy-council of England, and they had given expreſs orders to Throgmorton, Ambaſſador at Paris from the Court of London, to enter a ſolemn proteſt againſt this encroachment of their Majeſties of France; yet, notwithſtanding the repeated repreſentations made by the Engliſh Ambaſſador, King Francis and Queen Mary perſiſted obſtinately in taking the title of England and Ireland, and had the arms of England and Ireland quarter'd with thoſe of France and Scotland upon all their Palaces, Plate, &c. and theſe titles given them in all commiſſions, deeds, ſeals, and grants, paſs'd by their Majeſties: however, at length Montmorancy, having rais'd his intereſt in the Court of France upon the decline of the influence of the Guiſe family; and, being a declar'd oppoſite to them, had ſo much intereſt in the Cabinet-council of Paris, as to procure an order for dropping theſe pretenſions: yet this inſult and encroachment upon the Crown of England, laid the foundation of a laſting diſtaſte to King Francis, and eſpecially againſt Queen Mary, for aſſuming this title in ſuch an inſolent manner, and the Privy-council ſtudied to inſpire Elizabeth their Queen with keen indignation againſt Queen Mary upon this account, which in part laid the foundation for thoſe unhappy events which Queen Mary felt ſo heavy upon her, and which involv'd her in moſt of her calamities; for the Queen of England's Miniſtry kept this always in their Queen's immediate view, to heighten her diſſatisfaction with Queen Mary of Scotland.

Aſſume the titular ſovereignty of England and Ireland.

Monſieur Crook, the French Envoy, who came over to Scotland this year (in Auguſt) with the notification of their Majeſties acceſſion to the Throne and Crown of France, and with other diſpatches of importance to the Queen-mother, carried with him very threatning and thundering letters from Queen Mary and King Francis to her brother. I here ſubjoin the * genuine copies of two letters: the one dated July 17, 1559, from King Francis the IId to the Lord James Stewart; and the other, Paris, July 24, 1559, from Queen Mary to him her natural brother.

Send letters to Lord Stewart to detach him from the Proteſtants.

The Letters are as follow:

FRANCIS King of France, to JAMES Prior of St. Andrew's.

" Couſin,

" When I underſtood, as well by letters as common report, the tumults raiſed at this time in Scotland, I was much commoved; eſpecially when it was ſaid that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceas'd, and myſelf, have given ſo many benefices, ſhould be the head and principal foſterer of the ſame. That you ſhould be ſo forgetful of our love, and of the duty you have at all times profeſſed unto the Queen, I would not believe; or, if it was ſo as fame commonly reporteth, I did think that you were induced by the promiſes and flattering perſuaſion of others to take the fault upon you, whereof they were the cauſe; ſuppoſing the offence would be eſteemed, either none, or very ſmall, in your perſon; this my conceit of you, if it be true, ſhall be as joyful to me as that which ſhould be moſt joyful; for I ſhould wiſh, by this mean, ſome part of my diſpleaſure mitigated into which you are worthily fallen; having deceiv'd the hope which I had of your piety towards God, and your faithful ſervice towards myſelf. Therefore, ſince nothing can be more acceptable to me than to hear that controverſies are compoſed, and all things compacted without tumult, according to law and good order; and ſince I am perſuaded this may be eaſily done by your credit, I thought meet to advertiſe you by theſe letters; and, for the good-will I bear you, I do earneſtly requeſt that you will return to the obedience from which you have foully fallen; that ſo I may ſee you carry another mind, than that which your fooliſh actions have manifeſted. This will appear to be ſo, if that you apply your diligence to bring thoſe things, which now are out of order in thoſe parts, back again to the ancient and ſound form of obedience which you know is due to God and me: otherwiſe, I would have you, and all thoſe that adhere to you, perſuaded, that ere it be long I ſhall take ſuch puniſhment of you and them, as your wickedneſs deſerveth; which I



* Vide Spotſwood's Hiſtory, Book III.

have given the bearer charge to make known unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as myſelf; praying God, my couſin, to have you in his protection."

"Paris, July 17, 1559."

The Letter ſent by the Queen was of the tenor following.

MARY Queen of Scotland and France, to JAMES Prior of the Monaſtery of St. Andrew's.

"I cannot, my couſin, wonder enough, how you, that are nigheſt us in blood, and greatly benefited by our liberality, as yourſelf knoweth, ſhould be ſo preſumptuous and wickedly diſpoſed as, by one and the ſame fact, to violate the Majeſty of God and the authority belonging to me, and my huſband; for to me it is a wonder that you, who being with me did complain of the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and divers others, for diſmiſſing my authority, ſhould now be the leader of a faction in matters of greateſt weight, wherein not only the honour of God is touched, but my authority all utterly taken away, which I would have more eaſily believed of any other of my ſubjects than of you; for I had a ſpecial hope of your fidelity, and am not a little grieved that you ſhould have deceived me: though yet I am ſcarce to be perſuaded, that you are gone ſo far from truth and reaſon as to be carried away with ſuch blind errors which I wiſh were not as any in the world elſe, beſeeching God to illuminate you with his light, that, returning into the right way, you may ſhew yourſelf (by doing things contrary to that you have already perform'd) a good man and obedient to the laws, whereof by theſe letters I thought good to admoniſh you; and withall earneſtly to intreat you to amend your bygone faults with better deeds in time coming, that the anger which I and my huſband have conceiv'd againſt you, may by that means be mitigated: otherwiſe I would have you to underſtand, that we will take ſuch puniſhment of you, that you ſhall ever remember us, which ſhall be to me a moſt grievous thing. God I beſeech to keep you from all danger."

"Paris, July 24, 1559."

Monſieur Crook had in charge likewiſe, from their Majeſties of France, a verbal meſſage for the Lord James Stewart: that his Majeſty of France would not reckon it too much to beſtow the whole revenues of his Crown to execute his full reſentment againſt all in Scotland, particularly the Lord James Stewart, for their open contempt and rebellion againſt his and the Queen's Sovereignty, and for their violent proceedings to ſubvert and totally extirpate the Catholic Faith.

Lord James Stewart made anſwer to the French Envoy, that he was capable to juſtify the whole of his conduct, and had never done any thing with intent to offend his Majeſty or the Queen; that he never had any deſigns to the hurt of his ſiſter the Queen, and had only aſſerted, in the moſt lawful and innocent manner, the defence and ſupport of the true Chriſtian Faith, and join'd in ſupport of a Reformation in Religion, from ignorance, ſuperſtition, and idolatry; and that he was ready, upon all occaſions, to teſtify, in the moſt convincing manner, his ſteady and unvariable regard and affection for their Majeſties; but that the cauſe and intereſt of true Religion, in which he was engag'd, and which he was reſolute to ſupport, he never would depart from; becauſe it would be the moſt impious of all treachery to betray the intereſt of the true and pure Goſpel.

The French Envoy reported this anſwer to the Queen-regent, who, upon hearing it, breath'd out her virulent rage, and added, that ſuch a rebellious, haughty, and proud return, never was tolerated nor paſs'd by a King and Queen without juſt and proper marks of reſentment.

A new ſupply of French ſoldiers arriving,

In few days after this, there arriv'd a French officer, one Octavian, with a regiment of French auxiliaries for the reinforcement of Leith, which the Queen had been at great expence to fortify, as a proper place of ſtrength and defence, and for receiving her French ſuccours. This officer of the French army, after landing his men, and the treaſure he brought over, (which was conſiderable) was ſent by the Queen-regent back to France to demand over directly ſome hundreds more of men and arms, in order to enable the Queen-regent to make an effectual ſtand to ſuppreſs the Reformation-intereſt, and the whole body of the Congregation. Upon the arrival of theſe expected ſuccours, the Regent expreſs'd herſelf certain of a total conqueſt of her enemies, and to be capable to carry all her ſyſtem to full perfection. Leith, in order to this, was made a place of great ſtrength and defence, and had a ſtrong citadel with a double rampart and a ditch, and the fort provided with a ſtrong garriſon.

alarm the Nobility.

The Queen-regent's hopes however were blaſted in this. This arrival of French ſuccours ſtruck terror and uneaſineſs into the whole Kingdom. The Nobility, even thoſe who were in the Queen's intereſt, begun now to dread her, and to deſert her Councils; foreſeeing no leſs intended than a total conqueſt and ſubjection of the Kingdom of Scotland to French military power and government.

The Earl of Arran was juſt arriv'd the latter end of this month of Auguſt from France, by the way of England, and had come over purpoſely to detach his father (the Duke of Chatle le Rhault) from the Queen-regent's and the Popiſh faction. The Earl of Arran had been

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at the Court of France for ſome time, and much careſs'd; but happen'd in company, unguarded, to utter ſome expreſſions againſt the Queen-regent, or rather to expreſs himſelf too favourably concerning the Reformers to the company he convers'd with. They treacherouſly reported the whole to the Duke of Guiſe, who had ſecretly great influence with Queen Mary of France. His brother the Cardinal of Lorrain likewiſe, on this occaſion, had ſignify'd his great diſpleaſure againſt the Earl of Arran for the affection and inclination teſtify'd toward the Proteſtants. The Guiſes acquainted Queen Mary with it, and they had determin'd to have brought my Lord Arran to trial; but he had intelligence of their wrath and deſigns, and ſo ſurpriz'd them by retiring to Geneva, where he became acquainted with Thomas Randolph, an Engliſh Gentleman: and, after ſome ſhort ſtay at Geneva, they return'd together privately to England. My Lord Arran was receiv'd by Queen Elizabeth and her Miniſtry with great affection; and finding the Earl of Arran was well affected to the Proteſtant and Reform'd Religion, Elizabeth aſſur'd him of her particular regard; and, if he would exert himſelf with a laudable ſteadineſs and reſolution in promoting the Reformation intereſt in Scotland, and in order to this uſe his utmoſt efforts to draw off his father the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, then he ſhould be entituled to the moſt ſubſtantial and laſting proofs of her Majeſty's friendſhip, and the eſteem of her Nobility.

The Earl of Arran quits France, and arrives at London.

The Earl, after ſome ſhort ſtay at the Court of London, ſet out for Scotland, and went directly to Hamilton-caſtle. After ſome ſhort interview with the Duke his father, he proceeded to Stirling, where the Lords of the Congregation were aſſembled; and, having had a conference with them about the inſtructions deliver'd to him from Queen Elizabeth, concerning the expulſion of the French from Scotland, he return'd to Hamilton-caſtle, where he, with force and ſtrength of reaſon, gain'd upon his father the Duke, and prevail'd upon him to deſert the Queen-regent, and to join the Congregation with all his force and influence.

Perſuades his father to join the Congregation,

The Queen-regent receiv'd intelligence, that the Earl of Arran had join'd the Lords of the Congregation, which created her great uneaſineſs and pain; and therefore ſhe was determin'd to ſend a deputation of two of her Privy-council, with a letter from herſelf to the Duke of Chatle le Rhault; but, before her Majeſty had deliberated with her Privy-council upon this event, and the preſent critical ſituation of her affairs, the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, by the diligence, activity, and ſpirit of the Earl of Arran his ſon, was reconcil'd to the Lords of the Congregation, and united with them in all their meaſures. They all held their general meeting at Hamilton-caſtle, to deliberate upon the moſt immediate and effectual expedients to prevail upon the Queen-regent to clear the Nation of the French, which were rather increaſing and overſpreading the Kingdom, than ſhewing any appearance of return to their own land: The Lords therefore, aſſembled at Hamilton-caſtle, reſolv'd to write to the Queen-regent, to intimate their demands in mild and friendly terms; and, at the ſame time, to ſignify their diſpoſition and reſolutions to the Lord Erſkine Governor of Edinburgh-caſtle. The ſubſtance of the letter to her Majeſty was as follows:

who write to the Queen-regent,

That it was very ſurprizing and extraordinary in their view, as the Nobility and native Peers of Scotland, to find that their Kingdom ſhould be ſo ſubjected to the military power of France, and directed by the Council of foreign hirelings; and that, by the repeated arrival of French forces to aid her Majeſty's enterprizes, the ſubjects of the Kingdom, and the natives particularly, forc'd to ſubmit to the tyrannical encroachments of ſtrangers: that her Majeſty, contrary to all equity and good policy, ſhould expel the natives of the town of Leith and replace them with French and foreign ſoldiery, who alone were in poſſeſſion of the Town, contrary to the expreſs engagements and ſtipulations into which her Majeſty time after time had enter'd into with the Congregation. As therefore ſuch a manifeſt invaſion of the natural rights of the People and violation of her public and ſolemn faith, did call upon them, the Nobility of the Nation, not to be idle nor indifferent ſpectators of ſuch beginnings, which threaten'd overthrow and ſlavery to the whole Kingdom; they therefore thought it their duty to beg of her Majeſty, in friendſhip, to redreſs and rectify theſe and other abuſes; and did acquaint her, that, if a ſpeedy and effectual remedy was not apply'd, they, for the preſervation of their Kingdom and it's natives from ſlavery and tyranny, would be under neceſſity of making a lawful and vigorous ſtand for the ſupport of their liberties, religion, and of all that was valuable.

This letter, of which I have with great juſtice given my reader the ſubſtance and meaning to the full, without deviation from truth, and which is mention'd by Spotſwood in his hiſtory; this letter, I ſay, was dated, ſign'd, and ſent from Hamilton-caſtle to the Queen, September 29, 1559, ſign'd Chatle le Rhault, Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Monteith, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltry, and many other Lords and Gentry of the Nation.

and to Lord Erſkine.

The Congregation at the ſame time time ſent a letter to the Lord Erſkine Governor of Edinburgh-caſtle, to acquaint him, that they thought both his perſon and truſt in danger from the neighbourhood of the French at Leith, who had ſo fortify'd their Citadel, and render'd themſelves ſo formidable, by an acceſſion of conſiderable ſuccours of French troops, that therefore they hop'd he would be guarded and prepar'd againſt all ſnares or ſurprize; and that he would pay the ſtricteſt regard to the welfare and ſtate of his Nation, and think of the preſent danger by the power and uſurpation of foreigners: that if he ſhould have any occaſion

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for their aſſiſtance, they would readily and chearfully, upon the firſt notice, give him effectual ſupport to defend his perſon and truſt.

Pittarow with Erſkine of Dun delivered the Letter ſign'd by the Nobility to the Queen, who appear'd much concerned with ſo powerful a confederacy form'd againſt her; and now, finding that ſhe had the majority and better part of the Nation to oppoſe her arbitrary meaſures, ſhe nominates two of her favourites on this occaſion, veſted with full powers and inſtructions, to go to the Lords to ſoften them if poſſible, by the moſt plauſible and amuſing promiſes of favour, friendſhip and good intentions to the whole Kingdom. The Gentlemen, ſent by the Queen on this occaſion, were Sir Robert Carneagy and Mr. David Borthwick, as men eloquent and perſuaſive in their addreſs. They had a letter, ſign'd by her Majeſty the Regent, for the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, wherein her Majeſty ſignify'd her ſurprize, that the Duke ſhould allow his ſon the Earl of Arran to join the Congregation; and much more, that he ſhould himſelf deſert her and go over to them, without giving her any previous notice or reaſon for it. This conduct, ſhe acquainted him, was extraordinary; and therefore ſhe hop'd and believ'd the Duke would not only remain firm to her intereſt, but if poſſible engage the Earl of Arran his ſon to depart from the Congregation, and to come to Court to reſide with her Majeſty, where ſhe would receive him with the higheſt regard and diſtinguiſhed marks of her favour.

To this alluring meſſage, the Duke, being willing now to become popular, and to engage the eſteem of the prevailing and moſt powerful part of the Kingdom, to attone for his former abſurd, inconſtant and moſt unwarrantable conduct in public life; he therefore thought proper now to act and to anſwer the Queen-regent with that reſolution and ſpirit which became a Peer who formerly had govern'd Scotland. He, upon this account, to recommend himſelf to the Congregation, deſir'd of her Majeſty (as his anſwer) to know by what authority or right ſhe had fortify'd Leith, broke her capitulation at Leith with the Lords of the Congregation, by which capitulation they had evacuated Edinburgh? and by what right ſhe could pretend to expel the free-born natives, and replace them with French to inhabit the place; yea, to pour in new ſupplies of French, to keep the Capital (i. e. the City of Edinburgh) in conſtant dread, watch and ſurprize, and the whole Kingdom in danger of French ſlavery?

Theſe Deputies from the Queen, having receiv'd this ſtrong remonſtrance and this ſeaſonable cheque from the Duke, thought proper to talk in very ſubmiſſive ſtile, and to acquaint the Duke, that they were aſſured of the Queen-regent's great regard for his Grace, and of her Majeſty's good diſpoſition to do every thing for the good of the Kingdom, provided all matters were referr'd to her own inclination and good pleaſure. To which the Duke replied, that, if ſhe did expect loyalty and ſubjection from the Nobility, Gentry and Commons of Scotland, ſhe muſt be conducted and directed in the management of the State, not by French and foreign mercenaries, but by the native, true and free born ſubjects of the Nation, according to their dignity and capacity.

The Deputies, Sir Robert Carneagy and Mr. David Borthwick, return'd to the Queen, and reported to her the ſubſtance of their interview, and the Duke of Chatle le Rhault's anſwer, by which it was evident to her, that they were determin'd not to reſt ſattsfy'd with the encroachments of the French; therefore her Majeſty, having called her Council to deliberate upon what was proper to be done, it was reſolved her Majeſty the Queen-regent ſhould iſſue out her proclamation to endeavour to calm the minds of the People, and to juſtify the whole of her conduct and intentions, and to undeceive the body of the People who had receiv'd ſuch prejudice againſt her Adminiſtration, that they were ready to concur in violent meaſures to ſhake off her yoke and arbitrary government.

The Queen-regent iſſues a proclamation,

Beſides this proclamation the Queen, by advice of her Privy-council, employed ſo many of her chief confidents and truſtees in the different Counties, to go about and influence the minds of the People in different quarters in favour of her Majeſty. The chief perſons entruſted in this affair were, Mr. James Balfour Official of Lothian, Thomas and William Scott Eſqrs. ſons of Scott of Balwery Eſq; Sir Robert Carneagy, and ſeveral more. Sir John Bonnantine was ſent by her Majeſty the Queen-regent with a particular commiſſion and letter of her Majeſty's own hand-writing, full of large promiſes of favour and friendſhip, to the Lord Ruthven to engage him to break off and deſert the Lords of the Congregation. Her Majeſty likewiſe ſent John Spence of Condy Eſq; to the young Queen's natural brother Lord James Stewart, with another letter to the following purport:

and employs emiſſaries to procure the People's favour.

That her Majeſty was greatly ſurpriz'd with his Lordſhip's behaviour, in joining and ſupporting the intereſt of the Congregation, who appear'd now ſo obſtinately reſolute in their oppoſition to the authority and legal Sovereignty of the Queen his ſiſter, that ſhe deſpair'd of ever reclaiming them. That their conduct and behaviour had an immediate and direct tendency to introduce confuſion, and to pave the way for the overthrow of her Majeſty's government; and therefore ſhe hoped my Lord would conſider coolly and ſeriouſly, how he was active and concern'd in hurting the intereſt of the Queen his ſiſter, by ſupporting ſuch a powerful oppoſition to her. She underſtood that he was zealouſly attach'd to the Proteſtant Religion and a declar'd enemy to the Catholic Faith, which, tho' ſhe did not like or approve of, yet, as it was a matter of conſcience, ſhe was diſpos'd to grant to the Nobility of the Congregation and to him the full and free exerciſe of their Religion. That ſhe hoped and expected he would not encourage, nor concur with the Lords of the Congregation in, any meaſures which appear'd to be ſeditious,

and

and might occaſion tumults and diſorders in the State: ſhe likewiſe hop'd and expected from him, ſuch behaviour and future conduct as ſhould be no way inconſiſtent with that duty and regard which he ow'd to the Queen his ſiſter; and that, as they were to be allow'd the free exerciſe of their Religion, ſhe expected thereby their demands were fully ſatisfy'd. That, as to their diſcontent and clamour and their loud complaints againſt her for the fortification of Leith-town, and the introducing of French troops into the place, her Majeſty as Regent had done nothing in that affair but by the approbation and authority of the Queen of Scotland her daughter, who, as ſhe was Queen of France as well as Scotland, had an undoubted title to call in the aid and ſupport of her ſubjects wherever ſhe apprehended danger of an attack upon her Government: that ſhe had above a hundred native ſubjects to one Frenchman, ready to join her to repel all rebellious encroachments againſt her authority; but that, if ſhe were certain and had ſufficient evidence to convince her of the ſincerity of the Congregation, and that they had no deſigns to diſturb or overthrow the Queen her daughter's Government, or to make any innovations in the State, ſhe would very readily give them intire ſatisfaction as to that article, and ſoon remove their cauſe of diſcontent from the fortifying of Leith, and furniſhing it with French troops. The Queen-regent concluded this her letter with ſubjoining only, that ſhe expected of Lord James Stewart that he would act with tender regard for his ſiſter's intereſt; and that, if he were diſpos'd to return to perfect friendſhip with the Queen, he might depend upon the moſt cordial and affectionate reception from the Queen with diſtinguiſh'd marks of her regard and friendſhip.

The Queen fails in her attempt of breaking the unanimity of the Congregation.

The Queen-regent, with theſe and other ſtratagems, endeavour'd artfully to divide and ſeparate the Lords of the Congregation; but all her engines, play'd upon this occaſion, had no effect. The anſwer, ſent to her by the Lord James Stewart, was writ with ſuch ſpirit, and with ſuch perſpicuity and ſtrength of reaſon, as to damp her reſolution and diſconcert her meaſures; therefore ſhe took herſelf to another expedient: ſhe emitted a declaration and manifeſto, wherein ſhe did ſet forth, that the Duke of Chatle le Rhault had deſerted from his duty and obedience to her Majeſty the Queen, and had iſſued out his circular letters all over the Kingdom to excite diſaffection and rebellion, under pretence and colour of a breach of the articles of capitulation betwixt her and the Lords of the Congregation; and that in theſe letters, the Duke had repreſented to the People, all over the Nation, her fortifying of Leith and the calling in of French ſuccours, as a manifeſt violation of the conſtitution and laws of the Kingdom: that her Majeſty was now fully perſuaded, that their deſigns aim'd at a revolution in the State, and that the tendency of their proceedings were directly to harraſs, diſtreſs and at length expel her; thereby to have the Regency and Adminiſtration plac'd in the perſon of ſome of the Chiefs of the Congregation. She further added, in her declaration, that ſhe had evident proofs from the taking of Broughty-caſtle, and from the oppoſition to the Queen's authority in the ſeveral Cities and Boroughs, and their altering of the courſe of juſtice, that it was rebellion and oppoſition to the Queen's authority which they projected, and not the eſtabliſhment of true Religion; and that ſhe had further reaſon to apprehend danger, and to provide for her own ſafety and ſecurity, by the treatment ſhe had receiv'd from the Congregation, who had engag'd, withdrawn, and ſeduc'd ſeveral of her friends of the Nobility and Gentry from their obedience and fidelity to her: that they of the Congregation had intercepted and ſtopp'd all the Country-people, from all quarters, from importing proviſions to her and her troops, in order to reduce them to famine and endanger her life thereby: that for theſe and other good and important reaſons, ſhe by theſe preſents order'd, upon pain of her higheſt diſpleaſure, that no regard ſhould be paid to the letters ſent by the Duke of Chatle le Rhault; and that they ſhould not take arms in favour of the Congregation, under pain of being declar'd rebels, and proſecuted as traitors to their Queen.

But this thundering proclamation was render'd of ſmall force and little regard, by the nervous anſwer ſent to the Queen-regent from Lord James Stewart, which was publiſh'd and diſpers'd over the Kingdom by order of the Congregation, and was to the following effect: that he, with all the other Lords of the Congregation, had enter'd into no unlawful but a laudable confederacy, for the ſupport and eſtabliſhment of that Religion which they were firmly perſuaded to be the true, pure, and unmix'd religion of the New Teſtament, deliver'd to them by their Saviour, and tranſmitted by his Apoſtles, ſtript of idolatry and ſuperſtition: that, as they believ'd the truth and rectitude of their cauſe, they had ſolemnly engag'd themſelves by oath to ſtand united, faithful and true to their common intereſt and welfare, and to one another; and therefore he was determin'd to hearken to no private interviews, offers, nor promiſes, nor in any ſhape to act ſeparately from the other Lords; but in all reſpects to adhere to his engagements with them, and to act in concert with them for the promoting of the public good: that the Lords of the Congregation, and all honeſt diſintereſted men, were now fully ſatisfy'd, that her Majeſty, from the late articles of her conduct, and her calling over ſuch numbers of foreigners to ſupport her, gave the ſtrongeſt ground for believing ſhe could deſign no leſs than a total reduction of Scotland, and to ſubject the Kingdom to French tyranny, and unprecedented arbitrary meaſures: but, to ſhew his hearty diſpoſition toward peace, he would lay all her Majeſty's diſpatches before the Lords, and he was well perſuaded that the Lords were ready to concur in every equitable and peaceable meaſure; provided her Majeſty

were as ſincere in her intentions as ſhe profeſs'd to be, and did not alter her diſpoſition thro' pernicious councils.

The Queen-regent, amidſt all theſe alterations of ſcenes, had ſent over full intelligence of her ſituation to her ſon and daughter the King and Queen of France. They, eaſily perceiving the dangerous ſtate of their affairs in Scotland, thought fit to ſend over a reinforcement of French troops under the command of Monſieur le Broche, who brought over with him 2000 foot; and, to give the greater regard to his commiſſion, he was, at his departure for Scotland, created Knight of the order of St. Michael, and carried full powers to act from their Majeſties as Captain-general of their forces there. With him were ſent over Monſieur Pelleuce Biſhop of Amiens, afterward Archbiſhop of Sens and a Cardinal, with three Doctors of the Sorbonne, viz. Doctors Ferretier, Brochet, and Furmer, to diſpute with the Lords and Clergy of the Congregation; but in fact it was to bully and to overawe them with the immediate apprehenſions of military power, which they had ready to ſupport and enforce the weakneſs and ſophiſtry of their arguments.

More French ſuccours arrive under command of le Broche.

Upon the arrival of theſe French Gentry, they ſent a meſſage to ſome of the Nobility of the Congregation then at Edinburgh, to acquaint them that the Monſieur le Broche was come from their Majeſties of France with an Embaſſy-extraordinary and inſtructions to treat with the Congregation; and that he deſir'd an audience and interview with theſe Lords; and that they would admit the Doctors of the Sorbonne, who were ſent over with him, to a regular and public diſputation, in preſence of the Court and Nobility of both ſides, to determine the controverſy betwixt them from the oppoſition in the articles of their faith, that it might be ſettled and determin'd which ſide had reaſon and ſcripture for it's ſupport.

His reception from the Reformers.

The Lords of the Congregation, upon receipt of this meſſage, after ſhort deliberation, unanimouſly return'd the following anſwer:

That it was contrary to the eſtabliſh'd rule and practice of all Nations for any perſon, in the public character of an Ambaſſador or Envoy, to come to any Kingdom in that quality, and to act as ſuch, attended and back'd with an army to ſupport his negociations. This was coming in an hoſtile and inconſiſtent manner; and therefore they could neither conſider nor acknowlege him as an Ambaſſador from a Court in friendſhip with their State, but as a declar'd enemy; upon which account they abſolutely declin'd admitting of him. As to the proffer'd diſputation, the preachers and friends of the Congregation were not only ready, but capable to aſſert and ſupport, by the moſt convincing arguments, the truth and rectitude of their principles, and would willingly ſubmit the whole to a free and candid diſputation, if ſuch were proffer'd: but a diſputation to be render'd coercive and perſuaſive by a body of armed men, was ſuch an abſurdity, that they were ſurpriz'd he once could have mention'd it. If all the French were once embark'd on their return home, and had put to ſea, and if then the Doctors of the Sorbonne were pleas'd to remain, they ſhould be treated not with French hoſpitality nor dragoon'd into articles, but in the moſt decent, kind, and benevolent manner; and then, in preſence of the Queen-regent and the Nobility, Clergy, and others of both ſides, a free, calm, and impartial diſputation would be chearfully agreed to without compulſion, dread, or influence of either ſide.

The French officers, having receiv'd this nervous and excellent anſwer, dropt their demand of diſputation, and proceeded in their military preparations in the fortifying and providing of the Town of Leith againſt any attack or ſurprize. Upon this, the Lords, then preſent at Edinburgh, iſſu'd out their circular letters and orders to all their friends over the Kingdom, to aſſemble at Edinburgh, October 18, well arm'd, and with ten days proviſions.

Parties detach'd from the Regent ravage Fife.

The Queen-regent, having intelligence of this, ſent out parties of her French auxiliaries to harraſs the adjacent Counties. Some of her parties croſs'd the Forth to forage and morode over all the Towns on the Coaſt of Fife. They plunder'd Kinghorn, Dyſart, and Weems. They blow'd up the great and antient houſe of Grange with gunpowder, and committed great abuſes over moſt of the County of Fife. Le Baſty, Commandant of one of theſe French parties, was intercepted and attack'd in his way to the houſe of Dunekeir, by the young Lord Lindſay and Craighall, who forc'd him to take ſanctuary and to defend himſelf under the ruins of an old houſe, to which he retir'd for his better defence. However, the young Lord Lindſay with his party made ſo vigorous and warm an aſſault, that Baſty loſt ſeveral of his men, and the Lord Lindſay, ruſhing in ſword in hand with his men, by a full ſtroke of his broad-ſword over the head of Baſty the French Captain, cut him down, and immediately put all his party, who were about fifty, to the ſword.

This defeat and the death of Baſty, gave great uneaſineſs to the Queen-regent; becauſe ſhe regarded highly this officer as a perſon of great bravery and ſkill in military affairs: but the ſeverity and inhuman behaviour they had ſhewn to the People of Fife, had rais'd againſt the French a juſt ſpirit of reſentment and reſolution to expel them the Country.

When the Lords of the Congregation, now at Edinburgh, had ſent their circular letters expreſs to all quarters, to haſten their friends to aſſemble at the day fix'd of October at Edinburgh, they took care to provide themſelves in the mean time with a ſufficient garriſon for defence of the City of Edinburgh untill the time fix'd for their general rendezvous, and the arrival of all their reinforcements, and at the ſame time emitted a declaration of their whole ſyſtem, as a juſtification of their conduct, in anſwer to the accuſations laid againſt them by the

the Queen-regent in her manifeſto and proclamation, which I have already taken notice of. The Lords of the Congregation in this declaration, which is full, particular, and accurate, in anſwering every article laid to their charge, and which is narrated by Biſhop Spotſwood fully, were ſo juſt, ſo ſtrong, and direct in their anſwers, that their declaration ſatisfy'd the minds of the People, gain'd them an acceſſion of ſtrength, and ſpirited up the Nation to ſupport them. They warmly and with unanſwerable arguments demonſtrated, how injurious, encroaching, and illegal the Regent's fortifying of Leith was, without national and parliamentary ſanction, when a free port, and when the natives and inhabitants, together with the Lord of the Manor, had by a conſiderable ſum, paid into the Queen's treaſury, purchas'd a charter for erecting the Town into a royal free Borough and Corporation, and the Port of Leith to be a free, open, and trading port, as one of the chief of the Kingdom. Her Majeſty might, if pretending danger, have taken ſanctuary for her ſafety in the garriſons of Blackneſs or the Caſtle of Dunbar already fortify'd. The reaſons for expelling the French from Broughty-caſtle was to have the command of all communication and correſpondence with the river Tay and the German Ocean free and open, and betwixt the Counties of each ſide: and, as to all other particulars, they, by ſtrength of reaſon, ſo defeated the Queen-regent's aſſertions and inſinuations, that there was a general ſpirit of diſſatisfaction over the Kingdom at the Regent's unwarrantable proceedings, and her application of violent meaſures.

At the time ſettled and agreed upon, the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, with the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, the Lords Boyd, Ochiltry, Ruthven, Lindſey, and many more Nobility and Gentry from all quarters, with their men, repair'd to Edinburgh, as the place of general muſter. The militia of the Counties and Boroughs came up, headed by their Chiefs. Upon their arrival the Queen-Regent begun to apprehend danger; and therefore ſhe, with the Biſhops of St. Andrew's, Glaſcow, Dunkeld, and the Lord Seaton, with many other perſons of diſtinction, ſhut themſelves up in the Town and Citadel of Leith, with full reſolution to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and to die in the ruins of it. The Reformers aſſemble their military force.

The Lords, being aſſembled and prepar'd to begin their operations, thought proper firſt to write to the Regent Queen the following letter:

" The Lords and others of the Congregation now aſſembled at Edinburgh, full of real and hearty concern for her Majeſty's welfare and for the repoſe and happineſs of the Commonwealth, are heartily ſorry to be forc'd to make ſuch repeated applications to her Majeſty their Regent for redreſs of grievances ſo heavy and of ſuch public and national concern to all; and now they, out of the duty they owe their Country, their families, and their fellow-ſubjects, think themſelves bound, as a conſiderable body of the Nation met together, to demand of her Majeſty, plac'd as the guardian of their rights and liberties, to grant immediate redreſs and ſatisfaction, as to the following articles ſo often and ſo loudly complain'd of: Their letter to the Queen-regent,

" Firſt they do require, that all foreigners, ſtrangers, and ſtrollers, be forthwith forc'd to depart from the Town of Leith; and next, that her Majeſty the Regent do cauſe and give order immediately to demoliſh and raze to the ground the fortifications erected in and round the Town of Leith, being contrary to law and not of parliamentary authority, but in oppoſition to the ſenſe of the Nation. That if theſe reaſonable demands be not directly complied with, after ſo many evaſions and breaches of faith and treaty, then they of the Congregation muſt be juſtify'd in the eye of the world, and be excus'd by her Majeſty, if they conſider her Majeſty's refuſal as a plain diſcovery that ſhe intends to reduce the Kingdom to the ſlavery and ſubjection of military law, and to the government of arbitrary power."

This ſtrong letter, ſign'd, in name of the whole Congregation, Chatle le Rhault, Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Ruthven, and Boyd, was ſent by a meſſenger, whom the Queen-regent and Council detain'd for a day; and, after deliberating, return'd him without any anſwer.

The Queen-regent's faction accus'd the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and his ſon, with attempting to overthrow and to alter the conſtitution of the Kingdom; but to take off the leaſt impreſſion of this upon the minds of the People, the Duke, with the Earl of Arran, by ſolemn declaration and proteſtation at the Croſs of Edinburgh City, diſavow'd all ſuch aſſertions, and made it evident, that theſe and ſuch like calumnies againſt the Congregation had not the leaſt real foundation.

The Queen-regent and her Council, having receiv'd intelligence of this public vindication made by the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and of the diſpoſitions making to attack her, ſhe, by the advice of her Cabinet-council, ſent Robert Foreman, Lion-herald King at Arms, to deliver her letter to the Congregation. The Letter from the Lords to her was dated October 19, 1559: her anſwer, by this herald, is dated October 21; and is as follows:

" We received your letters of the 19th, with your commendations, which appear to us rather to come from a Prince to his ſubjects, than from ſubjects to their Queen and Governor: but we have given in charge to Robert Foreman bearer, our Lion King at Arms, our mind and full inſtructions to deliver to you, which we deſire you may credit as from us. At Leith, October 21, 1559." and her anſwer.

The

The Queen-regent's haughtineſs

The Lion-herald, being admitted to the Lords, acquainted them with his inſtructions, which were in very high ſtrain; charging the Duke of Chatle le Rhault with breach of honour, faith and friendſhip; and the Lords of the Congregation with rebellion and ſedition; and juſtifying the fortification of Leith as her daughter's property, and done by royal command. The Queen-regent, by her herald, did expoſtulate with the Lords by what authority or juſt right they could pretend to take poſſeſſion of the Capital City, to bid defiance to her authority, which was eſtabliſh'd by law. Leith ſhe had choſen for her place of ſafety, and nothing could be more repugnant to reaſon than to put her their Regent under conſtant and unavoidable neceſſity of flying from place to place. Theſe and a great many more evaſions are fully narrated by Biſhop Spotſwood, whom, in many articles, I find more accurate than moſt of his cotemporaries.

The Lords of the Congregation, having heard the herald deliver all his meſſage as inſtructed, held a Council to conſider how to proceed: the Lord Ruthven was unanimouſly voted Preſident of this Council-extraordinary. Debates aroſe concerning the haughtineſs of the Queen-regent's meſſage deliver'd by Lion King at Arms. Some of the Lords, and thoſe of ſpirit, propos'd and inſiſted to ſummon the Eſtates of the Kingdom to diveſt her of the Regency, as a perſon who juſtly had forfeited any right or title to rule over the Kingdom: others, tho' much enrag'd at her behaviour, were not willing to hazard this attempt. But the Lords, after conſultation, being a little too much devoted to their preachers, from a miſtaken zeal, were willing to call in the perplexing and confounding aſſiſtance of clerical and prieſtly explanations and illuſtrations, as fit commentators upon matters civil and political, which in fact was as important a blunder in the Lords of the Congregation, as if they had call'd in the judgment and diſcerning of a lawyer to render that plain and intelligible which he always deſir'd and intended ſhould remain intricate and perplex'd. John Willock and John Knox, with many others of the Reform'd Preachers, whom I believe to have been pious and good men, deſigning well, were call'd upon to give their ſentiments to direct the Congregation how to proceed againſt the Queen: but as all trades and handicrafts generally fight with the weapons of the trade, theſe Gentlemen immediately laid hold of the Bible to knock the Queen-regent down and all her French auxiliaries. I do not ſay but their opinions and reaſonings from ſcripture were juſt, but they mov'd in this inſtance and article (by dictating civil or military operations to the Lords of the Congregation) out of their proper ſphere; and if they did miſtake and make a falſe ſtep, it muſt be imputed to the contagion of the profeſſion, which always itches for meddling, and from an encroaching ambition which very often undertakes to launch out into and unravel what far exceeds the capacity of their natural genius or literature. John Knox, in the preſent caſe, was very moderate and pacific; more ſo than Mr. Willock, who gave ſtrong precedents, of no newer date than the Kings of Judah and Iſrael, for dethroning Madam the Queen-regent.

After weighing all and detaining the Lion-herald two days, the Lords in a grand council came ſeveral vigorous reſolutions, to the following effect, relating to the Queen-regent:

Firſt, They order'd out their proclamation to ſummon the Lords, the Proteſtant Clergy, Freeholders, and Burgeſſes of the Reform'd Proteſtant Faith, to meet at Edinburgh in a grand Council, to conſult of the moſt immediate and effectual remedy for preventing the further arbitrary and tyranical meaſures of the Queen-regent, and for the more effectual ſecuring the peace, liberty and property of the ſubject.

Secondly, Being aſſembled and met, they voted her Majeſty guilty of an open violation of the conſtitution, and of the privileges of the ſubject, in proſecuting, diſtreſſing, and inflicting pains and penalties on many Freeholders and Burgeſſes without legal trial and conviction of any crime, and without judgment.

Thirdly, They voted her guilty of a high breach of truſt and violation of law, by impoſing Magiſtrates in Cities and Corporations, not duly elected according to the eſtabliſh'd laws!

Fourthly, They voted her an open and declar'd enemy to the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, by placing ſtrangers, foreigners, and low unfit perſons in the higheſt offices of truſt and power in the State; a ſhining example of which was in the caſe of Ruby, a Frenchman, created by her Chancellor; and her ſending the ſeals of the Kingdom over to France, which was a crime of the higheſt indignity to the Scots Nation, being done without conſulting the national Council in the leaſt in this affair. And

The 5th article was, That they voted her guilty of altering and repealing ſeveral of the moſt uſeful and approv'd laws of the Kingdom to promote baſe purpoſes.

provoke the Nobility to diveſt her of the Regency.

Upon all theſe reſolutions ſumm'd up, and ſeveral acceſſary reaſons, together with her manifeſt contempt and ill treatment of the Nobility of the Kingdom, they came to an unanimous and vigorous reſolution to ſhake off her authority, and acknowlege her no more as Regent of the Kingdom, and to declare her hereby diveſted of her Regency, untill the next meeting of a free Parliament, in which all matters might be properly ſettled; and, in the mean time, they commanded and order'd all officers, civil and military, not to receive nor obey any orders given by the Queen; declaring all commiſſions and grants of her ſignature, void and of no force; and that no coin of her appointment, or coin'd by her order, after date of this 24th of October 1559, ſhould be current or receiv'd as national coin.

This

This act of Council was proclaimed in all Cities, Towns, and public places over the Kingdom, ſigned in theſe words: "By us the Nobility and Gentry of the Proteſtant Reform'd Religion in Scotland."

After proclamation of this edict, by the Lords of the Congregation, the herald, whom they had detain'd two days, was diſmiſs'd with the following meſſage to her Majeſty: that, as matters were now come to an extremity, they were forced in duty to acquaint her with their reſolutions to diveſt her of all power and authority to govern the Kingdom: that they were well perſuaded, they did real and ſubſtantial ſervice to their Queen her daughter, and to the King, her huſband, by depriving her of the Regency; being very ſenſible, that ſhe had done many things contrary to their inclinations and to their real intereſt; and, as they were neceſſarily and by birth-right, as Peers of the land, entituled to give their council in all matters of importance for the welfare of the State, they were under neceſſity, for the public good, to prevent the further detriment of the Commonwealth by the pernicious enterprizes of foreigners, and perſons of no regard.

The Lords further acquainted the Queen-regent, by her herald, that they were determin'd to relieve the Town of Leith with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; and, conſidering the nigh connection now, in the perſon of the Queen, betwixt Scotland and France, they were willing not to uſe the French troops in a hoſtile manner, but to do all that could be poſſible to prevent the effuſion of blood: therefore, they did hereby require of her Majeſty to order all officers, of whatever rank, and private ſoldiers, with all foreigners, to depart the Town of Leith in twenty-four hours after this intimation, upon pain of being treated as enemies to the Kingdom, and invaders of it's liberties. This their meſſage to the Queen, containing many ſtrong and reſolute expreſſions, was ſign'd in the ſame manner as the act of Council they ſent her Majeſty diſcharging her from the Regency, and was dated the 23d of October.

The Lords attack Leith.

October the 25th, the Lords of the Congregation march'd out with their whole force to attack the French in Leith. They immediately, by trumpet, ſummon'd the Town and Citadel to ſurrender. The beſieg'd having refus'd, the attack begun, and they play'd their cannon upon each other; but without any conſiderable loſs of either ſide. The Lords, finding the Queen with the French determin'd to ſtand a ſiege, held a Council of war, in which it was reſolved to prepare ſcaling-ladders, and to ſcale the walls, and to take the Town by aſſault: but they were in this betray'd and much cramp'd, and with their inaccuracy and hurry together, and the diſcovery of all their projections to the enemy, this enterprize did not ſucceed. They continued nigh a month to batter the place, and loſt ſome men on both ſides during theſe attacks. But the troops of the Congregation, being numerous, fell ſoon ſhort of proviſions, and then their army begun to mutiny. Their pay run ſhort, and the Lords were at length forc'd to come to a reſolution to coin all their plate, in order to have ſilver coin for payment of the army: but, when all was ready for this, the coining inſtruments could not be found; the Queen had taken care to have them ſecreted from them. Therefore they were forced to ſend Sir John Cockburn of Ormiſton in their name, and upon the private credit of the whole Lords and Gentry of the Congregation, to borrow a ſum of money of Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts the Engliſh Ambaſſadors. The Queen, by treachery, had diſcover'd Ormiſton's journey for Berwick; and, in order to diſconcert her enemies, the Earl of Bothwell was ſecretly ſent off with a ſtrong party to take Sir John Cockburn's rout, and to intercept him in his return; which he accordingly perform'd, contrary to his ſolemn oath, and us'd Ormiſton in an ungenteel and barbarous manner.

Are unſucceſsful.

Sir John Cockburn, with a large ſum of money for the Congregation, taken priſoner.

This Earl of Bothwell had always appear'd as a vile, contradictory, and profligate fellow, below the dignity of a Peer. He had, but a ſhort time before, taken a ſolemn oath not to be concern'd in any thing to hurt the Congregation; and tho' he was apparently in friendſhip with Ormiſton and his neighbour, yet he gave him ſeveral wounds, took him priſoner, and robb'd him of the four thouſand Crowns he had receiv'd from Sir Ralph Sadler for ſupplying the army.

Upon receipt of this bad news, the Earl of Arran, with Lord James Stewart, march'd full ſpeed with a ſtrong party to overtake the Earl of Bothwell, and to relieve Sir John Cockburn. They, with a ſtrong party of horſe, march'd to Creighton-caſtle, to intercept the Lord Bothwell; but he eſcap'd, and therefore they took poſſeſſion of Creighton-caſtle, plunder'd it, and put Capt. Forbes in poſſeſſion of it with a ſtrong garriſon.

The loſs of the money, with the ſeizure of that worthy perſon Sir John Cockburn of Ormiſton, gave great uneaſineſs to the Lords of the Congregation; and another event, which happen'd on the ſame day, increas'd their diſorder and perplexity to a great degree. The event was, that the militia of the Town of Dundee, with ſome ſoldiery, had march'd out of Edinburgh to the high grounds above Leith, and there planted ſome pieces of artillery to play upon all who came out of Leith in that road. The French in Leith, obſerving this battery, march'd out a ſtrong party to attack and diſlodge them; and, having come up, a warm attack begun: the men of Dundee behav'd well, but the ſoldiery deſerted them, and ſo they were overpower'd by the French, who kill'd ſeveral of the Dundee-men; particularly, the young Lord Maxwell's gentleman, with Captain Mowet. The French purſued this flying party even to the gates of the Palace of Holyrood-houſe: but here the Earl of Argyle, with the Abbot of Holyrood-houſe, came up with a ſtrong party to relieve their friends; and ſo

The French in Leith make a ſucceſsful ſally.

they together return'd to the charge, and purſu'd the French even to the gates of Leith with conſiderable ſlaughter.

The Earl of Bothwell retain'd the money he had intercepted from Sir John Cockburn, which put the Lords of the Congregation to great perplexity; and in this ſituation they were ſo divided in opinions, and ſo fluctuating in their ſentiments, that they ſeparated and went off privately from the main body. This deſertion produc'd bad effects to the common intereſt, gave ſpirit to the French at Leith, and diſcourag'd all the true friends of the Proteſtant intereſt.

In conſequence of this, the French at Leith receiving intelligence, that a large convoy of proviſions and ſtores were advancing to Edinburgh to ſupply the Lords of the Congregation from Eaſt Lothian; they, upon the 5th of November, 1559, ruſh'd out of Leith with a ſtrong detachment to intercept the proviſions; and, having march'd a little way, they divided their cohors into two bodies. The one took their rout by the ſea-ſhore; the other march'd directly for the Abbey of Holyrood-houſe, the royal Palace: the deſign of which was to put the convoy, belonging to the Congregation, betwixt two fires. The party, marching along ſhore, were to attack the convoy of proviſions in the rear; while thoſe, who march'd toward the Palace of Holyrood-houſe, ſtop'd their acceſs to Edinburgh, and by this means cut them off. The Earl of Arran, with Lord James Stewart, upon this, march'd out of Edinburgh, with a party to eſcort the convoy of proviſions and waggons ſafe to Edinburgh, which was attempted with the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable number of the Citizens of Edinburgh. Having met the French, they attack'd them with great fury; but found themſelves almoſt inclos'd in an ambuſcade. The Citizens were warmly receiv'd by the French; and, being in danger of being all cut off, the Lords, with the remains of their detachment, came to their aſſiſtance: upon which a bloody diſpute enſued. But Alexander Whitelaw and the Laird of Grange (ſo call'd) came up ſeaſonably with a party of horſe, kept the French in play, and ſecur'd thereby a ſafe retreat to the Lords. The Earl of Arran with Lord James Stewart were ſo warmly and cloſely purſued by the French detachment nigh the ſhore, that they were forc'd to quit their horſes and to charge on foot, in order to make a ſtand with the party of foot under their command, which, after an obſtinate defence, were put into diſorder. Captain Halyburton, in this action, behav'd with great bravery: by his conduct and great preſence of mind, he ſav'd the Lords from falling into the hands of the French; but in the action receiv'd ſo many dangerous wounds, that he, in a few hours after the action, died of his wounds. In this rencounter above thirty Men were killed, and ſeveral wounded. The young Lord Buchan, Pitmilly and Fairny Eſquires, were taken priſoners, with ſeveral volunteers from the City of Edinburgh.

A ſmart engagement to the diſadvantage of the Congregation.

Upon this defeat and bad ſucceſs in their affairs, the Lords held a grand Council, wherein at laſt, after debates and conſultations, it was reſolved to ſeparate, to depart from the City of Edinburgh, and to retire to Stirling, untill they ſhould deliberate upon matters, and make a demand of ſpeedy ſuccours from the Queen of England. William Maitland of Lethington, who had been Secretary to the Queen-regent, had but juſt deſerted her and joined the Lords of the Congregation, endeavour'd to diſſuade them from quitting the poſſeſſion of the capital City, or ſeparating in the preſent conjuncture, becauſe it would give redoubled ſpirits to all the Queen's faction. This William Maitland was a Gentleman of ſpirit and fortune; a perſon of great eloquence, and in reaſoning far ſuperior to the French Biſhop of Amiens, who, being overpower'd with Maitland's reaſon and argument, excited the French ſoldiery to exerciſe military reaſoning and ferocity, to repell and conquer argument by brutal force: therefore Maitland, finding himſelf in danger from French prieſtcraft and military favours, for his own preſervation was forced to withdraw and get over to the confederate Lords.

The Lords evacuate Edinburgh.

When the Lords of the Congregation had evacuated the City of Edinburgh, they marched directly for Stirling; leaving Edinburgh to the Enemy, who, upon their departure, march'd up their French auxiliaries and took poſſeſſion of the place, forcing all the Reformed inhabitants to fly and carry off their beſt effects. Mr. John Willocks, Miniſter of St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh-city fled into England. The French Biſhop of Amiens conſecrated a new the Church of St. Giles, with ſuch variety of ceremonies, and with ſo ſolomn a farce of expurgation of all Reform'd and Proteſtant hereſy, as gave great ſatisfaction and ſpirit to the Popiſh faction, and made them highly inſolent, thinking now the intereſt of the Lords of the Congregation would gradually decreaſe and ſoon totally vaniſh.

Retire to Stirling.

When the Lords of the Congregation came to Stirling, a general dejection and diſorder ſeized upon the Chiefs: they were ſtruck with dread and uneaſineſs at the conſequences of their late bad ſucceſſes; but John Knox (the Reformed Preacher) preach'd before them an excellent ſermon, by which they were all ſo animated, and receiv'd ſuch a recruit of ſpirits, that they renew'd their councils with unanimity, vigour and ſteadineſs. Next day they held a Council-extraordinary, to concert all their operations. In this Council it was determined, that the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltre, and their friends, ſhould take poſſeſſion of Glaſgow-city and the Caſtle: that the Earl of Arran and Rothes, and the Lords James Stewart and Lindſay, with their friends, ſhould repair to Fife, and make the Town of Coupar their head-quarter: and that Henry Balnaves, with John Knox, ſhould be the perſons entruſted with carrying on the intelligence betwixt Glaſcow and Fife; that ſo their correſpondence might not be interrupted, and they might concert their operations

Their deliberations.

operations for their mutual accommodation and ſecurity, untill the return of their demands from the Queen of England.

William Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melville younger of Raith, were the Ambaſſadors and Commiſſioners ſent to the Court of London, with full repreſentations of the diſtreſs and danger of the Reformation-intereſt in Scotland. Maitland, being in the ſecret of all the Queen-dowager's and the French intrigues, and their moſt ſecret deſigns; and, being a man of eloquence, was pitch'd upon as the fitteſt perſon for this Embaſſy and Negociation, who could ſatisfy the Queen of England and her Council of the dangerous conſequences of a French Government in Scotland, and of their overpowering Scotland, ſo as to make way for a total conqueſt of that Kingdom in the neighbourhood of England, divided from England by no ſea.

The Lords ſend an Embaſſy to the Court of London,

William Maitland, after opening his commiſſion and inſtructions to the Queen and Privy-council of England, deliver'd himſelf with great addreſs to them, and in ſuch a perſuading and convincing manner, that the Privy-council of England, by the Queen's recommendation, took the propoſitions and demands of the Lords of the Congregation into immediate conſideration: but great debates aroſe about the expediency of granting preſent ſuccours, and the danger of involving the Nation in a quarrel with France, and incurring the reſentment of the King and Queen of France. However, by Queen Elizabeth's interpoſition and her cordial affection to the Reformation-intereſt, it was overruled and carried in Council, that immediate ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips of war, ſhould be ſent for Scotland to the relief and ſupport of the Lords of the Congregation; and that, in order to ſettle all matters betwixt the Lords of the Congregation and the Court of London, the Duke of Norfolk ſhould treat with the Deputies of the Congregation at Berwick.

and conclude an alliance.

The Duke of Norfolk met the Deputies from the Lords of the Congregation accordingly; and here an alliance was agreed on, ſtipulated, ſigned and ratified, between the contracting parties, upon the 27th of February 1560, according to Buchanan and others; but Biſhop Spotſwood makes it in 1559, and afterwards contradicts himſelf evidently. The Nobility and Gentry, nominated Commiſſioners (who went by ſea to Berwick) to conclude the articles of alliance with the Crown of England, were the Lords James Stewart, Ruthven, Maxwell and Lindſay; Maitland of Lethington, younger; Pittarow; and Mr. Henry Balnaves.

The articles of treaty, as related by Biſhop Spotſwood, were nine:

The articles.

I. That the Queen of England ſhould aſſiſt and ſupport the Nobility and Gentry of Scotland, with ſufficient forces to expel the French forces from Scotland, and to ſupport the Scots Nation in aſſerting all their juſt rights and liberties againſt the encroachments and arbitrary power of foreigners; and that her Majeſty of England ſhould continue to do ſo, during the marriage of the Queen of Scots, and for a year after the deceaſe of either King or Queen of France.

II. The Queen of England agreed to ſend, with all poſſible and convenient ſpeed, to Scotland, a ſufficient number of men of war, with artillery, forces, and all military ſtores on board; likewiſe to march an army by land, to attack and repel the French in every quarter of Scotland: that theſe forces were not ſent to encourage the ſubjects of Scotland to rebellion, diſobedience, or the reſiſtance of lawful authority; but to cheque and reſtrain all arbitrary and tyrannical encroachments of the French, and of the Queen-regent with her Council.

III. That all Forts, Garriſons and Caſtles, taken from the French, ſhould, by mutual conſent of the Engliſh and of the Lords of the Congregation, be either demoliſh'd or reſtor'd to the free and peaceable poſſeſſion of the Scots Nation.

IV. That the Lords, and others of the Congregation, ſhall be bound to aſſiſt with 1000 horſe and 2000 foot the Engliſh, if attack'd by the French; and likewiſe to act as declar'd enemies to the Scots and French, who ſhould offer violence or commit any hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh.

V. That the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earl of Argyle, and the other Lords and Gentry of Scotland ſhould be ready, upon all occaſions, to join the Queen of England, to repel the French or any of the Scots Nation who ſhould adhere to them.

VI. That the Nobility, Gentry, and others of the Congregation, ſhould grant hoſtages to remain in England, and to be renew'd every ſix months for the accompliſhment of all their engagements; and that the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, with all the Lords and Gentry of their aſſociation, ſhould not only ſign and ratify the whole articles in twenty-four days, but procure the ſignature of all the other Lords and Gentry who favour'd their intereſt.

VII. That the Queen of England ſhould have the whole booty and plunder taken from the enemy, but ſhould be at the whole expence of paying and ſupporting her fleet and armies in the ſervice of the Congregation; and all Scots, who did enliſt themſelves in the Engliſh ſervice, were to be allow'd the ſame pay with the Engliſh forces.

Theſe articles being finally agreed, ſettled, and ratified, Queen Elizabeth loſt no time in fulfilling her engagements to ſuccour and relieve the Proteſtant Reformers of Scotland: but the Queen-regent, with her French friends, having full intelligence of the ſtorm and cloud forming againſt her, determin'd if poſſible to finiſh the war before the arrival of the Engliſh fleet or army, and to diſable all the friends of the Congregation from making any reſiſtance or giving any encouragement to the Engliſh upon their approach: therefore the Queen-regent's army of French auxiliaries ruſh'd out of Leith with great fury and rapidity, to the number of 4000; and, after doing

doing all the damage they could or were permitted to do at Edinburgh, they march'd forward to Linlithgow; which, being in the Congregation-intereſt, ſuffer'd very much from the exceſſes and ravages committed by the French.

The two principal bodies of the Congregation were one at Glaſcow, the other at Coupar of Fife. They receiv'd intelligence of the march of the Queen's army, and of the ſufferings of their friends, their lands and effects: therefore, a body of Fife Reformers were ſelected from Coupar under command of the Lord Ruthven, who march'd to attack and intercept the advanc'd parties of the French army, who, after deſtroying all the lands of the Hamiltons, and laying all waſte by fire and ſword in their way, and having plunder'd and deſtroy'd the houſe of Kinneil and all the places adjacent belonging to the Earl of Arran, had thereafter paſs'd the Forth.

The French ravage the ſea-coaſt.

The Lord Ruthven, having by his ſcouts receiv'd advice, that the French had not only ſmall parties and detachments betwixt Stirling and Kinghorn, but that their main army, conſiſting of about 6000 French and Scots, had plunder'd Stirling, and were advancing along the ſea-coaſt to burn and lay waſte all the ſea-coaſts, towns and villages in Fife; he collected all the force he could, and with an army of near 4000, attended by many Noblemen and Gentlemen volunteers, march'd firſt for Kinghorn: but here, being deceiv'd by his ſpies, he was almoſt led into an ambuſcade; for, having taken with him only a ſmall detachment of 400 men to reconnoitre ſome parties of the French from the adjacent hills, and ſome French veſſels who were making ſhore to land their men at the Pittſcur near Kinghorn, the Lord Ruthven with great bravery advanc'd with his party to ſtop the landing of the French from their veſſels; and, having given them a briſk fire, the French parties from the land, who lay in wait and were alarm'd, came down upon the Lord Ruthven and his men, and had nigh cut them off. The Earl of Sutherland in this encounter was wounded and eight men killed, beſides ſeveral wounded and taken priſoners.

The French army advanced along the coaſt, but were not ſo ſucceſsful as they at firſt expected; for the friends of the Congregation at Coupar, and from all the neighbouring Counties, had aſſembled their force with great diligence, and had now advanc'd to Dyſart-town, three miles Eaſt of Kinghorn, and ſo fortified and ſecur'd themſelves as to make it dangerous for the French to attempt to diſlodge them. From this their head-quarters they ſent out their moroding and ſcouting parties to harraſs the French in their approach. The whole of Fife being in the Reformation-intereſt, (the 'Squires of Weems, Seafield, Balmuto, Balwery, Balgony, Drury, and one or two more excepted) the French army in Fife ſuffer'd all imaginable hardſhips, and for ſupport were forced to diſtreſs and perſecute their friends; taking off their cattle, proviſions, forage, and all neceſſaries, for the ſupport of their army.

The French, paſſing Dyſart, went below to Weems, and the other towns in the way to St. Andrew's; plundering wherever they came, and acting deſperate game: but Grange, Robert Hamilton, and David Kirkaldy, Eſquires, did intercept a party of French, who had blown up Kirkaldy of Grange's houſe, and deſtroy'd all round it; and, having attack'd the French gentry with ſpears, they forced them into a fold; and then, attacking them with fury, put all of them to the ſword, not even ſparing their Commandant Monſieur le Batu.

The French auxiliaries were ſuch troubleſome patrons to their friends and thoſe attached to their intereſt, that they ſoon became wearied of their neighbourhood and civilities; and therefore chus'd to be rid of them. The Lords of the Congregation decamp'd from Dyſart to Coupar, after that the French army had paſs'd toward St. Andrew's; and there, having concerted their operations, they, by forced and unexpected marches, paſs'd the Forth over Stirling-bridge, and marched to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh: there to wait the arrival of the ſuccours by ſea and land from England; having receiv'd advice of their being at ſea, and of the march of the land army.

The Congregation from Coupar, upon croſſing the Forth, were join'd by their friends from Glaſcow; who had been forced to quit the Town and Caſtle of Glaſcow, by an attack from the Lords Semple, Seaton and Roſs, who were in the intereſt of the Queen-regent and the French, and came up with a body of men to diſlodge the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and the other Lords of the Congregation, who had taken poſſeſſion of the Town and Caſtle of Glaſcow.

The Congregation being all aſſembled; and, having advice of the Engliſh fleet and army being at hand, return'd, with their cordial and unanimous ſignature, the articles mention'd to the Duke of Norfolk and their Commiſſioners.

The French, on the coaſt of Fife, were as diligent as poſſible in executing all the miſchief, and doing all the hurt they could, to the Country; when, to their great mortification, they ſpied a fleet of large and tall ſhips making up the Forth, conſiſting of near twelve ſail; which they at firſt took for French, but ſoon found their miſtake. At the ſame time expreſſes arriv'd, with notice of the approach of the Engliſh army to the borders of Scotland.

The Queen-dowager diſconcerted by large ſupplies from England.

Theſe concurring events put the French, with the Queen-regent, into great perplexity. The ſuccours expected from France had not arriv'd, and now were in danger of falling into the hands of the Engliſh, whoſe ſhipping were ſpread along the Scots coaſt. The French were hated all over Scotland, except by a few pitiful tools of the Popiſh Faith, whom they kept in pay, and for their own intereſt were connected with them to the ruin of Scotland: but as the bulk, and by far the better part, of the Nation, were in oppoſition to the French, the

the French mercenaries very well underſtood, that the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation all (a few abject gentry, ſuch as Huntley and ſome other of the Popiſh faction excepted) waited only the proper opportunity to aſſert their liberties, and to expel the French with all their arbitrary and tyrannical impoſitions upon the Kingdom; and, as the auxiliaries from England were now at hand, they juſtly dreaded what they were ſenſible their conduct merited. The French, who were now upon the Eaſt coaſt of Fife, ravaging St. Andrew's and all the adjacent towns, receiv'd certain intelligence, that the fleet which appear'd were Engliſh, and had land-forces on board. Upon which, in a Council of war, the Queen-regent and the French reſolv'd by forc'd marches to get over the Forth by Stirling-bridge, and return, with all poſſible ſpeed, to join their garriſon at Leith, before the arrival of the Engliſh army; which they accordingly executed. But the Lords of the Congregation, with all their forces united, were now encamp'd in ſight of Leith, ſo as to intercept all communication betwixt the Country round and the French forces at Leith; and likewiſe to interrupt all their ſcouting and foraging parties, by which the garriſon and troops in Leith were greatly incommoded.

The French being all removed from the County of Fife (except a few in Caſtles and Forts) the Lords of the Congregation ſent orders to the Engliſh fleet to land their men upon the coaſt of Fife, and to begin their operations by the reduction of the Caſtle of Weems, Drury, Balgony, and Seafield; which was accordingly executed without much oppoſition, the beſieg'd not being in condition to make any tolerable defence.

The arrival of the Engliſh revive the affairs of the Congregation.

This alteration, in the political ſtate of Scotland, reviv'd and recruited the ſpirits of all the Reformers to the North. The Lords and Gentlemen of the Mearns, and other places adjacent, aſſembled their men, and march'd in a body for Aberdeen; there to demoliſh the ſeveral Monaſteries of the Dominicans, Carmelites, and Benedictines; and to clear the Churches of all the inſtruments of idolatry, pageantry, and image-worſhip; and to expel the Prieſts of the Romiſh Faith from their lurking, wealthy, and warm receſſes, and to force them to alter their climate.

Upon intelligence of this attack, the Earl of Huntley march'd a body of men to protect his Romiſh friends and the Monaſteries of Aberdeen; but, being inform'd of the arrival of the ſuccours by ſea and land from England, he thought proper to act with moderation, and uſe the moſt healing and pacific meaſures, without offering to attack the Lords and Gentry of the Mearns; and thereby he ſav'd the demolition of the Churches at Aberdeen. Finding likewiſe that he was not in capacity to withſtand the united force of the Reformers, the Lord Huntley ſent his offers of ſubmiſſion and friendſhip to the Engliſh, and to the Lords of the Congregation; aſſuring them of his cordial diſpoſition to deſert the Queen-dowager's cauſe, and his readineſs to join with all his force the intereſt of the Congregation, in expelling the French from Scotland.

Huntley deſerts the Queen.

Upon theſe propoſals and ſubmiſſions made by the Earl of Huntley, the Lords of the Congregation appointed an interview with him at Perth. After the conferences were over betwixt the deputies from the Congregation and his Lordſhip, Huntley aſſur'd them he would join them with all his men the firſt of April; and, upon faith of this, he was allow'd to return. In the mean time orders were iſſued out by proclamation, from the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and all the other Lords of the Congregation, to all Chiefs and Barons to aſſemble all their fenſible and able-bodied men, at the general rendezvous, the laſt week of March, at Linlithgow; in order to act with vigour and reſolution, in forcing the French to quit their fortifications at Leith.

The Engliſh Admiral, Sir George Howard, had come up the Forth; and, after landing ſo many of his forces on the coaſt of Fife as inſtructed, and clearing that County of all French and their adherents, he came upon the Lothian coaſt, landed his men, and join'd the Lords of the Congregation; having receiv'd orders to ſupport and aſſiſt all their operations by his fleet, in which he obſerv'd great punctuality.

Sir George Howard, with the other officers of the Engliſh fleet, were receiv'd by the Lords of the Congregation with the moſt diſtinguiſh'd marks of regard and affection; and, after the ordinary compliments of ceremony were over, the Engliſh Admiral, in conſequence of the treaty at Berwick, had deliver'd to him the ſtipulated hoſtages; who were, Colin Campbell, a nigh relation to the Earl of Argyle; Robert Douglas of Lochleven, Eſq; and young Lord Ruthven; who were conducted on board the Admiral's ſhip, and treated with the greateſt regard and diſtinction, and thereafter convey'd to Newcaſtle.

The forces brought by Sir George Howard (Admiral) having now join'd the Scots of the Congregation, they begun their approaches and attacks upon Leith: but, having receiv'd notice of the celerity of the march of the Engliſh army to reinforce them, the Lords of the Congregation thought it moſt expedient to intermit their operations for ſome days, and to march to join the Engliſh army. Accordingly, on the 4th of April, 1560, betwixt Preſton and Haddington, the Engliſh army, conſiſting of 2000 horſe and 3000 foot, join'd the Lords of the Congregation.

The Engliſh army join the Congregation.

The Engliſh army was commanded in chief by the Lord Gray; and under him the General-officers were, the Lord Scroup, Sir James Crofts, Sir Henry Piercy, and Sir Francis Lake.

The Queen takes ſanctuary in Edinburgh-caſtle.

This formidable junction produc'd a powerful army againſt the Queen-regent; who, finding her affairs in ſo dangerous and declining, yea deſperate a ſtate, and not receiving her expected ſupplies regularly from France, was much affected in ſpirit, juſtly apprehended danger, and found herſelf incapable with all her force to ſtand the attack of the confederated army: therefore, for ſafety, ſhe thought proper to retire and to take ſanctuary in the caſtle of Edinburgh. The Lord Erſkine, Governor of Edinburgh-caſtle, did admit her Majeſty; but, according to his oath of fidelity and his engagements, he took effectual care that no French ſhould enter within the gates of the caſtle; and by no means would yield this point to the Queen, tho' much importun'd.

The 5th of April, 1560, the Lords of the Congregation addreſs'd the following letter to the Queen in the caſtle from Dalkeith, where they had held a Council-extraordinary with the Generals of the Engliſh army, to concert of all the proper meaſures to be executed. The letter runs thus:

" Madam,

The equitable propoſals of the Congregation,

" We have often, by our letters and moſt friendly entreaties, us'd our moſt perſuaſive, engaging, and friendly admonitions, to engage your Majeſty to diſmiſs and to ſend over to France your French auxiliaries; who, for nigh two years, have harraſs'd, diſtreſs'd, and perſecuted our fellow-ſubjects, and us'd them in ſuch an intollerable and threatning manner, as to ſubject them to the moſt miſerable ſervitude: and therefore we, in duty, have been forc'd to ſend for aid and ſuccours to our next neighbour the Queen of England. Yet, notwithſtanding of the arrival of theſe ſuccours to us at this juncture, we, to prevent the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and to ſhew the higheſt regard to the mother of our Queen, do only demand in equity and juſtice the diſmiſſing of your Majeſty's French hirelings, who have us'd Scotland in ſuch an unjuſtifiable manner: and, if your Majeſty will comply with this equitable meaſure, then the Queen of England will, either by land or ſea, grant them a ſafe paſſage to their own Country; but if your Majeſty, thro' obſtinacy or the malignity of evil council, will not agree to ſo equitable a propoſition, then we muſt appeal it to God, and to all good men, and to other Nations, if your Majeſty be not anſwerable for all the calamities, bloodſhed, and hardſhips, which muſt follow upon a war in defence of our Kingdom, our fellow-ſubjects, our lives, families, and liberties.

" We deſire nothing but the moſt faithful ſubjection, duty, and obedience to our Queen; and the real happineſs, proſperity, and independency of our Kingdom: therefore, we moſt humbly beg your Majeſty to take this our petition into your conſideration, and to act ſo as to relieve our moſt afflicted and diſtreſs'd Kingdom; to give ſuch teſtimony to us, to convince us of your moderation, and your hearty regard for the public good; and your Majeſty in doing ſo, ſhall find in us the moſt hearty, ſincere, and evident proofs, and undeniable marks, of our ſteady regard and affection to your Majeſty, to our Queen, and our unaffected ſuperior regard for peace, and the interruption of all blood and diſcord.

This nervous and conciſe letter was ſign'd by all the Lords of the Congregation preſent; and, to give the greater weight to this addreſs, the Engliſh Admiral Sir George Howard, and the Lord Gray General of the Engliſh army, ſent their poſitive aſſurances to the Queen-regent, that if ſhe did yield to diſmiſs and ſend off directly all her French auxiliaries from Scotland, then they ſhould return immediately with their fleets and armies. The Queen's anſwer, by the ſuperintendency of Meſſieurs d'Ozell and Ruby, her chief councillors, was not ſatisfactory: ſhe anſwered them, that ſhe would take it into conſideration. But this being only evaſive, the confederate army of Scots and Engliſh next day begun their operations, and attacked Leith in form.

rejected by the Queen.

The Lords form the ſiege of Leith.

The Engliſh army marched by Reſtalrig toward Leith. The French ſallied out with 1300 or 1500 choice troops, attempted to prevent the Engliſh from taking the ground they intended, and, endeavouring to maintain the riſing grounds and hills nigh Leith with a ſmall train of artillery, there enſued a bloody diſpute betwixt the Engliſh and French, which laſted ſome hours: but the Scots cavalry of the Congregation, coming up to ſupport the Engliſh, put the French into diſorder; and, charging them with ſuch fury and bravery, would have cut them and their corps de reſerve to pieces, had the Engliſh horſe ſtood their ground and maintain'd the diſpute; but they retreated and left the victory entirely to the forces of the Congregation. The French in this attack loſt above 300 men, and the Engliſh but a ſmall and inconſiderable number.

Upon this, the whole Engliſh army encamp'd nigh to Leith, to the South and Eaſt; and the Lord Gray, their Captain-general, had his head-quarters at Reſtalrig. The Lords of the Congregation, with their forces, pitch'd their tents to the Weſtward. The Engliſh erected their batteries upon all the ſmall hills and mounts adjacent to their camp; particularly, upon one ſmall hill, which they nam'd Mount Pelham after the Captain's name, who commanded the artillery. On this mount there was plac'd a battery of eight large cannon, which play'd ſo well, and pointed ſo exactly upon the French battery on St. Antony's church-ſteeple, that they ſoon diſlodg'd the French from their works, and forc'd them to diſmount the cannon upon the ſquare tower of the ſteeple.

The

The Engliſh upon this ſucceſs became too ſecure, and inattentive to the motions of the enemy, allowing themſelves the pleaſures and diverſions of a ſafe and unguarded ſituation; of which the French having ſecret notice, ſurpriz'd their camp, and ſlaughter'd many of them. The Engliſh camp ſurpriz'd by the beſieg'd,

This unexpected treatment from the French garriſon, rous'd the ſpirits of the Engliſh, awaken'd their reſentment, and determin'd them with vigour to proſecute the ſiege of Leith: the Engliſh therefore, in concert with the Lords of the Congregation, prepar'd to batter Leith from all quarters, and to take the place by ſtorm; and, having order'd all their batteries, they begun to play upon the place with great fury from the ſeveral corners: but, to their great ſatisfaction, the laſt of April, of a ſudden, the moſt of the town of Leith was ſet on fire and all in flames; which opportunity the beſiegers embrac'd to redouble their fire from their batteries, ſo as to render it impoſſible to quench the flames, and to put the French into confuſion. During this diſorder and confuſion of the beſieg'd, the Engliſh got to the ditches and trenches round the walls, and meaſur'd their height, in order to prepare their ſcaling ladders to take the place by aſſault; but, having taken their meaſure too ſhort, when they apply'd their ladders, they fail'd in their attempt by the ſhortneſs of their ſcaling ladders. awake the beſiegers into vigilance and a vigorous activity.

This attempt to ſcale the walls was made May the 7th, 1560; and, in their repulſe, the Engliſh loſt about 160 men. However this did not depreſs the ſpirits of the Confederates; for the Engliſh and the Congregation animated one another to conſtancy, fidelity, and a determin'd reſolution to have the place at all events: and, to make an acceſſion to their fortitude, the Duke of Norfolk, who was Lord Lieutenant of all betwixt Berwick and the Trent, ſent the Lords of the Congregation poſitive aſſurances, by order of the Queen his miſtreſs, that, while men remain'd betwixt Tweed and Trent, they ſhould not want timely and neceſſary ſuccours; and, in conſequence of this, about the 15th of May, there arriv'd a reinforcement of 2000 men to the camp before Leith.

The French made ſeveral deſperate ſallies, but were ſtill repelled with great loſs; but the Congregation, during the attack, loſt none by the cannon of Leith of any note, except two private Gentlemen; one Colvill, who belong'd to the Lord James Stewart's houſhold; and Alexander Lockhart, who was ſhot in the trenches by a cannon-ball.

The Queen, with her French Council, finding herſelf cloſely beſet and in great danger, wrote in the moſt affecting manner to the King and Queen of France, and repreſented the ſufferings and extremities to which the French troops were now ſubjected and drove; and therefore praying them to interpoſe with the Queen of England to withdraw her army from Scotland. But this application was ineffectual; for tho' the French King did make offer to reſtore the town of Leith, yet brave Queen Elizabeth gave anſwer to the French King's application and earneſt ſollicitations, that the ſmall fiſhing town of Leith was to her of no conſequence, compared with the happineſs and repoſe of Great Britain, and the ſupport of the rights and liberties of the Scots Nation, which ſhe was determin'd to defend: that nothing could induce her to any accommodation, without the withdrawing all the French troops from Scotland, as a preliminary for a pacification.

Upon receipt of this anſwer at the Court of France, the King and Queen of France, by advice of their Council, ſent over to Queen Elizabeth a propoſal to ſend her Ambaſſadors to Scotland, to mediate an agreement betwixt them and their ſubjects of Scotland: which propoſition was agreed to by the Privy-council of London; and, in conſequence of this, William Cecil Principal Secretary of State, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury and York, were immediately ſent into Scotland as Plenipotentiaries, to concert meaſures with the French Embaſſy for concluding an accommodation betwixt the Queen of Scotland and the Lords of the Congregation. Francis propoſes a pacification. A congreſs appointed in Scotland.

While theſe tranſactions were carried on, the Queen-regent was taken ill, partly from age, partly from a depreſſion of ſpirit occaſion'd by her miſtaken and unſucceſsful conduct and ſyſtem with the Scots Nation; and, after ſome few days confinement to her bed, ſhe dy'd, June 10, 1560; which gave a new face to the ſituation of affairs, and pav'd the way for the departure of the French from Scotland. The Queen-regent taken ill and dies.

The Queen-regent, finding her diſſolution from the preſent life approaching, ſent for the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Lord James Stewart, and the Earls Marſhal and Glencarn; whom ſhe addreſs'd in very tender and affectionate terms, recommending to them to promote all poſſible meaſures for peace, to prevent any further calamity to the Kingdom; and to reſtore a good underſtanding betwixt her daughter their Queen and all her ſubjects, who now were in a tumultuary and enrag'd ſpirit. She teſtify'd her great ſorrow and ſtrong repentance at the ſyſtem ſhe purſu'd with the Scots Nation: ſhe declar'd ſhe had been impos'd upon to the pernicious and violent meaſures which ſhe executed, by the influence, council, and art, of Meſſieurs d'Ozell and Ruby, whom ſhe chiefly truſted, and who had dictated theſe proceedings, which drew on the reſentment of the Nobility of Scotland, and excited their hatred and oppoſition. After ſome very rational and moſt ſober reflections on the errors and miſtakes of her adminiſtration, ſhe in tears took leave of the Lords, aſking them and all the other Nobility of the Kingdom pardon, for any wrong ſhe had done the Nation, and any falſe ſtep in her government; proteſting ſolemnly, her regard and affection for the Scots Nation, and that ſhe always meant well. But what was moſt ſurprizing, was her calling for Mr. John Willox the Reform'd Preacher of St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh. Her Majeſty receiv'd him in an affectionate Her rational behaviour on her death-bed.

fectionate manner, and talk'd with him for ſome time in a very religious and mild ſtrain, and aſſur'd him ſhe reſted on no merit of her good works, but intirely and only on the merit and ſatisfaction of her Saviour; and, having taken leave of him in the moſt chriſtian manner, her Majeſty departed the ſtage of life in few hours after.

The Queen's character.

Her Majeſty was a perſon of great underſtanding, of a quick lively apprehenſion, naturally of generous and noble principles, when left to herſelf and not hurry'd out of the path of truth, right, and equity, by the deluding arts of her Prieſts, whoſe influence always prevail and gain a ſuperiority only from confounding the underſtanding and darkning the judgment. Her Majeſty was beneficent, kind and compaſſionate in ſpirit to the poor, untill biaſs'd by bigotry; and, when nigh her laſt moments, greatly regretted to all about her, that her tender and feminine diſpoſition had expos'd her to be ſo much miſled and impos'd upon by her French council; and ſhe teſtify'd her hearty ſorrow, that ſhe had been ſo neglectful of the Nobility of Scotland, and had thereby juſtly incurr'd their reſentment. Her preſence was comely and majeſtic; her addreſs elegant; ready and eloquent in ſpeech; of great activity and alertneſs in all her actions; and, what is not ſo ordinary a qualification of the ſex, ſhe was impenetrably ſecret in all the ſchemes ſhe intended to execute by ſurprize. John Knox was ſtrongly impeach'd by her friends, for charging her with many deſigns and machinations which ſhe never intended to put to the trial: but, if John Knox was warm in complexion and zealous in ſpirit againſt the meaſures her Majeſty executed, the Romiſh Prieſts were not behind him in perfidy, rigidity, cruelty, and obſtinate ſeverities, which are the ordinary pious and edg'd tools for the Romiſh Prieſthood to promote their deſigns by.

I don't chuſe to mention ſome trifling party invectives utter'd againſt her by Knox the Reformer in his hiſtory. They are low, and ſhew the manifeſt and rooted prejudice againſt her perſonally, and not ſo becoming an hiſtorian; eſpecially of the black robe, who ought to avoid even the ſmall appearances of rancour.

Her Majeſty's remains were carried over, and depoſited in the Abbey-church of Rhemes in Champaign in France; where her Siſter was Lady-abbeſs, to whom ſhe left a handſome legacy in her will.

The Engliſh and Scots armies in conjunction were greatly animated by this event, which diſturb'd and protracted the operations of the French, who were under neceſſity to wait new orders, and to act under a new ſuperior. The Engliſh, taking the advantage of this, in conjunction with the Lords of the Congregation, were ready to proceed in their operations to expel the French; but, to prevent effuſion of blood, an armiſtice was for ſome days agreed to, and conferences begun betwixt the Engliſh, French, and Scots Deputies, to agree upon articles for an accommodation: but, after ſome days ſpent at Edinburgh upon this Negotiation, the French continued to inſiſt upon two points, which had nigh broke off the congreſs, and were oppos'd with warmth by the Nobility of the Congregation.

The inſolence of the French create heats in, and had nearly broke up, the congreſs.

The points demanded by the French were,

Firſt, That a few forts and garriſons ſhould continue, after the pacification, in the hands of French as their Majeſties ſubjects:

And next, That the other French ſhould all be ſent home to France, with all their effects, baggage, and whatever they claim'd, at the expence of Scotland.

The Lords of the Congregation abſolutely refus'd to yield to either of theſe. After ſome warm debates in their congreſs on theſe points, the Lords of the Congregation were upon the point of returning to hoſtilities; becauſe of the arrogance and obſtinacy of the French: but, by the mediation of the Engliſh, the following healing articles were ſettled and agreed to.

An accommodation concluded.

Firſt, That the French ſhould be ſent home to France upon Engliſh bottoms: the French to give ſecurity for the reſtitution of the Engliſh ſhips after their debarkation.

Secondly, That only ſixty French ſhould remain in garriſon at Dunbar, and an equal number at Inchkeith: that Leith ſhould be deliver'd up to the Lords of Scotland: and, for the future, no diſtinction nor oppoſition ſhould ſubſiſt betwixt the Lords of the Congregation and others of the Nobility of Scotland; but that all that had paſs'd, from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1ſt of Auguſt following, ſhould be bury'd in future and perfect oblivion: and that no reſentment ſhould ever appear of either ſide, for any thing paſt; but a general peace and reconciliation henceforth take place.

Thirdly, That the King and Queen of France ſhould in no manner, ſecretly or openly, teſtify or execute any reſentment, nor attempt any proſecution againſt any of the Congregation, preceding this date.

Fourthly, That all grievances or complaints of the ſubjects of Scotland, of either ſide, ſhould be only determin'd, redreſs'd and adjuſted by Parliament; and that no foreigners, nor ſtrollers and canker-worms of other Nations, ſhould enjoy any offices and places of truſt and power, nor have any ſhare in the adminiſtration of juſtice: that the Parliament, ſummon'd now to meet, ſhould elect five of the Nobility of the wiſeſt of the Kingdom, and their Majeſties ſhould nominate ſeven, in all to be twelve; who ſhould conſtitute the Privy-council, to have the adminiſtration of Government, and the determination of all civil and military affairs under

under the Sovereign, and during the interval of Parliaments; and that no war nor peace ſhould be declar'd or enter'd upon, without advice and approbation of the Eſtates of the Kingdom.

Fifthly, That no artillery ſhould be ſent or allow'd to go over with the French on their return; and that Lord David Hamilton, ſon to the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, ſhould be ſet at liberty from Bois de Vincennes, where he was priſoner, and ſhould be allow'd to return to Scotland: that the Engliſh army ſhould return for England, upon the departure of the French from Scotland: and that the King and Queen of France ſhould order, that, for the future, the arms of England and Ireland ſhould not be quarter'd with thoſe of France, nor wore on either palaces, plate, furniture, nor jewels; but that they forever ſhould renounce wearing the arms of England join'd to thoſe of France.

Sixthly, That, as to the articles relating to Religion, theſe ſhould be left to the Nobility of Scotland: that they ſhould nominate a certain number of Lords, with proper inſtructions, to go over to their Queen, to repreſent to their Majeſties the neceſſity and the reaſonableneſs of allowing the free exerciſe of the Reform'd Religion, to which the far greater and better part of the Nation were well affected: and that for the future the Biſhops, Abbots, and others, of the Romiſh Clergy, ſhould exerciſe no juriſdiction, nor ſhould they pretend to any power over the lives, properties, or liberties of the ſubjects, nor act in any matter for proſecution or pretended redreſs of grievances; but leave all to the determination and deciſion of Parliament.

Seventhly it was ſtipulated, That the Biſhop of Amiens and the Monſieur le Broſſe ſhould be deliver'd as hoſtages to the Engliſh, for the accompliſhment of the articles relating to the French evacuating of Scotland, and returning home on board Engliſh tranſports.

Having thus compos'd matters, the French embark'd on their return to France, July 16, 1560. July the 19th, the Lords of Scotland obſerv'd a ſolemn thankſgiving to Almighty God, for the deliverance and freedom of their Kingdom from tyrannical and arbitrary uſurpation of foreigners: and then they proceeded to ſettle Reform'd Preachers in the cities, capital towns, and counties over Scotland. The French return to France.

The Parliament met according to proclamation; and, all being ſummon'd to be preſent of Lords, Freeholders, Burgeſſes, or others, who had any right to a ſeat in Parliament to elect or be elected, the meeting of Parliament was very full from all quarters of the Nation. The firſt thing conſider'd and debated warmly, was, the lawfulneſs and legality of their meeting. Thoſe of the French faction, who favour'd the King and Queen of France, inſiſted, that no Parliament could be according to law, nor authoriz'd without the Sovereign's order and approbation; and therefore they ought firſt to have procur'd her Majeſty's ſign'd command for them to meet, without which they were not entituled to act, according to the laws and conſtitution of the Kingdom; but the other ſide, and by far the greater number, over-rul'd this; and in defence of the preſent meeting of Parliament, they inſiſted, that, ſince the ceſſation of arms, and the pacification ſubſequent upon it, were by order and approbation of their Majeſties at Paris; and ſince that one expreſs article of that pacification was, that the whole ſhould be ratified by the approbation of Parliament to be conven'd next Auguſt, that therefore the preſent meeting was ſufficiently warranted and authoriz'd: and ſo it was carried, that they ſhould continue to ſit and act for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The Parliament meets.

The firſt thing they ſettled was the Privy-council, conſiſting of twelve, whom they nominated out of ſuch of the Nobility and Clergy as they knew not well-affected to Popery; at which the Romiſh Biſhops ſhew'd high reſentment, but without great regard. The Romiſh Biſhops had given laws, for ſome time paſt, to Scotland; now it was their turn to receive laws, and to be under ſubjection to a rational Government, founded on liberty, and diveſted of the trumpery of Prieſtcraft and all it's deluſions.

The Parliament, after adjuſting and ſetling preliminaries, proceeded next to hear all petitions and applications from the ſubjects. The firſt petition in courſe preſented, was the petition of the beſt part of the Nobility, Gentry, and others, (Proteſtants) relating to Religion; and this accordingly had the firſt hearing, tho' it is more than probable that, in the preſent age, ſuch an application would have been the laſt regarded: but as this was an age of virtue, of true and ſanguine oppoſition to all popiſh trumpery, the ſupporters of the petition were men: they were bleſs'd with ſpirit, ſteadineſs, unanimity, bravery, and a determin'd rational reſolution to periſh in the ruins of their religion, which they had embrac'd thro' knowlege, and were firmly determin'd to defend and promote, at the expence of all that was valuable in life. This honeſt Scots Reforming petition, preſented to an honeſt, true Proteſtant Parliament, was ſhort, but very deciſive as to the Romiſh Faith: it conſiſted only of three articles: the petitioners, Nobility, Gentry, and Burgeſſes, demanded of this honeſt, incorrupted, and not mercenary, but free Parliament,

Firſt, The total abolition and rejection of all the articles of the Romiſh Faith, according to the Council of Trent. The abolition of Popery.

Secondly, They inſiſted for the primitive pure adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

And laſtly, That his Honour the Biſhop of Rome, with all his aſſum'd and unjuſtifiable claims to power and ſuperiority over conſciences, cloſets and purſes, and all his pretended juriſdiction,

riſdiction, ſhould be directly diſclaim'd, and acknowleged as null and void, by a parliamentary decree of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom now aſſembled.

Theſe were accordingly carried by a great majority. The only proteſting temporal Lords againſt the wiſe meaſure contain'd in the laſt article, were, the Earl of Athol, the Lords Somerville and Borthwick, who join'd the ſpiritual Lords the Biſhops, who by this plainly were made to underſtand, that they were by no means acceptable to the Nation; but that this was a ſeaſonable warning to let them know, their old and ill-built houſe was ready to fall and ſmother them.

This vote, in oppoſition to Popery, having paſt in Parliament, the motion was made, to order ſo many of the Reform'd and true Proteſtant Clergy, to draw up articles of faith; which articles and confeſſion ſhould be laid before both houſes, in order to a parliamentary approbation. Accordingly, the Reform'd Proteſtant Clergy drew up their articles of Faith, which in Parliament were ratify'd and approv'd by a great majority. The Romiſh Biſhops, as ſtupify'd, remaining ſilent, and making no appearance of oppoſition in favour of their outcaſt Religion, demonſtrated themſelves ſelf-condemned. This Proteſtant confeſſion of Faith is accurately inſerted at length in the records of the firſt Parliament of James the VIth of Scotland and Iſt of England. The confeſſion and articles of Faith being read in Parliament and approv'd of, it is worth while, upon this occaſion, to take notice of the ſhort, but very opportune, ſpeech made to the Houſe by the Earl of Marſhall, as follows:

" My Lords,

" I have been long in doubt about the truth of the Romiſh Faith: but having, in this aſſembly, an inconteſtible demonſtration of the abſurdity of this Religion, I have therefore given my vote for the confeſſion now approv'd of, and the abolition of the Biſhop of Rome's authority: for, my Lords, as the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church of Rome now ſit here, and have witneſs'd all that paſs'd; as they have been perfectly ſilent and tame, nor utter'd one ſentence in defence of their Catholic Faith, I have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to judge and to believe, that, as the Biſhops are men of extenſive learning, and men zealous for the ſupport of their Religion, that the only reaſon for their ſilence on ſo important an occaſion, is becauſe they can't ſupport their doctrines by truth, reaſon, or ſcripture."

In this Parliament it was enacted, that all former acts for ſupport of the Romiſh Faith and worſhip, ſhould be void and of no force; and that not only the Pope's authority ſhould be totally aboliſh'd, but a ſevere penalty inflicted upon all who either perform'd or attended maſs.

The Parliament notify their reſolution to the Queen, who refuſes audience to their Envoy.

The Parliament having ſettled the capital points relating to the expulſion of the Romiſh Religion, gave commiſſion to Sir James Sandilands (Knight of Rhodes) to go over to the Court of France, to acquaint their Majeſties with all their parliamentary reſolutions, and to demand their royal ratification; at the ſame time he was order'd to give the moſt convincing and ſtrong aſſurances of the united affections, duty, and loyalty of the Parliament, and of all the Reform'd Proteſtant ſubjects, to their Majeſties perſons and government. But the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe had kindled ſuch a flame at the Court of France, thro' the inſtigation and miſrepreſentation of the Archbiſhop of Glaſcow and Lord Seaton, who went over before him, that he was diſmiſs'd without any audience of King or Queen; and, by the Duke of Guiſe, ſeverely reprimanded in their Majeſties name for receiving any ſuch commiſſion, aſſuring him of their Majeſties high diſpleaſure and reſentment; whereupon he was order'd directly to depart the Court.

This repulſe of the Scots Commiſſioner, from the King and Queen of France, was ſoon ſpread abroad, and affected much the heads of the Reformers: for they were afraid, if the French did ſend over an army into Scotland, they ſhould not be ſo readily ſupported by England; becauſe of the loſs, expence, and hardſhips, the Engliſh ſuffer'd in the late expedition into Scotland.

The Earls of Moreton and Glencairn had been ſent Ambaſſadors into England, to pay their compliments of thanks, in name of the Scots Parliament, to Queen Elizabeth; and having never notify'd how they had been receiv'd at the Court of London, it created great uneaſineſs to the Lords of the Proteſtant intereſt. But, to their great and happy ſurprize, they were reliev'd and recruited in ſpirits, by the ſeaſonable news of King Francis's death; who left this world, after a ſhort reign of two years, on the 6th of December, 1560.

Death of Francis II.

This great event produced great agitation, both at the Court of Scotland and France. The French faction in Scotland, upon notice of the French King's death, held a ſecret meeting, to form ſome new expedients for recovering their falling intereſt. The French faction therefore made choice of Mr. John Leſly, who afterward was made Biſhop of Roſs, a man of learning, wit and addreſs, to go over from them with letters to the Queen. Accordingly he was diſpatch'd to France, with all poſſible ſecreſy and diligence, with their letters to ſolicit her Majeſty's coming over to Scotland; and that ſhe ſhould loſe no time, but, in the moſt private manner, come over and land at Aberdeen; where ſhe would be conveniently, and without any interruption, join'd by the Nobility and Gentry who favour'd the Catholic Faith: that,

that, if her brother the Lord James Stewart came over to her, they gave it as their cordial advice, that he ſhould be detained in France; becauſe they did believe he had no leſs ambition and deſign, than to convey the government of Scotland into his own perſon. The letters, with theſe and more notices ſent to the Queen by John Leſly, were ſigned by the Primate of St. Andrew's; the Biſhops of Aberdeen, Murray, and Roſs; the Earls of Huntley, Crawfurd, Athol, Sutherland, and Caithneſs. This was demonſtration of the perfidy and falſehood of the Earls of Huntley, Sutherland, and Athol; who had, but the preceding year, with all apparent ſincerity, joined the Lords of the Congregation.

The Lords of the Proteſtant-intereſt met at this time, and agreed to ſend over the Lord James Stewart to his ſiſter the Queen, with proper inſtructions and credentials, and to veſt him with the public character of their Envoy-extraordinary: firſt, with poſitive and ſtrong aſſurances of their determined reſolution to acknowlege her Majeſty's lawful authority, and their hearty affection to her perſon and government; and next, to invite her Majeſty over to take the government in perſon upon her. Leſly however was more expeditious than the Lord James Stewart; and, having delivered his letters and inſtructions, with addreſs, to Queen Mary, he took care to repreſent matters as he was directed: but the Lord James Stewart, taking no notice that he knew of Leſly's arrival to the Queen before him, went directly to the Queen his ſiſter, who was now at her diſconſolate and mournful retirement (becauſe of her huſband's death) at Vitree in Champaigne; and with great preſence of mind, politeneſs and affection, addreſs'd his ſiſter, condol'd with her, and ſignified, in name of the Nobility who ſent him, their earneſt and hearty deſire, that ſhe would come over to Scotland to take the government of the Nation upon her.

Queen Mary intends her return to Scotland.

The Guiſes (her uncles) were doubtful about the Queen's ſafety, and how ſhe might be received in Scotland; but the Queen, who loved Scotland, declared her inclination to return thither. Her uncles (the Guiſes) were the more eaſily perſuaded to agree to this; becauſe, when ſhe was removed to Scotland, the contending factions in the French Cabinet would not have acceſs to operate upon her Majeſty's affections, and they could more eaſily and ſecretly act upon her, and ſecure their intereſt with her when in Scotland removed from their oppoſites and rivals: they therefore equipp'd a fleet, and got all things in readineſs for her embarkation.

Firſt ſolicits Elizabeth for a paſſage uninterrupted by the Engliſh fleet.

But Queen Mary, being apprehenſive of danger from the Engliſh, becauſe of Queen Elizabeth's reſentment and the indignation of her Miniſtry at the French Court, for not allowing Queen Mary to ratify and approve the treaty of Edinburgh, which had been negociated under the mediation of Queen Elizabeth and the Engliſh, and which mediation they had been engaged and preſſed to by the repeated entreaties and ſolicitations of Queen Mary and her late huſband King Francis; as this, I ſay, muſt be owned a matter of provocation to the Queen of England, Queen Mary, conſcious of the affront, order'd her Ambaſſador, before ſhe embark'd, to demand ſecurity for her ſafe paſſage to Scotland from Queen Elizabeth: but the Queen, by advice of her Miniſtry, refus'd her requeſt till the treaty of Edinburgh ſhould be ratify'd and approv'd, which Queen Mary had employed Queen Elizabeth to negociate with the Scots Nobility.

Refus'd.

Monſieur d'Ozell was ſent by the Queen of Scotland to demand her Majeſty of England's protection and friendſhip for her, untill ſhe arriv'd on the coaſt of Scotland. Queen Elizabeth gave audience to d'Ozell in preſence of many Noblemen and Gentlemen; and, in public hearing, abſolutely refus'd to allow the Queen of Scots a free and uninterrupted paſſage, except the treaty of Edinburgh were firſt ratify'd and approv'd by Queen Mary.

Queen Mary, much diſcontented at this anſwer, called for Throgmorton the Engliſh Ambaſſador reſiding at the Court of France, and expoſtulated in a long conference with Throgmorton, concerning Queen Elizabeth's reaſons and motives for uſing her thus. Throgmorton, after hearing Queen Mary's long ſtory, compos'd partly of vindications, partly of threatnings, mix'd with excuſes and evaſions, made anſwer in ſhort, that he had no orders to anſwer her Majeſty, but to hear her anſwer, and make report; but, if her Majeſty were pleas'd to give attention, he, in few words, would let her know his mind; which was as follows:

"Could there be any thing more provoking to the Queen of England, and the Engliſh Nation, than for your Majeſty to aſſume and take the arms of England and Ireland; and, had you been Queen of England, how would you have lik'd to have been ſo encroach'd upon and inſulted? Next, Madam, your Majeſty ſolicited the Queen of England (my miſtreſs) to ſettle a peace and to mediate an accommodation with your Majeſty's ſubjects; and, when this was done, you refus'd to agree to it, and won't ratify the articles ſtipulated. This is not uſing England in a friendly and neighbourly manner."

Queen Mary was a Lady of ready wit, eloquent and fluent in ſpeech, rather diffuſe and tedious, but very artful and cunning: therefore, ſhe reply'd to Throgmorton, entertaining him with a long tale of her proteſtations of friendſhip; the ties of relation betwixt her and Queen Elizabeth; the ſincerity of her intentions; the encroaching and rebellious behaviour of her ſubjects in Scotland; and at laſt ſumm'd up all, in loading her father-in-law Henry of France, and her deceas'd huſband King Francis, with the fault of theſe miſunderſtandings and jealouſy betwixt them: and then, excuſing herſelf from any concern with, or obligation to, the treaty of Edinburgh, becauſe ſhe pretended it was an act of King Francis's now deceas'd; and in end told

told Throgmorton, that ſhe was determin'd to venture to Scotland, and hoped to arrive there ſafe in defiance of the Engliſh fleet; adding, that ſhe had fully ſatisfy'd Francis Earl of Bedford (the Queen of England's Ambaſſador-extraordinary) upon this head.

The Earl of Bedford had been ſent over to the Court of France, to condole upon the death of King Francis, and to compliment Queen Mary; at the ſame time to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh: to which the Queen had made anſwer: that her malcontent ſubjects had often complain'd, things were done without conſent of the Nation or the Eſtates of Parliament; therefore ſhe could not, nor would ſhe, determine any thing in that matter untill ſhe had conſulted with her Council in Scotland; and that then ſhe would do every thing to ſatisfy Queen Elizabeth of her ſincere intention to friendſhip and good neighbourhood: that, as ſhe was now a widow, ſhe expected no hardſhips nor encroachments from her ſiſter the Queen of England.

This anſwer, from Queen Mary to the Earl of Bedford, was given before Monſieur d'Ozell was ſent over to Queen Elizabeth: but I can't vindicate, either Queen Mary's conduct in not complying with Queen Elizabeth's juſt requeſt, nor Queen Elizabeth's uncomplaiſant and rough uſage of Queen Mary, in refuſing to allow her to return to Scotland, and calling her honour in queſtion. Mary had Royal blood and Scottiſh ſpirit; therefore did not like to be compell'd nor threaten'd into a meaſure, and had wit enough to form an expedient for herſelf. The fineſſe of ſhamming ſhe behov'd to be well acquainted with, from the manner and polite way of amuſing and ſhuffling peculiar to the genius of the French Court, where ſhe had been ſo long a diſciple.

The friends of the French faction in Scotland had ſpread a report, that Lord James Stewart had come home by England on purpoſe to concert with Queen Elizabeth, concerning the capture and intercepting of Queen Mary by the Engliſh fleet: but I find no real proof nor any evidence for this imputation.

The Lords of Scotland, viz. the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, who had been ſent by the Congregation to England to compliment Queen Elizabeth, and to thank her for her friendſhip and timely ſuccours, and the ſettlement of the peace; they were receiv'd in the genteeleſt and moſt affectionate manner at the Court of London, and were by the Queen of England aſſur'd of her readineſs to ſupport the Nobility, Gentry, and others of Scotland, in their Religion, rights, and liberties. They being now return'd to Scotland, and ſoon after them the Lord James Stewart, the Proteſtant Reform'd party, in high ſpirits, proceeded with the ſettlement of the Churches, by placing of Proteſtant Teachers: but they were determin'd, and had reſolv'd in a grand Council, to adhere ſacredly to the treaty of Edinburgh or Leith; and at the ſame time to ſhew their faithful zeal, duty, and affection to Queen Mary, upon her arrival.

Mary embarks for Scotland; and, eſcaping the Engliſh, arrives ſafe at Leith.

Queen Mary ſet ſail from Calais, Auguſt the 14th, 1561; and, in ſix days after, arriv'd, Auguſt the 20th, ſafe at Leith; having eſcap'd the Engliſh fleet, which lay in the way, by the favour of a thick fog at ſea. One of the Scots ſhips of her convoy had been pick'd up by the Engliſh; on board of which were the Earl of Eglinton, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, who were detain'd in England. The Queen of Scotland arriv'd at the port of Leith with only ſix ſail of ſhipping. She landed amidſt the acclamations of thouſands, who were in tranſports of joy to ſee the return of their lawful and only Sovereign to her native land, that once more they might have a head to rule over them.

Gains the general eſteem of her ſubjects.

The news of her Majeſty's arrival ſpread with incredible rapidity. All ranks were pleas'd; her Majeſty's pleaſant, comely and beautiful countenance was agreeable to all. Her affability, her kindly addreſs, her genteel reception of all who approach'd her royal preſence, even captivated her enemies, and gain'd the approbation of them who were afraid of her. Her Majeſty made her public entry with great ſplendor and magnificence to Edinburgh, and to her palace of Holyrood-houſe; and, having call'd her Council to meet, ſhe, with great mildneſs and moderation, deſir'd no alteration might be made in the ſettlement of Religion lately eſtabliſh'd by Parliament; only, by way of toleration, requeſted, in gentle terms, to be indulg'd and allow'd private maſs in her own apartments in the palace; ſhe having been educated, nurs'd, and always inſtructed in that form of Religion. This was granted by Council, none oppoſing openly, except the Earls of Arran and Glencairn.

The fiery-hot zealots of the Reformed party, from their pulpits, declaimed loudly againſt this conceſſion; but the more moderate and pacific thought it moſt prudent and ſafe, and juſtly too, not to go to extremities or rigidity at firſt, to ruffle the Queen's mind: but the bigotted, miſtaken zealots, who were no real friends to the Reformation-intereſt, committed great abuſes and inſults againſt the Queen's domeſtics, and rather excited tumults than peace and good order. One accident happen'd, which had nigh occaſion'd great confuſion.

The Queen had order'd the celebration of maſs for next day, at her Chapel of Holyrood-houſe; in conſequence of which, the neceſſary preparations were order'd to be made for her Majeſty's attendance upon high maſs. Some of the inferior and common ſort of people, watching their opportunity, waited to ſee her Majeſty's ſervants, and the attendants upon the Chapel-royal, carry in all the neceſſary apparatus; and in conveying to the Chapel the wax-candles, images, and other implements, the domeſtics and ſervants of her Majeſty's houſhold were intercepted by a tumultuary crew. The candles were broken, and with them many beautiful

beautiful images, and, upon this, a mob aroſe in the outer court of her Majeſty's palace, which had like to have produc'd very bad conſequences, but was happily brought to an immediate accommodation by means of Lord James Stewart, and the other wiſe Nobility of the Reformed intereſt. It happen'd then to be an æra and period of time, when Scotland could boaſt of a ſet of brave, wiſe, uncorrupted, and well-judging, but not mercenary Nobility; who trampled upon vice, and, with true public ſpirit, maintain'd their ground againſt a great number of inferiors. But, paſſing this digreſſion, Queen Mary in appearance ſtudied and promoted every thing ſhe knew would be agreeable to the Nobility, and promote the true intereſts of Scotland.

Mary ſhew'd a diſpoſition to compoſe and gratify the minds of all, and diſcover'd great affability and mildneſs of ſpirit at firſt to the Reformers. The tumult and diſorder, occaſion'd by the private celebration of maſs in her Majeſty's apartment, was ſuppreſs'd with moderation, and adjuſted without further noiſe; but the Earl of Huntley, who was a very buſy man, offer'd his ſervices to the Queen, to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and to eſtabliſh his ſuperior regard with the Queen and the Romiſh faction. He told Queen Mary, if her Majeſty did allow him to exerciſe his power for ſuppreſſing of the rioters, he ſoon would reduce them to reaſon by an arm'd force, and make them ſee their intereſt in rejecting the Proteſtant Faith, and returning to the Romiſh Religion: but Queen Mary wiſely judg'd it an ill-tim'd propoſal, as immediately tending to confuſion and civil war; and therefore gave no attention nor regard to my Lord Huntley's overture.

The firſt month of her Majeſty's arrival was chiefly employed in regaling and entertaining the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the French Nation, who had attended her Majeſty over to Scotland: after which, towards the latter end of September, the Duke d'Aumarle return'd by ſea to France; the grand Prior of France, with Monſieur d'Anville, took their journey thro' England homeward; but the Marquis del Beuf remain'd with the Queen in Scotland till winter was over.

During this time, ſeveral matters were taken into conſideration; but, from Cambden's account, from Spotſwood, and even from the other hiſtorians who favour'd Queen Mary, it does appear, that Mary was under the influence of miſtaken councils, and that her Cabinet in fact did not perſuade her to the direct and proper meaſures to unite and eſtabliſh Queen Elizabeth's affections toward her and Scotland. This miſtaken ſyſtem of Queen Mary's was not her crime, nor imputable to her: it was in great meaſure owing to the mixture of popiſh prieſtcraft in her councils. Queen Mary, by the advice of her Privy-council, this winter thought proper to nominate William Maitland of Lethington Eſq; and to order him, with full inſtruction, to repair to the Court of London, as her Envoy-extraordinary, to notify her Majeſty's ſafe arrival and cordial reception in Scotland. The Queen of Scots ſent letters to Queen Elizabeth in the moſt affectionate, genteel, and polite ſtile, to ſignify her deſire of a hearty friendſhip with Queen Elizabeth; and to aſſure her Majeſty, that ſhe would contribute all in her power to the preſervation of peace, and a good underſtanding with her Majeſty of England. The Nobility of Scotland, in the Reform'd intereſt, did concur with this Embaſſy, and wrote likewiſe to Queen Elizabeth to aſſure her of their fix'd and determin'd reſolution to concur in every meaſure which might demonſtrate their ſincere intentions to cultivate a laſting friendſhip with the Crown of England.

Mary notifies her arrival to Elizabeth.

But, notwithſtanding theſe expreſſions of kindneſs and regard, from both the Queen and the Nobility of Scotland to the Queen of England, it was ill judg'd by the Queen and Court of Scotland, not, in the firſt inſtance, to gratify Elizabeth as to the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh and Leith; for had Queen Elizabeth got this point readily yielded to her, it would have procur'd patent acceſs to Queen Mary to operate ſucceſsfully in any future demands, and to gain upon Elizabeth's affections, from a perſuaſion of Mary's ſincerity and deſire of friendſhip. But in the preſent Embaſſy, by Maitland of Lethington, inſtead of regarding this capital and leading point, the Queen of Scots in a miſtaken path, conducted by either an unwiſe, ignorant or falſe council, loſt all the merit of her complimenting letters to Elizabeth, by making new and untimely demands upon her; for Queen Mary, very imprudently at this juncture, was perſuaded to inſtruct Maitland of Lethington to inſiſt, with all his eloquence and addreſs, on Queen Elizabeth's ſetling the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England upon Mary on the event of Elizabeth's demiſe, and the failure of ſucceſſion of her own body.

Imprudently demands the ſettlement of her ſucceſſion to the Engliſh Crown.

This demand did provoke Elizabeth, and created in her mind a jealouſy of Queen Mary's friendſhip and ſincerity. Mary and the Scots Nobility, in their complimenting letters, preſs'd ſo much for the declaration of the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England in favour of Mary if the ſurviving perſon, that Queen Elizabeth, in high ſpirits and with evident reſentment, made anſwer to Lethington: That ſhe now plainly underſtood the friendſhip and regard which the Queen and Nobility of Scotland bore to her, was no more than to ſerve their own purpoſes; and to her it did appear very extraordinary, that the Queen of Scotland ſhould make any new demands until ſhe had fulfill'd her former engagements, to which ſhe was in honour bound by her ſignature and repeated letters, by which ſhe gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to do every thing ſatisfactory, upon her return to Scotland, and adviſing with her Nobility. Elizabeth further added, that now it appear'd ſhe had not conſulted with her Nobility of Scotland upon any other heads but how to make new demands, and to create thereby a jealouſy and diſtruſt of her ſincerity and

Inceníes Elizabeth.

good intentions to preſerve peace with England: that tho', in the former inſtances, ſhe had been induced to believe that Queen Mary was perſuaded thro' deſigning and falſe council to uſe the arms of England, and to claim them as her right, purpoſely to ſow diſcord and break off the friendſhip which ought to ſubſiſt betwixt them; and tho' ſhe was willing and ready to excuſe Mary on this head, yet now it was evident to demonſtration, that Queen Mary's diſpoſition and ſentiments were not cordial and hearty in what ſhe wrote and profeſs'd by her repeated letters and meſſages: therefore, Queen Elizabeth excuſed herſelf from complying with any meaſure relating to the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion upon Mary, until the treaty of Edinburgh ſhould be finally ratified and all former diſputes fully adjuſted. Queen Elizabeth wiſely hinted to Maitland of Lethington, that to fix the ſucceſſion in her own life time would be making her own ſhrowd, and encouraging the ſucceſſor to wiſh and long for her death; but ſhe would take effectual care to prevent this, and would be Queen of England while ſhe liv'd; for ſhe had obſerved with ſtrict attention, how Charles the VIIth of France had behaved to Lewis the XIth, and how Lewis had acted towards Charles the VIIIth, and many more inſtances of the like nature: ſhe therefore being, by divine providence, furniſhed with neceſſary and ſufficient ſtrength to ſupport her rights and the dignity of her reign, and not deſtitute of allies abroad, was fully determin'd to do nothing nor grant any point which might encourage her couſin the Queen of Scotland to long for her Death; but that both the Queen and the Nobility of Scotland might reſt aſſur'd, nothing ſhould be done by her to the prejudice of Queen Mary's right and title to the ſucceſſion; and calling God to witneſs, Elizabeth proteſted, that, next to herſelf, ſhe knew none ſhe would prefer to Mary, nor did ſhe know who there could be to exclude her: but further, at this juncture, ſhe did not think prudent nor juſt to declare; and therefore deſired Maitland of Lethington might not urge, nor inſiſt upon, theſe critical and diſagreeable points any further.

Elizabeth conditionally rejects the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion.

However, ſuch was the tenacious and forward ſpirit of Lethington, that he did not refrain to ſolicit Queen Elizabeth for a further audience, and at length, by his addreſs and importunity, he procured his third and laſt audience of her Majeſty of England; at which he demanded her anſwer to the Queen and the Nobility of Scotland: to which Elizabeth returned, that ſhe had no anſwer to make, but to applaud the Nobility of Scotland for their firm attachment to the honour and ſupport of their Queen; but as to the propoſition urg'd, it was of ſuch conſequence and importance, it required the moſt cool and calm deliberation; becauſe her own ſafety and the repoſe of the Commonwealth depended on a juſt ſettlement of this great article: her Majeſty ſubjoined likewiſe, that it was moſt equitable for her Majeſty of Scotland to fulfil former engagements relating to the treaty of Leith, before ſhe proceeded to make any new demands, which, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, was inconſiſtent with her honour to comply with. However Lethington, not ſatisfy'd with this rebuke and repulſe, inſiſted, with all his eloquence, that the Queen of Scotland, if ſhe were in fact diſpos'd to evade the obligation to the treaty of Edinburgh or Leith, might with reaſon and honour decline fulfilling of it; it being the deed of King Francis her huſband and of the French Miniſtry, in compliance with the Nobility of Scotland in their intereſt. Lethington ſtill added, that whatever he affirm'd upon this head was by no powers nor inſtructions from his Queen, nor from the Nobility of Scotland, but his own private ſentiments upon the ſubject; and that it was his fix'd opinion, the ſettlement of ſucceſſion to the Crown of England was the ſureſt and moſt proper baſis for a laſting peace and friendſhip betwixt both Kingdoms; and ſome explanation upon this point, from her Majeſty of England, would be the moſt ſatisfactory expedient to reconcile the ſentiments of the Nobility of Scotland to all the pacific meaſures neceſſary for the uniting the Courts of London and Scotland by the ſtrongeſt ties of mutual intereſt and friendſhip.

Lethington, having exerted himſelf on this head, ſo far operated upon Queen Elizabeth's mind, as to engage her to nominate Commiſſioners to determine upon the two capital points in diſpute; and in conſequence of this, by Elizabeth's approbation, the Commiſſioners from England did agree, that Queen Elizabeth, nor none of her ſucceſſion, ſhould do any thing to the prejudice or detriment of Queen Mary's right to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England; provided Queen Mary did cordially and readily yield never to make uſe of the arms of England, nor to uſe the titles of England and Ireland. Lethington return'd from his Embaſſy, after this point had been executed by the Commiſſioners on both ſides to mutual apparent ſatisfaction.

Lethington returns.

The Queen of Scotland at this time was upon her tour over the Kingdom to viſit the chief cities and towns. Her Majeſty went from Edinburgh firſt to Stirling, and thence to Perth, Dundee, St. Andrew's, Coupar, and other towns of note; where her Majeſty, by her comely countenance and her mild, agreeable and acceſſible behaviour, received all in ſuch polite, engaging and affectionate a manner as gain'd by irreſiſtible force over all prejudices againſt her. But, at her Majeſty's return to Edinburgh, there happened an affair which occaſioned the diſſatisfaction of many who had formerly regarded the Queen.

Her Majeſty having returned to her Palace at Holyrood-houſe at Edinburgh, at the feaſt of St. Michael, the Magiſtracy of Edinburgh, according to their ancient and annual cuſtom, proceeded to elect the Magiſtracy for the enſuing year: after the choice of the new Magiſtracy and the Common-council was over, the new Common-council thought proper to ſit for the eſtabliſhment of ſome new and neceſſary regulations for preſerving the order and good government of the city. Among many other ſtatutes preferr'd at this time, one was particularly offen-

ſive

ſive to her Majeſty, thro' the inſtigation and inſinuations of her domeſtic prieſts; to wit, an act of the Common-council, by which they had expreſsly forbid, under ſevere pains and penalties, all adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, maſs-prieſts, and obſtinate papiſts, from reſiding in the city or ſuburbs of Edinburgh, or even to be receiv'd and entertain'd, but conſidered as enemies to the repoſe of the Kingdom and to good morals. Such a ſtrict and ſtrong cheque by this new law, if of a modern eſtabliſhment and renewed in the preſent age, might be of ſuch dangerous depopulating conſequence, as to produce almoſt a deſolation and flight of the chief part of the inhabitants of opulent cities and Commonwealths, yea might go nigh to diſmantle cities and Kingdoms of their ſuperiors and Governors: ſo that this antient ſtatute of Scotiſh rigidity and ſtrictneſs in morals for weeding out of vice, and throwing off of ſuch noxious noſegays, in the modern conſtitution and taſte of things, would produce directly tracts of land uncultivated, uninhabited, and unfruitful in many places.

Mary takes the Mayor of Edinburgh priſoner, and diſfranches the city.

This regulation of the city was taken by the Queen and her Cabinet-council as a manifeſt encroachment upon the royal prerogative, and as an open indignity offered the Crown. Accordingly, her Majeſty gave immediate orders to commit Archibald Douglaſs Provoſt or Lord-mayor of the city cloſe priſoner to the caſtle, and a proclamation was immediately iſſued out, declaring the late election of Mayor, Aldermen and Common-council void and diſſolved under pain of high treaſon, and all their ſtatutes of no obligation, nor force; allowing and inviting all ſubjects of whatever denomination, if good and faithful ſubjects to her Majeſty, to repair to the city of Edinburgh to tranſact all their affairs and buſineſs without regard to the late regulation. The Queen, upon this occaſion, was too much influenc'd to ſhew her power; by which ſhe loſt the affections of ſo many of her ſubjects whoſe power and influence was very extenſive.

Supports the papal intereſt.

The Reformers ſoon took the hint; and, finding the Queen now declare her fix'd reſolution to ſupport the Popiſh faith, and to promote it's cauſe by her influence and protection, the Reformed Clergy from their pulpits thunder'd, and alarm'd the people, who were all chiefly in their intereſt, ſo as to excite murmurings over different parts of the nation. The conduct and variable ſpirit of the Scots Nobility, upon this occaſion, encourag'd and fortify'd the Queen in her favourite ſyſtem, and in her meaſures to ſupport the Romiſh intereſt; for a general ſpirit and diſpoſition appear'd in all the Nobility of the Court (a very few excepted) to procure an open gate and a direct path to their preferment and eſtabliſhments to honour and offices in the State, by an unguarded, free and ſolicitous proffer of gratifying her Majeſty in the whole of her inclinations as to the Popiſh faith and intereſt, by an unlimited and ſubmiſſive compliance with all her propoſals, thereby to eſtabliſh themſelves in honours and power. Thus far they cool'd of their former zeal for Reformation principles and worſhip, when their private intereſts and their ambition were in the oppoſite ſcale; and here it muſt be own'd, not much to the honour nor virtue of either the Nobility of England nor of Scotland, in the infancy of Reformation, that their behaviour and their oppoſition to the Romiſh intereſt was by far leſs meritorious than that of the midling and common people. In the latter, conſcience and principle demonſtrated itſelf to be the leading motive; but intereſt and chains of gold were the bands which united inſeparably the moſt of the then Nobility to the Reformation-intereſt. This is evident from the opulent fortunes many of them have enhanc'd, by the poſſeſſion of thoſe rich and fruitful paſtures on which the flock of Romiſh prieſthood were formerly fed with overflowing plenty.

In Scotland now the faſhion or manners begun to vary. The Queen's preſence, the influence and the power of Sovereignty operated ſenſibly upon the affections of the Nobility at Court. Monarchs, good or bad, are capable of producing great and ſurprizing effects by their power; if bad, fooliſh, inattentive, ignorant, or wicked, the miſchief they are capable to execute to perfection, is beyond conception or expreſſion: if good, their power, their wiſdom, juſtice, and their controul, is capable to defeat the moſt pernicious, treacherous and vile councils. Therefore, whoever is not capable to govern and to hold the reins of Government ought not to rule. The people are the fountains of power and ſuperiority, and it can never be ſuppos'd, neither will any in their ſenſes pretend, that a People, their fathers, their anceſtors, ever did or would ſubject themſelves, or transfer their rights and birthrights to make them or their poſterity wear chains and be miſerable: on the contrary, the foundation and original intent of all ſociety is the equitable, impartial and diſintereſted advancement of the happineſs and accommodation of all individuals, as to all their rights and privileges, according to their different ſtations and properties.

The Nobility become corrupt.

But, leaving theſe critical remarks, Queen Mary with her French Secretaries, ſoon perceiving the preſent pliable and ductile ſpirit of her ambitious Nobility, was alert enough to know how to apply herſelf and to conduct matters towards them in the preſent conjuncture. The proſpects and hopes of royal favour ſhe found had baited her Court, and ſo ſhe was ſenſible ſhe was capable to carry matters pretty nigh to her inclinations; but that ſhe might proceed the more ſmoothly, ſhe changed her Privy-council and appointed ſome new chief officers of State. The Privy-council, nominated and ſworn in by her Majeſty on this occaſion, were the Duke of Chatle le Rhault; the Earls of Argyle, Athol, Huntley, Morton, Marſhal, Glencairn, Montroſe, and Erroll; Lord James her Majeſty's brother; the Lord Erſkin; and John Leſley Biſhop of Roſs, who had been lately preferr'd to this See by her Majeſty, of whoſe hiſtory of Queen Mary I ſhall have occaſion to make mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Huntley,

Huntley's abject proſtitution.

Huntley, by his forwardneſs and medling ſpirit, was ſo active and buſy about the Queen, that he procured himſelf ſoon to be appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. In order to give him the ſtronger recommendation to her Majeſty's favour, and to haſten his exaltation, he openly declar'd himſelf and profeſs'd to be a thorough papiſt, ſhewing upon every opportunity great zeal for the Romiſh intereſt and it's votaries. The Earl of Huntley being now at the head of the Adminiſtration, the Romiſh prieſts and all their friends, received an acceſſion and fluſh of ſpirits and reſolution: therefore they ſoon begun to act in character, and promote perſecution and oppreſſion againſt the Proteſtant Reformers. They laid hold of one Ninian Wyniet of no higher rank than a ſchoolmaſter, who was reputed a man of letters, and the author of a treatiſe of queries relating to the Romiſh confeſſion of faith, which gave ſuch offence to the Queen and to the Chancellor, the prieſts and their friends, that, by an order from the Chancellor, Winiet was taken into cuſtody, and carried from Linlithgow to Edinburgh; where, after examination, he was put under an inquiſition of prieſts to oblige him to recant his errors, as they denominated them: but this Reform'd, heretical gentleman, being guided by reaſon and truth, was not to be perſuaded by prieſtly artifice; therefore the Church (ſo called) pronounced their laſt anathema and dreadful ſentence againſt him, in order to his being devour'd: but, for ſelf-preſervation, this outcaſt of an heretic was forced to fly, and this flight of his into Germany to ſave his life produced his preferment; for, being looked upon as a man of learning and ſpirit, he was appointed Abbot of the Scots monaſtery of Ratiſbon. Some other writings appeared at this time not ſo pleaſing; but, as they were chiefly intended to flatter the Queen and her faction, and the performances of ſome old ſuperannuated drouſy Prelates, the Reformers thought it moſt magnanimous to paſs them with contempt and ſilence.

The royal revenue augmented out of the lands of the Clergy.

The Queen's preſent Miniſtry, particularly the Earl of Huntley, wanted and thought to do every thing which would gratify and pleaſe the Queen; and the firſt ſtep they judged would engage her affection was to encreaſe her grandeur and to enlarge and augment the appointments for her houſhold, which, by the revenue already ſettled, behoved to be but narrowly ſupplied, and ſupported with the greateſt oeconomy. The mean they agreed upon for enlarging the revenue of the houſhold, was by an abrigement of the rich endowments of the ſuperior Clergy, the Prelates, and their immediate underlings.

This attack upon the Clergy's idol created great uneaſineſs and diſcontent in their ſpiritual minds, but with little ſucceſs; for they were ordered by Parliament to give an eſtimate of their ſeveral revenues, which they did, but in ſuch a manner as to ſecret one third of their incomes, which piece of ſacred art they conducted with ſuch addreſs as to ſave a conſiderable ſlice not taxed for their own emolument.

Intrigues and joſtlings of the Nobility at Court were now very warm and high. The Lord Huntley (Chancellor) concerted all poſſible means to make the Nobility who favour'd the Proteſtant Faith, ſuſpected by the Queen, and to create in her a jealouſy of them, which occaſioned a ferment at Court: but Huntley's low and pitiful arts were outwitted by the ſuperior ſagacity of the oppoſite Lords. The Earl of Huntley was an implacable enemy to the Earl of Arran and the Hamilton family; and therefore, to have my Lord Arran removed from Court, he contrived the ſpreading a report that Arran had a deſign upon the Queen, and had ſecretly prepared to carry her off, in order to be maſter of her perſon; becauſe it was known he was deſperately in love with her Majeſty.

This ſtate-chicanery was carried ſo far with an appearance of truth, that her Majeſty levied a body of additional guards both horſe and foot for the protection of her perſon, and they were choſen of the ableſt-bodied men which could be found: but, inſtead of impreſſing the minds of the People with any apprehenſions of danger to the Queen's perſon from this quarter, the People in general rather apprehended this to be only as a pretext and colour, that the Queen with her Romiſh friends might have ſome reaſon for ſupporting in pay a formidable military force to overawe the Reformed party of the Nation. Mary upon this occaſion conducted herſelf with great moderation and prudence, and by her behaviour ſeemed to reject the whiſpers and tales handed about, and received the Nobility of the Reform'd intereſt in her uſual affable manner.

There were great diſorders at this time committed upon the borders of England by the banditti of both ſides, which required an immediate cheque becauſe they appeared in formidable bodies. Her Majeſty nominated and appointed James Stewart her brother to go as Lord Lieutenant with a ſtrong body of men to ſuppreſs all theſe diſorders, and to reduce the country upon the border of England to good order, by bringing the ringleaders of theſe outlaws to condign puniſhment; in which Lord James had ſuch ſucceſs, and executed his commiſſion ſo much to the Queen's ſatisfaction, that, upon his return, ſhe created him Earl of Marr: but the lands of Marr being claimed by the Lord Erſkine as the antient patrimony of his family, her Majeſty gave the Lord Erſkine the title of Marr, and her brother by a new patent was created Earl of Murray.

Lord James Stewart conſtituted Earl of Murray.

The Earl of Huntley, as Lord High Chancellor, was highly offended that theſe removes and promotions ſhould have been made by the Queen without conſulting or acknowlegeing him: he therefore breath'd hot reſentment againſt the Earl of Murray. Lord Huntley had, thro' the troubled and convuls'd ſtate of Scotland, been maſter of Murray and Marr, ſince the death of James the Vth, which was ſo ſweet and fatning a morſel that he was unwilling to part with it; and,

and, through his poſſeſſion of theſe counties for ſo many years, his imagination was blindfolded to a conceit that the property of all theſe lands were tranſmitted to him and his family. Being diſappointed of theſe his favourite ſuppoſitions, the Earl of Huntley meditated nothing but low and mean practices againſt the Earl of Murray; firſt, by private detractions and ſcurrilous reflections, to diminiſh his regard at Court: but Huntley, having bad reception in this undertaking, he yet became more ſordid and vile by compoſing an infamous libel of ſcandalous reflections againſt the Earl of Murray, ſigned this libel, and preſented it to the Queen; but his evidence appearing ſo inconſiſtent, weak and unworthy of a Miniſter of State, he and his accuſations were juſtly rewarded with neglect.

Huntley's baſe deſigns againſt Murray

When theſe efforts to deſtroy the Earl of Murray in the eſteem of the Queen were of no force, Huntley did betake himſelf to the baſeſt arts to kindle a flame of malice and oppoſition betwixt the Nobility of the Kingdom. On this occaſion the Earl of Huntley employed the moſt abandon'd and deſperate man of all the Nobility to execute his ſyſtem, to wit, the Earl of Bothwell; a man who had, by wickedneſs and extravagancy, ruin'd his eſtate, whoſe hopes of any alteration or return of proſperity were built on the proſpects of confuſion and troubles in the State.

Bothwell employ'd by Huntley to ſow ſedition.

This dirty office of embroiling the Hamiltons againſt the Earl of Murray, Bothwell did readily undertake for the Chancellor, and began his pernicious operations, by firſt acting upon the Earl of Murray to induce and perſuade him to ruin the Duke of Hamilton. Bothwell ſuggeſted to the Earl of Murray, that nothing could be more agreeable to the Queen, nor ſecure his intereſt more effectually, than to uſe his utmoſt efforts to convince Queen Mary, that the Duke and the whole Hamilton family aim'd at the Sovereignty, and waited, with longing expectation, for her Majeſty's death, having the next title in the ſucceſſion. To create a jealouſy in the Queen againſt the Hamiltons was eaſy he thought to be accompliſh'd, and by degrees to raiſe it to a pitch of wrath and hatred at them.

Bothwell is ill receiv'd by the Earl of Murray.

But all Bothwell's diabolical artifices with the Earl of Murray were of no effect: Murray's integrity was not to be blemiſh'd by ſuch practices; he rejected Bothwell's intrigues with indignation: therefore Bothwell, full of malice and evil-minded, apply'd himſelf to the Duke of Hamilton and to the Earl of Arran his ſon, in order to engage them to cut off the Earl of Murray. Bothwell repreſented to theſe Lords, that the Earl of Murray was the only perſon in their way; and that, if he were removed, they would have her Majeſty under their direction ſecluded from any other: that the Earl of Murray, while living, would take care to influence her Majeſty againſt the Hamiltons; but, if their enemy were cut off, then the Duke with the Earl of Arran would be the firſt and chief in her Majeſty's councils. Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning are, by Biſhop Spotſwood, reported to have undertaken to murder the Earl of Murray, as he was a hunting in Faulkland Park with the Queen, to make way for his ſyſtem.

This ſcene appear'd ſo ſhocking to the Earl of Arran, that he acquainted the Earl of Murray with the bloody deſign againſt his life; and would by no means have any concern with Bothwell's pernicious enterprizes.

The affair being ſo far diſcover'd, my Lord Arran's life was in danger from the two intended aſſaſſins, now inflam'd with reſentment at their diſappointment. The Earl of Arran was forc'd to ſend to his father the Duke for an eſcort of men, to conduct him over to Kinneil-houſe: but, fearing the event of this expedient for his ſafety, he ſtole away in the night to the houſe of Grange in Fife, and from thence ſent notice to the Earl of Murray, who came to him and eſcorted Arran ſafe to the Queen's preſence, to whom the whole bloody deſign was related. Her Majeſty, in juſt indignation, ordered Bothwell and the Abbot to be apprehended, and brought to trial.

Bothwell and Huntley renew their vile attempts.

This game in Bothwell was villainy of the blackeſt nature: firſt, to meditate to ſet on the Earl of Murray to deſtroy the Duke of Hamilton and his family; and, miſcarrying in this enterprize, to ſet the Hamilton family on to ruin the Earl of Murray.

Huntley, now in the decline of his influence and regard with the Queen, in order to prop and ſupport his tottering ſituation, endeavour'd, with all the diabolical craft he could deviſe, to revive and to reſtore his intereſt and eſtabliſhment at Court upon the ruins of the Murray's or Hamilton's intereſt: therefore attempted to fill the Queen's mind with ſuſpicion and jealouſy of ſome evil deſign by the Hamilton family, or the Earl of Murray, againſt her Majeſty's perſon and government. But this had no other ſucceſs than to return upon the bloody projector of ſuch practices, and to haſten his downfall. I own indeed the Earl of Arran's generous, honeſt and innocent high ſpirit was much affected with the dangerous nature of the imputation of ſuch a high crime, when ſupported and promoted by no leſs man than the Lord High Chancellor: therefore the thoughts of the diſgrace of ſuch an imputation to this innocent mind render'd him almoſt delirious, and overpower'd his judgement for ſome conſiderable time; but, recovering himſelf and recruiting his ſpirits and preſence of mind, he, with reſolution and ſteadineſs, diſclos'd to the Privy-council, upon his examination, the whole ſcene of baſe practices concerted by the Lord Huntley: but Huntley had ſo tamper'd with the evidence, and ſo clouded matters, that it was impoſſible to make out a compleat proof againſt him; therefore, my Lord Arran, juſtly enrag'd at Huntley's black behaviour, in preſence of the Queen and Council attack'd Huntley, and averr'd the whole facts of his projection, offering to fight him if he durſt deny one ſingle article. Her Majeſty, upon this warm attack againſt the Lord Huntley by the Earl

The Earl of Arran challenges Huntley.

of Arran, thought proper to commit Bothwell to the caſtle of Edinburgh; Hamilton the Abbot to Stirling-caſtle; and the Earl of Arran to the care of ſome Nobility, untill recover'd of his diſorder of mind.

Huntley's intrigues and baſe practices.

Huntley next meditates to cut off the Earl of Murray; for which he hires and inſtructs ſome deſperados to lye in wait for him at St. Andrew's while the Queen was there, and to murder him in the night as he paſs'd from her Majeſty's apartments, to the Abby-porch where he lodged. Huntley's men waited ready arm'd for my Lord Murray's coming home; but Murray, being acquainted of the deſign, went to her Majeſty, and acquainted her with the whole, and, deſiring an eſcort of the guards, he went with them, and found Huntley's aſſaſſins ready arm'd, waiting for their prey and to execute the tragedy. Huntley, being diſcover'd thus, pretended to excuſe his men, that they ſtood there arm'd only waiting for his orders to return home early about ſome of his affairs. Huntley had at this time ſlily procur'd letters to her Majeſty from the Pope, the Cardinal of Lorrain, and from her other Uncles in France, recommending to her Huntley as the fitteſt man to ſerve her, and to promote the Catholick intereſt; they ſent at the ſame time a long liſt of all the Proteſtants to the Queen, whom they wanted to have her Majeſty diſtruſt, and uſe with no marks of regard nor affection. The firſt in this roll was the Earl of Murray; but her Majeſty, whether thro' prudence or from eſteem, did not, from theſe letters and addreſſes, alter her behaviour and countenance toward the Earl of Murray at Court.

The latter end of this year, the Queen of England ſent Peter Mewtas, with letters to the Queen of Scotland, to demand again expreſsly a direct and definitive anſwer as to the treaty of Edinburgh: but Queen Mary returned for anſwer, ſhe could come to no reſolution on this head, untill the affairs of the Nation were brought to ſome ſettlement; but wrote to Elizabeth, in preſſing terms, for an interview betwixt them at York, which was ſettled and agreed upon, and the time fix'd was the laſt week in June 1662. But upon this event, both parties, Proteſtants and Papiſts, were very diligent for promoting their different ſentiments concerning the approaching interview betwixt the two Queens, in order to impreſs and to form the Queen's mind according to the intereſts they wanted to ſupport. The Popiſh faction were againſt any interview with Elizabeth, eſpecially in England; ſuggeſting to Queen Mary, the danger of going to York, and putting her perſon in the power of the Engliſh Nation. They did all they could to create a jealouſy in Queen Mary, and to intimidate her; but the better ſort of the Nobility of Scotland, and thoſe who favour'd the Proteſtant faith, wiſely judg'd it might be the means of uniting Elizabeth and Mary in ſentiments and affections, and of producing a laſting well-founded friendſhip betwixt both Kingdoms: and in all probability, had this interview taken place, it had produced great and good effects; for the two Queens would have had acceſs to communicate their ſentiments to each other in private, and to underſtand one another better than by the interpoſition of Miniſters of State, who in ſuch caſes are ready to promote their own ſentiments and inclinations, however contrary and oppoſite to the public good.

An interview agreed upon, and fix'd for the laſt of June, betwixt the Queens of England and Scotland; but was interrupted.

The miſtake of both Engliſh and Scots.

The Engliſh Nobility on this occaſion were as much in fault as the Papiſts of Scotland; for they hinted to the Queen of England, that it would be dangerous to her Majeſty's intereſt to admit Mary of Scotland to an interview: becauſe thereby Mary would have an opportunity of appearing in all her ſplendor to rival Elizabeth; and, being a woman of ſo elegant and fine preſence, of the moſt engaging addreſs, might gain upon the affections of the Engliſh Court and the Nobility, weaken thereby Elizabeth's regard, and give life, ſtrength and ſpirit to the Popiſh faction.

Mary, to gratify the French and her friends of the Romiſh faith, was pleas'd with the breaking off from an interview.

Thus thro' fears, miſtaken conduct, and jealouſies, an event (to wit, their meeting) which might have probably produc'd effects remarkably advantageous and laſting, was prevented and broke off. Queen Elizabeth, in compliance with her Miniſtry, wrote to Queen Mary to excuſe herſelf, and deſiring the conference and interview at York might be delay'd for ſome time for certain important reaſons. Mary was equally pleas'd with this; becauſe ſhe, though willing to meet with Elizabeth, was much afraid it might give offence to France, and to her Uncles in the Miniſtry of France; to wit, the Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal of Lorrain. For theſe reaſons, Mary return'd a polite anſwer to Elizabeth by Elizabeth's envoy, Henry Sidney, Eſq; who had come with Elizabeth's apology and excuſe for declining the appointed meeting; and ſignify'd to Sidney, that ſhe thoroughly acquieſc'd in Queen Elizabeth's delay of the interview at this time, as moſt expedient for both in the preſent conjuncture. Here Queen Mary hurt the common intereſt by her connection with, and dependence on, France; and Queen Elizabeth teſtified too much ſubmiſſion to her favourites.

The Lord and Lady Lennox taken into cuſtody, and all correſpondence with France forbid by the Court of London.

This year, 1662, the Earl of Lennox was taken into cuſtody, and kept under arreſt for ſome time by the Maſter of the Rolls; and his Lady, Margaret Counteſs of Lennox, was likewiſe ſecured, and committed to the care of Richard Sackvill, as was given out, for holding a ſecret correſpondence with Mary Queen of Scots: ſtrict orders were iſſued, diſcharging all correſpondence with the Queen of Scotland, or the French, but ſuch as were communicated to, and allowed of, by the Miniſtry and Court of London: at the ſame time Queen Elizabeth wrote with her own hand, by Randolph, to Mary, that if her Majeſty did comply with her Uncle the Cardinal of Lorrain's propoſition, of receiving the addreſſes of the Arch-duke Charles, Son to the Emperor Ferdinand, and did agree to marry into the Emperor's family; as the Cardinal, Mary's Uncle, was a declar'd enemy to England and the Proteſtant intereſt, if

Queen

Queen Mary did fall in with their ſyſtem, Elizabeth declared it ſhould for ever break off all correſpondence and friendſhip betwixt England and the Scots Nation; and therefore Queen Elizabeth, in a dictatorial and over haughty ſtile, acquainted Mary, if ſhe proceeded in this path, it was the direct road to ſeclude and bar her from the Crown of England: therefore ſhe would perſwade Queen Mary to make choice of ſuch a huſband as ſhe would recommend, and would be agreeable to the Engliſh Nation, which was the only way to ſettle upon a certain foundation the intereſts of peace and friendſhip betwixt both Kingdoms.

Mary recommended to a huſband by Elizabeth.

Mary's beauty, her eloquence, her fine addreſs, her ſoft and mild engaging manner, made Elizabeth ſuſpicious of her as a royal rival, who would become the object of too high and univerſal regard; and Elizabeth was likewiſe afraid of any attempt to addreſs Mary from Charles Arch-duke of Auſtria, leaſt Mary's ſuperior charms and beauty might captivate the young Emperor, and break off his begun treaty with Elizabeth concerning his marriage with her: ſo that on this occaſion the intereſts and welfare of Kingdoms was ſubjected to the ruling paſſion of jealouſy betwixt two royal Ladies; one among many of the manifeſt inconveniencies of female Monarchy: and the caſe is the ſame with Monarchs, if guided by the influence of petticoat power, the public honour and glory of a Nation is in danger and muſt be hurt. In ſhort, the caſe betwixt the two Queens was thus in the preſent conjuncture: Elizabeth could not be eaſy, nor reſt ſatisfied, untill ſhe were certain as to Queen Mary's marriage, and on whom ſhe had fix'd her affection, in ſuch circumſtances Elizabeth expected to be depriv'd no further of her admirers; but it is evident from this account I have given, and which can't be diſprov'd, that Queen Elizabeth, by the inſtigation of her haughty and over-touring Miniſtry, did behave in a manner too inſulting and arbitrary to lay commands upon Queen Mary, and to reſtrain her affection in the choice of her conſort Prince. Had Mary exerciſed ſuch impudence and ill manners to Queen Elizabeth, the Miniſtry and Cabinet of England would have had reaſon to complain: but Mary's complexion, the meekneſs and ſoftneſs of her nature, could not admit of ſuch encroaching behaviour; to which the Miniſtry of England were encourag'd by the divided and troubled ſtate of the Scot's Nation at this time.

The two Queens jealous of one another.

Queen Mary having receiv'd the diſpatches ſent by Randolph to her, and given her anſwers, ſhe ſet out to viſit the country; her Majeſty went firſt to Stirling, and while here ſhe was addreſs'd by the Clergy and Gentry of the Reform'd Religion, to aboliſh all Maſs-houſes and the ſuperſtition of the Romiſh Religion; for puniſhing blaſphemy and the contempt of the ſcriptures, and the open ridicule of the Sacraments; the open and barefac'd prophanation of Sabbath-days, with the other reigning vices of the age, ſuch as fornication, adultery, and other public vices; they further addreſs'd the Queen, to remove all Papiſts from her councils and from all offices of power and truſt. The Queen took this addreſs and petition into conſideration, and, after conſultation with her Romiſh Cabinet, ſhe gave for anſwer, that ſhe would do nothing to the prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſs'd; and further, in great emotion, told the commiſſioners, when diſmiſſing them, that ſhe hop'd and expected to have Maſs, and the whole of the Catholick Worſhip authoris'd by public eſtabliſhment in a year's time. This unwiſe return, dictated to her by her inſolent prieſts, was unworthy of her mild agreeable ſpirit; but as in this, ſo in many other things, the ſoftneſs and delicacy of her complexion laid her open to be impos'd on to her hurt and ruin. The Proteſtants were alarm'd at this bold rebuff, and made anſwer accordingly, that they would take care it ſhould not be ſo. Her Majeſty, from Stirling, proceeded North for Aberdeen, attended by crouds of the Romiſh Gentry: the Counteſs of Huntley with her retinue met her Majeſty ſome miles from the City of Aberdeen; ſhe was a lofty, artful, cunning and deſigning Lady, well calculated for intriguing: upon this occaſion ſhe approach'd her Majeſty's preſence with the moſt ſordid flatteries, and introduc'd herſelf in ſuch a taſte as was not ſuitable to the Queen's lively wit and refin'd genius. The Lady Huntley, after her compliments to the Queen were finiſh'd, proceeded to addreſs her Majeſty in behalf of her Lord and her ſon John; ſhe repeated the Earl's offers to reduce the whole Kingdom, by military force, to the Romiſh yoke; extolling her huſband's extenſive power and influence: next, ſhe made her applications to the Queen, for pardon and forgiveneſs to her ſon John, for breaking from his confinement, which he was under for wounding the Lord Ogilvy in the Streets of Edinburgh: the Lady Huntley ſtrongly ſolicited, that her ſon ſhould not only be admitted to bail, and ſet at liberty; but that her Majeſty would grant permiſſion to him to wait upon and attend her Majeſty while ſhe made her tour over the Country.

The Queen acts imprudently, by her anſwers to the Proteſtant commiſſioners at Stirling.

Lady Huntley's interview with Queen Mary, and her ſolicitations in behalf of her ſon.

The Queen was ſoon made to underſtand the ambitious views of the Lady Huntley; ſhe had whiſper'd about, the Queen's regard for Lord John Gordon's perſon, and her admiration of him, for a young Nobleman of fine preſence and graceful appearance; ſhe and her friends were conceited with a fond opinion, that this young Lord Gordon would ſo gain upon the Queen's affections as to be married to her: for this reaſon, the Queen, with juſt indignation, deny'd the Lady's requeſt, and would by no means admit this Lord Gordon into her royal preſence, untill he did return to his confinement, according to her Majeſty's order, and ſubject himſelf to Law.

The Lady Huntley, in name of her ſon, did promiſe and engage that he ſhould obey her Majeſty's orders, only pleaded ſtrongly that the place of his confinement might be chang'd from Edinburgh to Stirling-caſtle, which her Majeſty granted; and my Lord Glames was, by the Queen's order, appointed to eſcort Lord Gordon: but when they had proceeded as far as the

Caſtle

Caſtle of Glames,* the ſeat of Lord Glames, Gordon found ways and means to make his eſcape and to get off; whether doubtful of the event of his trial, or by the ſecret advice of his father and friends, is not certain. Having got off, he made his eſcape untill he arriv'd at the eſtate of Huntley, where he rais'd the Poſſe of the country with about a thouſand horſe, and with this body of men marched for the City of Aberdeen.

Lord Gordon eſcapes, and raiſes a body of men.

Queen Mary, having intelligence of Lord Gordon's approach to Aberdeen with a body of arm'd men, did take it as an high inſult upon her Sovereignty, and an indignity offer'd to her Crown; but, in the preſent circumſtances, ſhe counterfeited her diſpleaſure, behav'd with coolneſs, and ſeeming inattention to the affront offer'd her by Gordon. Her Majeſty proceeded on her journey to Inverneſs, attended by her chief officers of ſtate; ſhe took the rout by Buchan, and from thence to Rothymay; in her way, regal'd by the Nobility and Gentry of the Country. The Earl of Huntley had made ſplendid preparations for her Majeſty's reception, and having waited of her Majeſty to invite her to Strathbogie-caſtle, ſhe refus'd him acceſs to her preſence, and rejected the invitation though proffer'd to her by the other Nobility; which neglect he receiv'd from the inſolence of his ſon's behaviour.

Queen Mary continues her journey for Inverneſs, and arrives there ſafe.

When her Majeſty arriv'd at Inverneſs, ſhe ſent orders to Alexander Gordon governor of the Caſtle, to make patent gates for her acceſs with all her retinue, becauſe ſhe intended to lodge in the Caſtle. The governor deny'd her Majeſty acceſs, and prepar'd for a defence againſt any attack. For ſome nights ſtrange lights did appear in the air, and meteors, which the ignorant and ſuperſtitious conſtructed as an immediate preſage of great events and alterations. Her Majeſty being deny'd accommodation upon any terms, September 9, 1662, ſhe held a council extraordinary, wherein it was reſolv'd, to ſend expreſſes to all quarters to ſuch as were her Majeſty's friends, that they might repair arm'd, for her Majeſty's protection, to Inverneſs: the inhabitants of the town of Inverneſs were not to be truſted, they were all in the intereſt of Huntley, vaſſals and dependants upon him; therefore, for the greater ſecurity and ſafety of her Majeſty's perſon and houſhold, orders were likewiſe iſſu'd out for a number of ſhips to be in readineſs, at the mouth of Neſs river, to receive her Majeſty and her retinue on board, in caſe of any attack from Huntley, or his ſon. About midnight, ſome of Lord Huntley's ſpies arrived at Inverneſs, who were taken, and, upon diſcovery of Lord Huntley's numbers and his ſituation, were pardoned, but detain'd. Next day, the clans, who were well affected to her Majeſty, repair'd with great expedition to join the Queen's guards and her friends at Inverneſs: the Fraſers and Monroes were the firſt who came up; next, the M'Intoſhes and all the Clancatton, they finding Huntley was in oppoſition to the Queen, deſerted his army, and join'd her Majeſty's forces without delay.

Lord Huntley raiſes in rebellion againſt the Queen all his men.

The Clans join the Queen, and the Caſtle of Inverneſs taken.

Queen Mary having now collected a body of ſuch ſufficient force to beſiege the Caſtle, begun the attack: but the Governor, in order to obtain good terms for himſelf, and to ſoften the Queen's diſpleaſure, upon the firſt on-ſet yielded the place: upon which her Majeſty order'd the Captain, or Governor, to be hung up, with ſo many of the principal officers; but ſpar'd the lives of the ſoldiery in garriſon.

Queen Mary, after taking poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, ſtay'd for ſome days at Inverneſs, untill all her friends had join'd her; which junction being compleated, and her Majeſty thereby enabled to repell Lord Huntley with all his force, he thought proper not to advance: her Majeſty return'd on her way to Aberdeen, and marched her forces without any interruption; but ſuch was the effrontery of Huntley's Lady, that ſhe ventur'd to approach the Queen's preſence at Aberdeen to make interceſſion for her huſband; but was juſtly rewarded with an open repulſe, and not admitted to her Majeſty's apartments.

This vile fellow, Huntley, not ſatisfy'd with the higheſt preferments of the ſtate, could be contented with no leſs than bullying of his Sovereign, and combining to excite faction and ſedition, if not gratify'd in all his covetous, ſelfiſh and indirect purpoſes; much correſponding with the modern conduct of a combination, who over-rul'd, dictated, and carried all by a majority, even in oppoſition to a Sovereign's inclinations and ſentiments, for the intereſt, honour, welfare, and dignity, of his Kingdom.

Huntley marches for Aberdeen to attack the Queen and the Earl of Murray.

In conſequence of theſe miſchievous and ill-hatch'd maxims in Huntley's breaſt, finding his favour with the Queen irrecoverably and juſtly loſt, without the leaſt hopes of reſtoration, he betook himſelf to vile and deſperate game; to wit, open rebellion and ungratitude: he aſſembled his friends, and all who would join him in a hoſtile manner, and in full perſwaſion of being join'd by the Burghers and inhabitants of the City of Aberdeen, he marches to ſurround and incloſe the Queen, in order to force a compliance with all his meaſures. To encourage this unfair attempt, he had two traitors at Court, who were admitted to her Majeſty's preſence, and well look'd upon! the Earl of Sutherland, and Leſly of Balqhaine, who gave Huntley intelligence of all the Queen's councils and motions: being encourag'd and animated by the intelligence given him concerning the Queen's ſituation, Huntley reſolv'd to march up and attack the Queen, before her forces from Lothian, Fife, Angus, Merns, and Stratherne, did arrive; and therefore he approach'd with about 900 men; but the whole of this ſyſtem was disjointed, and moulder'd away in diſappointment, by the intercepting of letters from Sutherland and Balqhaine

* Glames-caſtle, a mile from Forfar, an elegant and grand old caſtle and ſeat of the family of Strathmore, in the Shire of Angus; formerly an old palace of the antient Kings of Scotland, in which are ſome magnificent appartments.

qhaine to him, upon which Lord Sutherland made his eſcape; but Leſly of Balqhaine was taken, and upon his confeſſion of all, and making full diſcoveries, he was pardon'd.

Huntley, on this unhappy diſcloſure of his treachery, and ſecret confederacy againſt the Queen, thought proper to retire, by the advice of his friends: but being acquainted that the Earl of Murray, by order of the Queen, was in full march to attack him, Huntley determined to halt and to receive Murray warmly. Huntley made choice of his ground to receive his enemy; he pitched on a ſpot inclos'd with moraſs and marſh ground which was almoſt impaſſible: the night before the Earl of Murray advanc'd to him, he was ſo weaken'd by a powerful deſertion, that he had no more than 400 remaining, with which he was reſolute to try his fate. Murray, in numbers, was ſuperior; but many of them corrupted and in Huntley's intereſt: ſo that when both the minute armies enter'd upon action, the traitors on Murray's ſide, carrying a branch of heath in their helmets, made Huntley thereby (as by a ſignal) underſtand that they were his friends. Therefore, upon his approach to attack, they yielded, and retir'd, leaving Huntley at full freedom to attack the Earl of Murray in the center, and to cut him and his horſe to pieces. Huntley, to make ſure and ſpeedy execution, order'd his men to throw off their lances, and to attack with fury ſword and target: but Murray, with his cavalry, well ſupported by foot, ſo receiv'd their enemy, that Huntley with his men were ſoon put into diſorder, and forc'd to fly with great loſs. The traitors on Murray's ſide who had fil'd off, and ſtood in ſight unactive, finding the fate of the day ſo ſurpriſingly favour the Earl of Murray, ruſh'd in, to ſave their honour and their bacon, and aſſiſted Lord Murray in making the victory compleat, by conſiderable ſlaughter and taking many priſoners of diſtinction.

Huntley is defeated by Murray.

In the field, the Earl of Huntley had 130 ſlain, and as many taken; Huntley himſelf, and his ſons John and Adam Gordon, were taken priſoners; the Earl of Huntley was of advanc'd age, and very luſty; by the fatigue, heat, and diſorder in the action, and the crouds who throng'd upon him, he dy'd immediately as he was taken; his ſons, and the other priſoners of diſtinction, were carried to Aberdeen and confin'd there. The Earl of Murray carried this action without the loſs of a man in the field.

Huntley dies, and his ſons taken priſoners.

It is obſervable, thro' the whole of this ſcene of villainy in Huntley, that this expedition of Queen Mary's to the North, and her progreſs, which was concerted to give Huntley and the Romiſh faction a commodious opportunity of murdering the Earl of Murray, to whom they bore an irreconcileable hatred; that this very ſcheme, which Huntley had ſecretly concerted and communicated to the Queen, ſhould, by a wiſe and unforeſeen ſuperintendancy of providence, produce Huntley's deſtruction, and the overthrow of his family. Queen Mary had not approv'd of Huntley's deſigns to cut off the Earl of Murray, either at Aberdeen or Inverneſs, when in waiting on her Majeſty; but conniv'd at this vile projection by the importunity of the letters ſent her from the Pope and the Court of France. They thought the cutting off the Earl of Murray would be a maſterly ſtroke, and a deciſive blow to cruſh the Proteſtants and eſtabliſh the Romiſh Religion in Scotland: for the Earl of Murray was the chief perſon who chequ'd the Queen's licentious ſpirit and her bigotry. But to return to the tragical fate of the Huntley family.

Huntley's villainy proves the deſtruction of his family.

Next day, after the action of Corrichy nigh Aberdeen, the Earls of Murray, Morton, and the Lord Lindſey, order'd public thankſgiving in the High-church of Aberdeen, for the victory; and accordingly a ſuitable ſermon was preach'd, and divine ſervice perform'd, by a Reform'd Proteſtant Miniſter, Mr. John Craig; where the Nobility attended with great devotion and ſolemnity. They then waited of the Queen, who receiv'd them very graciouſly; but appear'd quite ſedate and unaffected with the event and alteration.

In few days after, a Council was held, wherein Lord Gordon and his brother were try'd; Lord John was order'd next day for execution in the Caſtle-ſtreet of Aberdeen, his brother Adam was pardon'd on account of his youth, the other Gentry were ſeverely reprimanded and order'd to pay in large ſums to the Exchequer, and the private men were all order'd for tranſportation.

Huntley's ſon John executed for treaſon.

This juſt chaſtiſement and fall of the family of Huntley produc'd peace and good order in the North, and gave bounds to the inſolence of the Romiſh prieſthood; for all the expectations of the Romiſh faction were built upon the Earl of Huntley's power and favour at Court; which being now in its loweſt period, they all begun to droop their heads and to languiſh. The Earl of Huntley's eldeſt ſon, Lord George, was ſummon'd to ſurrender himſelf; and, by his father-in-law the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, he was deliver'd up to the Queen's mercy, in hopes and faith of favour: but, to the great diſappointment of his friends, in January 1663, he was try'd and convicted of high treaſon, his eſtate forfeited to the Crown, and his perſon confin'd. This was immediately follow'd by the commitment of John Hamilton Primate of St. Andrew's to the Caſtle of Edinburgh, for attending and celebrating Maſs publicly, in oppoſition to the preſent eſtabliſhment: the Abbot of Corſragnall, and Prior of Whitehorn, were likewiſe taken into cuſtody; with many Prieſts, Monks, and Jeſuits, for ſeditious practices.

The Huntley family, and Hamilton Primate of St. Andrew's, are attainted.

Upon ſuch a violent and powerful ſpirit, in oppoſition to Popery, exercis'd even againſt them of the higheſt rank; it was apprehended and rumour'd abroad, that the Queen, from the neceſſity of her ſituation and compulſion, was reſolv'd to change her profeſs'd Religion, and to embrace the Reform'd Proteſtant faith.

In the month of May this year, a Parliament met at Edinburgh, in which divers ſtatutes were enacted; particularly, an act of indemnity and oblivion for all crimes or miſdemeanours preceding the date of the act: but the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh and Leith was put off; tho' inſiſted upon by many Lords, as an immediate expedient for the welfare of both Kingdoms. In this Queen Mary was much blam'd: ſhe diſmiſs'd the ſeſſions of Parliament, and went off, for her hunting and diverſions in the Counties of Athol and Argyle, for the ſummer ſeaſon.

The ſpirit of the Nation inflam'd againſt Popery.

The ſpirit of the Nation at this time run high to ſuppreſs Popery; and in the month of Auguſt an accident happen'd at her Majeſty's Palace at Edinburgh, which had nigh involv'd the whole Nation into confuſion:—the Queen's houſhold, in her Majeſty's abſence (through the Kingdom) were allow'd a domeſtic prieſt to perform and celebrate Maſs in the Chapel-royal; this encourag'd ſeveral citizens of Edinburgh to repair thither to attend the Popiſh worſhip, in order to introduce themſelves into favour and regard with her Majeſty and her houſhold. The Reform'd preachers in the city of Edinburgh took the alarm at this, and ſo awaken'd the Proteſtants of the city and all round the country, who in numbers were far ſuperior to the Romiſh party, that they collected themſelves to the number of ſome thouſands, and march'd to the Palace gates, which being ſhut againſt them, they forc'd them open, ſeiz'd ſeveral of their fellow-citizens and committed them to priſon; but the prieſt and the greater number, including the houſhold ſervants, made their eſcape by the back gates of the Palace. This occaſion'd a formidable tumult, and expreſſes were diſpatch'd to the Queen to acquaint her Majeſty of the whole affair: thoſe who favour'd the Popiſh faith repreſented, in a monſtrous dreſs, the inſult and indignity offer'd to her Majeſty's ſovereignty and prerogative; and therefore her Majeſty, upon reading over the accounts ſent her of this diſorder, expreſs'd herſelf in great rage, and fully determin'd to execute her higheſt reſentment againſt the offenders, to have them brought to exemplary puniſhment. Her Majeſty's Romiſh favourites at Court had loaded John Knox with the whole guilt of this high inſult: upon which her Majeſty, with advice of her Council, order'd him to be taken into cuſtody. Her Majeſty, in the height of her wrath, told the Privy-council, that ſhe never would return to Edinburgh untill all the ringleaders and authors of ſo daring an affront to her Royalty were brought to exemplary puniſhment: but the Earls of Murray and Glencairn, who were now with her Majeſty, they, by cooling and healing prudent interpoſition (being in confidence and regard with the Queen) ſoften'd the violence, and moderated the keeneſs of her ſpirit and rage.

New diſturbances ariſe about Religion.

John Knox impeach'd, but diſmiſs'd.

John Knox was brought before the Council, and being charg'd with being the author and chief projector of the riot and attempt againſt her Majeſty's Palace; he abſolutely refus'd the whole affair, and, with great preſence of mind and reſolution, expreſs'd himſelf to the Queen and Privy-council to the following purport: that he always preach'd up obedience, and ſubmiſſion to Sovereigns and civil Magiſtrates; that he was a declar'd enemy to rebellion, and a promoter of peace and order in ſociety: but as he was under ſubjection to the authority of his Church, and that he had been order'd and authoriz'd by the Church to acquaint them of any emergent which he judg'd might be of conſequence, and affect the common intereſts of Religion; therefore, in obedience to the orders of his eccleſiaſtic ſuperiors, he had written circular letters to acquaint them with the progreſs and increaſe of Popery; but with great magnanimity diſavow'd his giving the leaſt encouragement to tumultuary proceedings: and further aſſerted, that tho' he had undertaken to his Church to give them timely intelligence in all particulars relating to their public and common intereſt, the employment was by no means his choice; that he had often declin'd it, but ſtill it had been forc'd upon him. Then, addreſſing himſelf to her Majeſty in particular, with extraordinary vivacity and ſpirit, charg'd her Majeſty, in name of the moſt high God, to forſake all her idolatrous worſhip which ſhe nurs'd, ſupported, and propagated, by her example and favour; and this he charg'd upon her, as ſhe might expect for mercy, and to eſcape the wrath of her ſo highly and juſtly offended God, who would call her to judgment for all her truſt.

Morton created Chancellor, and the Reformers refer'd for redreſs to the Earl of Murray.

The Earl of Morton, now Chancellor and Preſident of the Council, order'd Knox to be ſilenc'd, and not to ſpeak any further on his peril, that the Queen thereby might be ſoften'd: then Knox was order'd to withdraw; and, after ſome deliberation, it was reſolv'd, that whatever applications or grievances the Reformers had to lay before her Majeſty ſhould be deliver'd in by the Earl of Murray; and by his Lordſhip they ſhould have their returns. The Queen however continued in very bad temper againſt Knox and the other Reform'd preachers, believing them the authors and fomenters of all the inſults offer'd to the prieſts and others of the Romiſh faith.

I can't thoroughly acquit old Knox, nor his fraternity, of a ſpirit of prieſtcraft and holy deceit in this inſtance; for this vein and caſt is almoſt a natural and neceſſary conſequence of the inauguration of all prieſts, of whatever ſect or denomination, to give the colour of ſanctity to their moſt indirect, baſe, or ſelfiſh and deſigning practices, and, under either the cloak or the roſe, to commit the vileſt actions; a prieſt or clergyman of a miſchievous and wicked deſigning turn of mind is more dangerous, and ought to be more narrowly inſpected in the Commonwealth, than any other ſpecies, as capable, under the cloak of ſanctity, to carry all his pernicious deſigns into execution.

This

This year, 1663, was remarkable for ſeveral great events and alterations: the Queen, with tears and much interceſſion, obtain'd a pardon for the Primate of St. Andrew's; who had been try'd and caſt for authorizing of Maſs publickly, as I have already mentioned. Next, the Queen receiv'd the depreſſing and affecting news of the death of the Duke of Guiſe her uncle: and that upon her entering into apparent friendſhip and negotiations with the Court of London, without paying any regard to the French Court, the Court of France had thought proper to withdraw and ſtop payment of her jointure, as Queen of France. Several alterations this year.

The Queen-mother, Queen Mary's mother-in-law, with the Cardinal of Lorrain, however, concerted together to make an offer to Queen Mary to ballance the loſs of her jointure and revenue which the French Court had withdrawn from her: this offer was made by a propoſal of bringing on again, and concluding, a treaty betwixt Mary and Charles Arch-duke of Auſtria. The Cardinal of Lorrain did undertake to his niece Queen Mary, to accompliſh the affair, and to procure her the County of Tyrole for her jointure, in order thereby to detach her from an alliance and connection with England: but Queen Mary, from a principle of honour, and confiding in Queen Elizabeth, and being willing to be in friendſhip with her and the Court of London, did communicate this offer by the Cardinal of Lorrain to Queen Elizabeth: upon which Elizabeth, after conſulting with her Privy-council, order'd Randolph her Ambaſſador to notify her pleaſure as Queen of England to the Queen of Scots; which was, that if Queen Mary did intend to eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe behov'd to make choice of one of Elizabeth's nomination, and that ſhe recommended to Queen Mary for the ſecond time Dudley, as a fit perſon for her royal conſort; which choice would be agreeable to the whole of England, and in particular to her Majeſty: and if Queen Mary did agree to this, Elizabeth would ſecure to Mary a parliamentary ratification of her right to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England after Elizabeth's deceaſe; and that a treaty of laſting peace betwixt both Nations ſhould be directly eſtabliſh'd, for their mutual ſupport and ſafety. Great offers made to Mary by France. Elizabeth preſſes Mary to marry an Engliſh Nobleman.

Theſe offers from Elizabeth to Queen Mary, were communicated to the Court of France by Foixius the French Ambaſſador reſiding at London: the old Queen of France mother to the late King Francis, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, were greatly alarm'd, and afraid that, upon ſuch advantageous offers, Queen Mary would deſert the French intereſt, and unite in friendſhip with England: therefore the Cardinal of Lorrain, by orders of the French Court, inſinuated ſtrongly to Queen Mary, that the marriage propos'd to her by the Queen of England was below her rank; that Dudley was by no means her equal: that Queen Elizabeth had no real deſire to promote this marriage; but being afraid of Mary as her only rival, and that ſhe would be too great and might eclipſe her, ſhe wanted therefore to have Mary's marriage ſettled and over. Crocus was ſent over with renew'd offers from the Cardinal of Lorrain to Mary, concerning her marriage with the Arch-duke of Auſtria; and with large promiſes of renewing all former treaties with the Scots Nation: yea, proffering to grant them not only the liberties they formerly enjoy'd in France, but likewiſe many new and extenſive privileges which were yielded to no other Kingdom; provided Scotland ſtood in the preſent conjuncture ſtedfaſt and faithful in the intereſt of France. But the Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation were at this time very coolly affected to the French Nation, becauſe of the late behaviour of the Court of France, who had withdrawn Hamilton's patent and eſtate as Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and remov'd the Scots from the French body-guards, which honour the Scots enjoy'd, and juſtly purchas'd by their merit and bravery in the cauſe of France. The intrigues of the Court of France, diſcover'd by Elizabeth. Crocus renews the ſolicitations from the Court of France.

The French, by Crocus, ſolicited in the ſtrongeſt manner to have the Scots fall in with the preſent views and advantageous offers of France, and to reject Queen Elizabeth's offers of ſettling the ſucceſſion to her Crown upon Mary by ſo diſhonourable a condition as Mary's complying to marry Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite: the French Ambaſſador ſuggeſted to Mary, that a parliamentary ſettlement in England was no fix'd ſecurity for her rights; but might by their conſtitution be revers'd by the next Parliament. However, Queen Mary ſhew'd a thorough inclination to peace and friendſhip with Elizabeth of England, provided the Engliſh Miniſtry were not too encroaching and exorbitant in their demands.

Mary was in great difficulty what part to take, and how to maintain peace with England, without creating a jealouſy and miſunderſtanding at the Court of France: but ſhe had no deſire to have Dudley for her conſort, being convinced it would not be agreeable to the body and chiefs of the Nobility and Gentry of her Kingdom. Queen Mary ſtudied at this juncture to compoſe and gratify the minds of the Reformers in Scotland, who were in great rage and violently ſet againſt her Majeſty for giving encouragement and protection to the Romiſh emiſſaries. Her Majeſty, among many other good ſtatutes, had it this year enacted by Parliament, that any convicted of adultery ſhould ſuffer death: her Majeſty likewiſe preſided in perſon in the High Courts of Juſtice, to be witneſs to the equity, impartiality, and good behaviour of the Judges; and promoted every thing which had a tendency to encreaſe the commerce and wealth of her People: but ſuch was the ſpirit and indignation of the Reformers, excited as was thought by the Earl of Murray's encouragement and ſecret approbation, that it gave the Queen great uneaſineſs: therefore, to relieve and to aſſiſt her in her perplex'd ſituation, ſhe determin'd to recall the Earl of Lenox and to reſtore him to his honours and eſtate, by taking off the attainder. Mary in great perplexity, how to conduct herſelf on all hands.

Among

In the month of May this year, a Parliament met at Edinburgh, in which divers ſtatutes were enacted; particularly, an act of indemnity and oblivion for all crimes or miſdemeanours preceding the date of the act: but the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh and Leith was put off; tho' inſiſted upon by many Lords, as an immediate expedient for the welfare of both Kingdoms. In this Queen Mary was much blam'd: ſhe diſmiſs'd the ſeſſions of Parliament, and went off, for her hunting and diverſions in the Counties of Athol and Argyle, for the ſummer ſeaſon.

The ſpirit of the Nation inflam'd againſt Popery.

The ſpirit of the Nation at this time run high to ſuppreſs Popery; and in the month of Auguſt an accident happen'd at her Majeſty's Palace at Edinburgh, which had nigh involv'd the whole Nation into confuſion:—the Queen's houſhold, in her Majeſty's abſence (through the Kingdom) were allow'd a domeſtic prieſt to perform and celebrate Maſs in the Chapel-royal; this encourag'd ſeveral citizens of Edinburgh to repair thither to attend the Popiſh worſhip, in order to introduce themſelves into favour and regard with her Majeſty and her houſhold. The Reform'd preachers in the city of Edinburgh took the alarm at this, and ſo awaken'd the Proteſtants of the city and all round the country, who in numbers were far ſuperior to the Romiſh party, that they collected themſelves to the number of ſome thouſands, and march'd to the Palace gates, which being ſhut againſt them, they forc'd them open, ſeiz'd ſeveral of their fellow-citizens and committed them to priſon; but the prieſt and the greater number, including the houſhold ſervants, made their eſcape by the back gates of the Palace. This occaſion'd a formidable tumult, and expreſſes were diſpatch'd to the Queen to acquaint her Majeſty of the whole affair: thoſe who favour'd the Popiſh faith repreſented, in a monſtrous dreſs, the inſult and indignity offer'd to her Majeſty's ſovereignty and prerogative; and therefore her Majeſty, upon reading over the accounts ſent her of this diſorder, expreſs'd herſelf in great rage, and fully determin'd to execute her higheſt reſentment againſt the offenders, to have them brought to exemplary puniſhment. Her Majeſty's Romiſh favourites at Court had loaded John Knox with the whole guilt of this high inſult: upon which her Majeſty, with advice of her Council, order'd him to be taken into cuſtody. Her Majeſty, in the height of her wrath, told the Privy-council, that ſhe never would return to Edinburgh untill all the ringleaders and authors of ſo daring an affront to her Royalty were brought to exemplary puniſhment: but the Earls of Murray and Glencairn, who were now with her Majeſty, they, by cooling and healing prudent interpoſition (being in confidence and regard with the Queen) ſoften'd the violence, and moderated the keeneſs of her ſpirit and rage.

New diſturbances ariſe about Religion.

John Knox impeach'd, but diſmiſs'd.

John Knox was brought before the Council, and being charg'd with being the author and chief projector of the riot and attempt againſt her Majeſty's Palace; he abſolutely refus'd the whole affair, and, with great preſence of mind and reſolution, expreſs'd himſelf to the Queen and Privy-council to the following purport: that he always preach'd up obedience, and ſubmiſſion to Sovereigns and civil Magiſtrates; that he was a declar'd enemy to rebellion, and a promoter of peace and order in ſociety: but as he was under ſubjection to the authority of his Church, and that he had been order'd and authoriz'd by the Church to acquaint them of any emergent which he judg'd might be of conſequence, and affect the common intereſts of Religion; therefore, in obedience to the orders of his eccleſiaſtic ſuperiors, he had written circular letters to acquaint them with the progreſs and increaſe of Popery; but with great magnanimity diſavow'd his giving the leaſt encouragement to tumultuary proceedings: and further aſſerted, that tho' he had undertaken to his Church to give them timely intelligence in all particulars relating to their public and common intereſt, the employment was by no means his choice; that he had often declin'd it, but ſtill it had been forc'd upon him. Then, addreſſing himſelf to her Majeſty in particular, with extraordinary vivacity and ſpirit, charg'd her Majeſty, in name of the moſt high God, to forſake all her idolatrous worſhip which ſhe nurs'd, ſupported, and propagated, by her example and favour; and this he charg'd upon her, as ſhe might expect for mercy, and to eſcape the wrath of her ſo highly and juſtly offended God, who would call her to judgment for all her truſt.

Morton created Chancellor, and the Reformers refer'd for redreſs to the Earl of Murray.

The Earl of Morton, now Chancellor and Preſident of the Council, order'd Knox to be ſilenc'd, and not to ſpeak any further on his peril, that the Queen thereby might be ſoften'd: then Knox was order'd to withdraw; and, after ſome deliberation, it was reſolv'd, that whatever applications or grievances the Reformers had to lay before her Majeſty ſhould be deliver'd in by the Earl of Murray; and by his Lordſhip they ſhould have their returns. The Queen however continued in very bad temper againſt Knox and the other Reform'd preachers, believing them the authors and fomenters of all the inſults offer'd to the prieſts and others of the Romiſh faith.

I can't thoroughly acquit old Knox, nor his fraternity, of a ſpirit of prieſtcraft and holy deceit in this inſtance; for this vein and caſt is almoſt a natural and neceſſary conſequence of the inauguration of all prieſts, of whatever ſect or denomination, to give the colour of ſanctity to their moſt indirect, baſe, or ſelfiſh and deſigning practices, and, under either the cloak or the roſe, to commit the vileſt actions; a prieſt or clergyman of a miſchievous and wicked deſigning turn of mind is more dangerous, and ought to be more narrowly inſpected in the Commonwealth, than any other ſpecies, as capable, under the cloak of ſanctity, to carry all his pernicious deſigns into execution.

This

This year, 1663, was remarkable for ſeveral great events and alterations: the Queen, with tears and much interceſſion, obtain'd a pardon for the Primate of St. Andrew's; who had been try'd and caſt for authorizing of Maſs publickly, as I have already mentioned. Next, the Queen receiv'd the depreſſing and affecting news of the death of the Duke of Guiſe her uncle: and that upon her entering into apparent friendſhip and negotiations with the Court of London, without paying any regard to the French Court, the Court of France had thought proper to withdraw and ſtop payment of her jointure, as Queen of France. Several alterations this year.

The Queen-mother, Queen Mary's mother-in-law, with the Cardinal of Lorrain, however, concerted together to make an offer to Queen Mary to ballance the loſs of her jointure and revenue which the French Court had withdrawn from her: this offer was made by a propoſal of bringing on again, and concluding, a treaty betwixt Mary and Charles Arch-duke of Auſtria. The Cardinal of Lorrain did undertake to his niece Queen Mary, to accompliſh the affair, and to procure her the County of Tyrole for her jointure, in order thereby to detach her from an alliance and connection with England: but Queen Mary, from a principle of honour, and confiding in Queen Elizabeth, and being willing to be in friendſhip with her and the Court of London, did communicate this offer by the Cardinal of Lorrain to Queen Elizabeth: upon which Elizabeth, after conſulting with her Privy-council, order'd Randolph her Ambaſſador to notify her pleaſure as Queen of England to the Queen of Scots; which was, that if Queen Mary did intend to eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe behov'd to make choice of one of Elizabeth's nomination, and that ſhe recommended to Queen Mary for the ſecond time Dudley, as a fit perſon for her royal conſort; which choice would be agreeable to the whole of England, and in particular to her Majeſty: and if Queen Mary did agree to this, Elizabeth would ſecure to Mary a parliamentary ratification of her right to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England after Elizabeth's deceaſe; and that a treaty of laſting peace betwixt both Nations ſhould be directly eſtabliſh'd, for their mutual ſupport and ſafety. Great offers made to Mary by France. Elizabeth preſſes Mary to marry an Engliſh Nobleman.

Theſe offers from Elizabeth to Queen Mary, were communicated to the Court of France by Foixius the French Ambaſſador reſiding at London: the old Queen of France mother to the late King Francis, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, were greatly alarm'd, and afraid that, upon ſuch advantageous offers, Queen Mary would deſert the French intereſt, and unite in friendſhip with England: therefore the Cardinal of Lorrain, by orders of the French Court, inſinuated ſtrongly to Queen Mary, that the marriage propos'd to her by the Queen of England was below her rank; that Dudley was by no means her equal: that Queen Elizabeth had no real deſire to promote this marriage; but being afraid of Mary as her only rival, and that ſhe would be too great and might eclipſe her, ſhe wanted therefore to have Mary's marriage ſettled and over. Crocus was ſent over with renew'd offers from the Cardinal of Lorrain to Mary, concerning her marriage with the Arch-duke of Auſtria; and with large promiſes of renewing all former treaties with the Scots Nation: yea, proffering to grant them not only the liberties they formerly enjoy'd in France, but likewiſe many new and extenſive privileges which were yielded to no other Kingdom; provided Scotland ſtood in the preſent conjuncture ſtedfaſt and faithful in the intereſt of France. But the Nobility and Gentry of the Scots Nation were at this time very coolly affected to the French Nation, becauſe of the late behaviour of the Court of France, who had withdrawn Hamilton's patent and eſtate as Duke of Chatle le Rhault, and remov'd the Scots from the French body-guards, which honour the Scots enjoy'd, and juſtly purchas'd by their merit and bravery in the cauſe of France. The intrigues of the Court of France, diſcover'd by Elizabeth. Crocus renews the ſolicitations from the Court of France.

The French, by Crocus, ſolicited in the ſtrongeſt manner to have the Scots fall in with the preſent views and advantageous offers of France, and to reject Queen Elizabeth's offers of ſettling the ſucceſſion to her Crown upon Mary by ſo diſhonourable a condition as Mary's complying to marry Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite: the French Ambaſſador ſuggeſted to Mary, that a parliamentary ſettlement in England was no fix'd ſecurity for her rights; but might by their conſtitution be revers'd by the next Parliament. However, Queen Mary ſhew'd a thorough inclination to peace and friendſhip with Elizabeth of England, provided the Engliſh Miniſtry were not too encroaching and exorbitant in their demands.

Mary was in great difficulty what part to take, and how to maintain peace with England, without creating a jealouſy and miſunderſtanding at the Court of France: but ſhe had no deſire to have Dudley for her conſort, being convinced it would not be agreeable to the body and chiefs of the Nobility and Gentry of her Kingdom. Queen Mary ſtudied at this juncture to compoſe and gratify the minds of the Reformers in Scotland, who were in great rage and violently ſet againſt her Majeſty for giving encouragement and protection to the Romiſh emiſſaries. Her Majeſty, among many other good ſtatutes, had it this year enacted by Parliament, that any convicted of adultery ſhould ſuffer death: her Majeſty likewiſe preſided in perſon in the High Courts of Juſtice, to be witneſs to the equity, impartiality, and good behaviour of the Judges; and promoted every thing which had a tendency to encreaſe the commerce and wealth of her People: but ſuch was the ſpirit and indignation of the Reformers, excited as was thought by the Earl of Murray's encouragement and ſecret approbation, that it gave the Queen great uneaſineſs: therefore, to relieve and to aſſiſt her in her perplex'd ſituation, ſhe determin'd to recall the Earl of Lenox and to reſtore him to his honours and eſtate, by taking off the attainder. Mary in great perplexity, how to conduct herſelf on all hands.

Among

Among other remarkable events of this year was the dreadful plague in London, which had come over with the Engliſh ſoldiery who return'd from France infected: the calamity of London at this time was great, as Cambden relates it; for, out of the hundred and twenty one pariſhes of the then City of London, 21530 dy'd of the contagion in a very ſhort time.

Lenox returns to Scotland.

The beginning of this next year, 1664, Mathew Earl of Lenox return'd to Scotland, and by the Parliament met in January this year, he was put in full poſſeſſion of all his eſtates, titles, and privileges, after an exile of 22 years. In February, of the next year, Henry Lord Darnly follow'd his father into Scotland, being arriv'd to the age of 21 years: Lord Darnly was receiv'd by Queen Mary, with particular marks of eſteem and regard, at the Palace of Weems on the coaſt of Fife, Eaſt from Dyſart; and from the Lord Darnly's firſt appearance at Court it was obſerv'd, her Majeſty ſhew'd a particular affection toward him, and in a little time could not conceal her paſſion and regard: ſo that a report ſoon prevail'd, the Queen would have Lord Darnly for her huſband. He was a young Nobleman of moſt graceful and comely countenance, and of a moſt agreeable fine perſon and ſtature, a fit companion for her royal bed; he was likewiſe deſcended of the ſame royal ſtock of the Stewart's family; and therefore her marriage with Lord Darnly ſhe reſolv'd upon as a direct mean to continue the ſucceſſion in royal deſcent of the Stewarts-family, which otherwiſe might have fail'd.

Darnly's Character.

Queen Mary had different political reaſons, and motives of intereſt and conveniency, to induce her to this match:

Mary's reaſons for marrying Darnly.

Firſt, ſhe dreaded if Darnly did marry into any of the great families of England, as he was great nephew to Henry VIIIth, by their power and influence, and he being born in England, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, and default of her male iſſue, he might lay claim to the Crown of England, and ſo cut off Mary's right of ſucceſſion to the Crown.

Next, ſhe hop'd, by marrying Lord Darnly, not to give ſuch offence to the French Court. And,

Thirdly, ſhe, by this match, continued the royal line in the ſame name and family, if ſhe happen'd to have male iſſue.

Laſtly, ſhe by this got clear of Elizabeth's importunity concerning her marrying Dudley.

Queen Elizabeth viſits Cambridge, and returns to promote Mary's marriage with Leiceſter.

Queen Elizabeth, this year, after viſiting the Univerſity of Cambridge, and receiving the compliments of all the Colleges with the greateſt magnificence and ſolemnity, and after taking a full view of the place, return'd the Univerſity thanks, in an elegant Latin oration, for the honours pay'd her, and the affection, loyalty, and regard ſhewn her Majeſty: then, having receiv'd from her Miniſtry and the Earl of Murray ſome hints of Queen Mary's projected marriage, ſhe returns and concerts with her Miniſtry to traverſe this ſyſtem; which the Earl of Murray artfully repreſented to the Engliſh Miniſtry would directly introduce, or rather reſtore, Popery and confuſion into Scotland, and ſo greatly affect the Reform'd intereſt.

Queen Elizabeth, to prepare matters for Dudley's marriage, promotes him firſt to be maſter of the horſe to her Majeſty, with a patent creating him Lord Denbigh; and next day Earl of Leiceſter: then Elizabeth ſet Leiceſter to work to make his addreſſes by letters to Queen Mary, expreſſing his high love and regard for her Majeſty; and to operate with the greater force upon her affections, he endeavour'd to repreſent Bacon Lord Chancellor as her Majeſty's enemy, who had ſecretly projected to cut off Queen Mary from the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England. By this means Leiceſter was ſo powerful as to put the Chancellor out of favour with Elizabeth, and to beget a miſunderſtanding with the Queen, untill a little after, by the interpoſition of Cecil, he was reſtor'd to favour by his royal Miſtreſs; having convinced the Queen that Leiceſter had done him unjuſtice and miſrepreſented his behaviour. Queen Elizabeth on this occaſion took every opportunity, and embraced all meaſures, to perſwade Mary, that ſhe was ſincerely diſpos'd to have the right of ſucceſſion abſolutely ſettled on her by Parliament, if ſhe did comply to have Dudley.

Randolf ſent to Queen Mary,

Upon this account Elizabeth order'd Randolph her Ambaſſador to Queen Mary, to ſignify her great averſion at the thoughts of her being married to Lord Darnly; and that ſuch was the diſcontent of the Parliament of England, at the firſt hints and notice of ſuch an alliance, that ſhe, as Queen of England, was under neceſſity to diſſolve the ſeſſions of Parliament, in order to prevent both houſes from coming to ſome very ſtrong and vigorous reſolutions againſt Queen Mary's right to the ſucceſſion: and therefore Elizabeth inſiſted for a declaration on this head from Queen Mary.

and Elizabeth behaves in too dictating a manner.

This was conducting matters towards a Queen in too abſolute and dictatorial a manner, and lording it over a Sovereign and her Kingdom: Queen Elizabeth carried this matter too high; but it was owing to the reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit of the Earl of Murray, who wanted to have the ſole direction of Queen Mary and of Scots affairs: finding her diſpos'd to marry in the Lenox-family, he knew the immediate conſequence would be the decline of his power and influence. Queen Mary was ſo condeſcending and prudent, though her affection was fix'd on the Lord Darnly, and that ſhe was determin'd to have him for her huſband; yet, from the importunity of Randolph's ſolicitations, and from the natural eaſineſs and complaiſance

plaiſance of her ſpirit, ſhe very politely appears diſengag'd; and apparently falls in with Elizabeth's and her Miniſtry's propoſitions, to nominate Commiſſioners to meet at Berwick, and to treat concerning her marriage with the Earl of Leiceſter. To give the greater force to her applications and deſigns, Elizabeth ſent at this time Nicholas Throgmorton as Ambaſſador-extraordinary to preſs Queen Mary into a compliance, and to enlarge upon the great importance to herſelf, and to both Kingdoms, of her accepting for her huſband the perſon propos'd by her and the Parliament of England. This was ſomething extraordinary, for the Parliament of England to lay their commands upon a neighbouring Sovereign to marry the perſon they preferr'd; but this was all at the ſecret procurement and inſtigation of the Earl of Murray, to embarraſs the Queen and to break off the marrying of Darnly.

The Commiſſioners, according to agreement, met at Berwick in November 1664: the Earl of Bedford and Randolph for Queen Elizabeth; the Earl of Murray and Liddington for Queen Mary. The Engliſh Commiſſioners, with fluent eloquence, repreſented the mighty conſequences and advantages which unavoidably muſt ariſe to Queen Mary, and to all Scotland, by accepting of the Earl of Leiceſter for her huſband; promiſing to ſecure, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to her, the ſucceſſion to the Throne of England; to eſtabliſh perpetual and ſtrict friendſhip, peace, and good faith with Scotland, upon this ſettlement. The ſum of the whole congreſs, and the meaning of their repreſentations, being in ſhort that, if Scotland did not obey and ſubmit to England in all matters of conſequence, then they might expect war, reſentment, and all the bad offices in their power to diſturb the peace.

The Earl of Murray was in this reſpect a double negotiator; for behind the curtain he acted an Engliſhman, and the Scotſman in appearance as Queen Mary's Commiſſioner, to treat concerning the marriage with the Earl of Leiceſter.

Murray cenſur'd.

I approve of the Earl of Murray in promoting the Proteſtant intereſt, for his zeal and attachment to the Reform'd Religion, which he profeſs'd; but his treachery and underhand deceit to Queen Mary none can juſtify: for, under truſt, he travers'd and embarraſs'd all her councils and deſigns which did not favour his private and artful views: in this there was no Religion nor common honeſty.

The congreſs diſſolv'd.

The Earl of Murray, with Liddington, inſiſted with the Engliſh Commiſſioners, that it was below the dignity, honour, and majeſty of an abſolute Queen, to have a huſband forc'd upon her; and that it was inconſiſtent with her honour, and the honour of her Kingdom, that ſhe, who had been addreſs'd for, and ſought in, marriage by the Emperor Ferdinand, the Prince of Condè, and the Duke of Ferrara, ſhould now accept of a new-created Peer, who but as yeſterday was a private Gentleman. After long conferences to no purpoſe, the congreſs of the Commiſſioners was diſſolv'd; and then the Earl of Murray ſecretly animates the Queen of England and her Miniſtry againſt Queen Mary, impreſſing them with his own ſuppoſitions, that Mary's deſign was, by marrying Darnly, to make her right of ſucceſſion to the Crown of England the ſtronger, and to promote her darling Religion the Romiſh faith, to which ſhe muſt be own'd to have been bigotted, which was only owing to her education. Queen Elizabeth, finding all efforts to interrupt the marriage of Lord Darnly with Mary of no force, begun to utter threatnings and ſeverities againſt the Lenox family.

The Lenox family in diſgrace with Elizabeth.

The Counteſs of Lenox was taken into cuſtody, and her ſon Charles, her huſband the Earl of Lenox, was order'd by proclamation to return to England, under the ſevereſt pains and penalties. The Lord Darnly was commanded, as a native and ſubject of England, to return to his native land under pain of high treaſon. My Lord Lenox excus'd himſelf by a letter, in a very reſpectful and obliging manner, to the Queen of England; and vindicating himſelf from returning to England, pleaded his privilege as a native of Scotland, and a Peer of the Kingdom: but his ſon Lord Darnly was commanded, under pain of being declar'd guilty of treaſon, to return to England forthwith. My Lord Darnly, with great ſubmiſſion, pleaded of Elizabeth not to urge or inſiſt ſo ſtrongly to interrupt or ſtop his promotion to ſuch high honours. He aſſur'd Elizabeth of his cordial regard for her Majeſty, and that if he were once eſtabliſh'd in the Sovereignty as King of Scotland, he would give evident proofs of his hearty regard for her Majeſty, and for the preſervation of peace, friendſhip, and a good underſtanding betwixt both Kingdoms.

Elizabeth reconcil'd to Darnly's marriage with Mary.

Queen Elizabeth knew the mild, pacific, and good diſpoſition of Darnly, and therefore the more eaſily drop'd her demand of his return to England: her Majeſty was likewiſe, from long experience, well ſatisfy'd of the open, generous, and good diſpoſition of the Earl of Lenox, and his ſincere attachment to her Majeſty and to the Engliſh Nation; ſhe therefore, without much further noiſe or negotiation, allow'd Lord Darnly's marriage with Queen Mary of Scotland to go on: one reaſon, among many more, compos'd Elizabeth's mind upon this point; that Queen Mary of Scotland, her only rival, was, by this low and inferior match, render'd uncapable of any enterprizes of conſequence againſt England or her; and that now the turbulent and diſorderly Nobility of Scotland, who had acted as ſo many Kings for about twenty years paſt in a ſtate of anarchy, would not be ſoon and eaſily ſubjected to Sovereignty, nor brought to a dutiful and peaceable ſubmiſſion to their preſent King and Queen: therefore Elizabeth was eaſy in mind, becauſe ſhe was certain the Nobility of Scotland, by their reſtleſs ſpirit, would cut out ſufficient work at home for Queen Mary and her huſband.

Elizabeth's different means to ſtop Mary's marriage.

Elizabeth had us'd her utmoſt efforts, by the ſecret inſtigations of the Earl of Murray, to ſtop Mary's marriage with the Lord Darnly: firſt, by inſiſting for Lenox and his ſon's return to England: ſecondly, by threatnings of attacking the frontier of Scotland, for which ſome forces had receiv'd orders to advance to the border of England to be in readineſs to enter Scotland: by encouraging and ſupporting the Scots Nobility who oppos'd the marriage: by reſtoring to favour the Lady Catherine Gray and the Earl of Hertford, who had pretenſions to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England: and, laſtly, by traverſing all the negotiations of the Scots with France or Spain. Yet after all her pains, and finding theſe efforts of no ſucceſs, ſhe continued for ſome time to reject Darnly, and to ſolicit ſtrongly, by Throgmorton and Randolph, to perſwade her to accept of Leiceſter.

Mary's affection was fix'd from the firſt ſight ſhe had of Darnly; therefore there was no alteration of her affections and reſolutions from marrying him: yet Mary, with great addreſs and cunning, allow'd Liddington at the Court of London to carry on the joke with the Engliſh, and treat with Leiceſter and the Duke of Norfolk, but chiefly with his Grace, as the moſt ſuitable perſon by his rank to match with the Queen of Scots; tho' at the ſame time Mary's marriage with Darnly was concluded and ſettled in all reſpects.

Queen Mary, being determin'd to hearken to no advice nor threatnings to retard her nuptials, and her public teſtimony of her paſſionate love for Henry Lord Darnly, ſhe created him Lord Ardmanoch, Earl of Roſs, and Duke of Rothſay, and gave ſuch indications and prognoſtics of her intended marriage, that the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earls of Murray and Glencairn, from an ambitious diſcontent that they had not been conſulted, regarded, nor entruſted in this important negotiation and marriage treaty, aſſociated themſelves with ſeveral of the Scots Nobility and Gentry, to oppoſe, and if poſſible to diſſolve, this marriage by open force; but Queen Mary, to counter-act all their oppoſition, procur'd, by Chiſolm Biſhop of Dunblane, a diſpenſation from his Holineſs of Rome to conſtitute the legality and the legitimacy of the marriage: for Queen Mary and Lord Darnly were ſo nigh by blood, that Queen Mary was in fact ſiſter to the Lord Darnly's mother, by Henry the VIIIth's ſiſter, who was firſt married to James the Vth and then to Douglaſs Earl of Angus. Having obtain'd the Pope's permiſſion for the marriage, Queen Mary next, to fortify herſelf againſt the oppoſition, reſtor'd George Earl of Huntley to his eſtate and honours, and recall'd the Earl of Bothwell from his exile in France: this wicked man was no ſooner return'd to his native land, than he meditated the deſtruction of the Earl of Murray, and projected to have him cut off.

The Scots Nobility enter into a confederacy to interrupt Mary's marriage, but are fruſtrated.

Here I can't but obſerve, that the Earl of Murray had always the ſtrongeſt reaſons, for his perſonal ſafety, to be guarded againſt the Queen's favourites; for both Queen Mary's and her mother's favourites and confidents had often attempted to deſtroy the Earl of Murray; and therefore he very wiſely retain'd always a ſuſpicion of their deſigns, and dreaded their friendſhips: the Earl of Bothwell being arraign'd for attempting to aſſaſſinate the Earl of Murray, conſcious of the event of his trial, made his eſcape to France, where he for ſome time remain'd.

There was none who exerted himſelf with ſuch diligence and concern to promote the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnly as the Italian muſician David Rizio: this Rizio had come over with the Savoyard Ambaſſador Moret in quality of one of his band of muſick, and being well qualify'd in his profeſſion came ſoon to be taken notice of, as a celebrated performer, at the Court of Scotland. Queen Mary was a great lover of muſick, and a good judge of it; by this, Rizio came to be firſt introduc'd to her Majeſty's favour; and as he had procur'd acceſs to her Majeſty's preſence and particular regards, by excelling in his profeſſion, he being well provided with Corinthian, and of ſufficient vivacity and ſpirit, had the addreſs and ſucceſs to procure himſelf ſuch a very particular and intereſting truſt from Queen Mary, to be her private Secretary for writing her French and other foreign letters; which made him at length in the ſecret of all her Majeſty's correſpondence abroad, and her tranſactions with her French and other foreign allies: he became ſo neceſſary to the Queen as to procure himſelf diſtinguiſh'd marks of her favour, and at length to be nominated one of her Secretaries of State; which created great uneaſineſs at Court and produc'd many mal-contents.

David Rizio the great promoter of the marriage.

The Nobility are in combination and confederacy againſt Rizio.

The Nobility of Scotland begun to look with envy and indignation on the repeated, ſudden, and extraordinary preferments of a ſtranger, now exalted to the firſt offices of the State from the loweſt rank: among others, highly offended at this behaviour in her Majeſty, was Maitland of Lethington, who had been formerly in great regard with the Queen, and by her entruſted with an embaſſy to Elizabeth concerning the ſucceſſion to the Crown; but he, being a man of ready wit and great penetration, finding himſelf eclips'd and neglected by David Rizio, artfully diſſembles his diſpleaſure and reſentment, and ſeemingly courts and ſolicits Rizio's favour and eſteem, by a full approbation of all his meaſures, and adminiſtring to him all the alluring flatteries which might amuſe and blind Rizio. By theſe means, Lethington got ſo far the aſcendant upon David's affections, that he was, thro' his intereſt, ſoon nominated to go Ambaſſador to the Court of London, to excuſe the not returning of Lenox and Lord Darnly, according to Queen Elizabeth's proclamation and requiſition; and to procure Elizabeth's approbation of the marriage with Lord Darnly: and in order to this, Lethington, as a man of eloquence, was order'd to repreſent the proſpects and advantages, ſo favourable to England, which neceſſarily muſt be the conſequences of this marriage.

Rizio's character.

Lethington

Lethington foreſaw that Rizio's activity and zeal for promoting this marriage, ſo acceptable to the Queen, would in the event produce his overthrow from the Nobility of Scotland; and therefore it was that Lethington ſupported his meaſures, on this occaſion, with ſo much keenneſs and diligence.

When Lethington was gone upon his embaſſy to the Court of London, David Rizio with all poſſible care haſten'd on the Queen's marriage with the Lord Darnly, in order to eſtabliſh his favour with Darnly, and to ſecure his intereſt when he came to be Sovereign: therefore David perſwades Queen Mary to ſummon the Parliament to meet at Stirling, May the 20th, 1565, to ſit upon divers weighty and important affairs. The Parliament being met according to her Majeſty's proclamation, the firſt thing laid before them was the Queen's marriage with the Lord Darnly, in order to have their approbation and ratification of it: here Rizio exerted his talents to perſuade and influence a majority, which at length, after great debates and ſtrong oppoſition, was carried for the Queen; and the Lord Darnly voted to be acknowleg'd as King upon this marriage.

The marriage approv'd by Parliament.

The chief and head of the Proteſting Lords, who made the greateſt ſtruggle againſt this marriage, was Andrew Lord Ochiltry, whoſe chief motive for oppoſition was, that Lord Darnly was of the Romiſh faith. The Earls of Murray, Glencairn, Argyle, Rothes, and others, being join'd by the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, did not countenance this meeting of Parliament, nor give their attendance: but how ſoon the ſeſſions of Parliament, or rather this extraordinary meeting, was broke up, theſe mention'd Lords came to Stirling; and, having held a ſecret conſultation, enter'd into a confederacy to ſupport each other, and to adhere to their preſent reſolutions with vigour to oppoſe the approaching marriage, under pretence of danger to the Reform'd Religion, and to the welfare, peace, and proſperity of the Kingdom.

Lord Ochiltry was head of the Proteſting Lords in Parliament.

Deſigning men, when opportunity ſerves them, make Religion the cover for all their ambitious and indirect practices in any Government, as the moſt effectual means to inflame the minds of the multitude and to excite tumultuary proceedings. Accordingly, in the preſent inſtance, the diſaffected Lords, guided by the topics of the Earl of Murray, ſpirited up the people of Edinburgh even to open ſedition and rebellion: they aſſembled in bodies, prepar'd arms, and nominated their ſeveral commanding officers; declaring openly their reſolution to oppoſe the marriage of the Queen with their united forces. However, her Majeſty, no wiſe intimidated with all theſe gloomy appearances, and reſolute to aſſert her dignity, did effect the celebration of her marriage with Lord Darnly the middle of July this year, and the day following had him proclaim'd King, and join'd in the Sovereignty with her Majeſty.

Religion made the cloak of all their proceedings.

The marriage ſolemniz'd.

The Duke of Chatle le Rhault did engage in the preſent oppoſition to her Majeſty's ſyſtem, out of no motive but his conceiv'd and rooted prejudices againſt the Lenox Family; whom the Hamilton-family had not only exil'd and forfeited, but in former reigns, as I have already taken notice of, us'd in a very unjuſtifiable manner with great barbarity. I am therefore not a little ſurpriz'd at the falſe character given of Chatle le Rhault by Campden in his Hiſtory of Elizabeth, wherein he without foundation denominates him an honeſt man! a man who in his behaviour and political conduct had varied as much as the magnetic needle, and who had been remarkably inconſiſtent, mean, and low in the ſtate of his greateſt grandeur, after the death of James the Fifth; but the Lords and others, now in the oppoſition and confederacy againſt the Queen and her marriage, were reſolute to give her Majeſty all the diſturbance and trouble poſſible: therefore they procur'd of the Clergy to call their aſſembly to meet upon extraordinary affairs. In this aſſembly of the Clergy, by the fire and zeal of the Clergy which is ſeldom well-tim'd or from diſintereſted principles and views, the Clergy were perſuaded, by the influence of Murray and the other Lords, to petition her Majeſty concerning a variety of articles which they denominated grievances; but at this time were only mov'd to inflame the Nation againſt the young King and the Queen, and to promote party and ſedition in the State.

The Duke of Chatle le R hault' grounds of diſcontent.

The Clergy are alarmed, and petition the Queen.

This petition, conſiſting of eight articles, ſetting forth their demands, the Queen receiv'd with great mildneſs; but the demands the Clergy made were of ſuch a nature that they knew her Majeſty would not comply with them, and therefore it would give them a proper pretext for encreaſing and ſupporting diſſaffection.

Queen Mary, as to the firſt of their demands, anſwer'd the Clergy, that ſhe never would conſent to the total abolition of maſs; ſhe knew no error nor wrong in the celebration of it; ſhe had been educated in the Romiſh Religion, and hitherto adher'd to it, and was reſolv'd now not to change her religion: but ſhe was fully determin'd to allow liberty of conſcience to all her loving ſubjects, and that they ſhould have full freedom to ſer e and worſhip God in what manner ſoever they and their conſciences did approve of; but any other alterations ſhe could not agree to without the authority and approbation of Parliament: that ſhe was determin'd not to impoſe upon her ſubjects any religion but what was their own choice, and that her Majeſty would readily and chearfully agree to the determination of the Eſtates in Parliament in all points relating to religion: but as to her Majeſty's paſſing from her right of Patronage, or preſentation to livings, her Majeſty could by no means comply with, as too great a diminution of her Revenue, already ſo much contracted; yet ſhe would chearfully concur in any other reaſonable and equitable meaſure, for increaſing the livings and appointments of the inferior Clergy: that, as to the ſupport of the poor, her Majeſty's inclination and readineſs

Queen Mary's anſwer to the Clergy.

dineſs to ſuccour the diſtreſs'd was well known; and ſhe would be ready on all occaſions to demonſtrate her willingneſs to relieve their neceſſities, if it ſhould be at the hazard of retrenching her own neceſſary expences and ſupport. The diſaffected Lords and Gentry were not ſatisfied with this: they animated the body of the People to oppoſe and defeat the ends of this Marriage by open rebellion; but the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn, with Lord Ochiltry and others, did not gain upon the multitude, as they at firſt expected.

An army rais'd, and ſeveral forfeited.

The Queen with the young King her Conſort collected a body of forces, and firſt march'd to Edinburgh: at their Majeſty's approach, the heads of the rebels deſerted their followers, and made their eſcape. Andrew Slater, Alexander Clerk, Gilbert Lauder, William Harlaw, Michael Rhind, James Engliſh, James Young, and Alexander Gutherie, all Citizens of wealth and rank, were denounc'd rebels, their effects and eſtates all ſeiz'd and ſecur'd for the Crown; but their Majeſties, from their clemency, by the interceſſion of the Magiſtrates of the City of Edinburgh, order'd their eſtates and effects to be reſtor'd to them, and granted them a free pardon.

John Knox uſes King Henry ill, and is forbid preaching.

The King, to compoſe and gratify the minds of his Nobility and People, went to the High Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh to attend upon divine ſervice; but, to John Knox's juſt reproach, inſtead of gaining upon his Majeſty's affections, and reconciling him to the Reform'd manner of doctrine and worſhip, by mildneſs and meekneſs, Knox pour'd out vials of reproach and invectives againſt the Court and the Queen. Upon which Knox was taken into cuſtody, and brought before the Council, where he utter'd ſuch ſtrong things againſt the Queen, and told her Majeſty that ſhe would be the mean and cauſe of the King's ruin by obliging him to go to maſs, that upon this bold behaviour, the Privy-council forbid him to preach or exerciſe his function until further orders from them. The King and Queen then with their forces proceeded to Stirling, to diſlodge the Lords and their army; but upon their Majeſty's approach the Lords fled to Paiſly, not having the reſolution to ſtand an engagement.

The Crown-army marches to Glaſcow.

The laſt of Auguſt their Majeſties march'd five thouſand men to Glaſcow, to purſue the Duke of Chatle le Rhault and the other Lords: the Queen's army forc'd the Lords to decamp from Paiſly, and to retire with precipitation to Hamilton-caſtle. The King and Queen upon this held a Council, wherein it was reſolv'd to ſummon the caſtle of Hamilton to ſurrender, and not to delay attacking them if they refus'd. Accordingly the caſtle was, by order of their Majeſties, ſummon'd by an herald to ſurrender, which the Lords abſolutely deny'd, ſignifying, they reſolv'd next day to give the Crown-army battle: but ſo diſtracted,

The diſaffected Lords fly.

diſconcerted, and divided, were the Lords in all their councils and deliberations, that they thought it not ſafe to risk an engagement, but fled all to Edinburgh. Upon their approach to enter the City, the Governor of the Caſtle play'd not only his ordnance from all his batteries, half-moons, and ravelins, but likewiſe his ſmall-arms, ſo warmly upon them; that they were forc'd to quit Edinburgh, and to make the beſt of their way to the middle frontier towards Dumfries. They had receiv'd large promiſes and encouragements from Maxwell Lord Herris.

The Crown-army returns to Edinburgh, goes over to Fife, and after that to Dumfries.

King Henry with Queen Mary return'd to Edinburgh, and finding the Lords had fled to Dumfries, they call'd a Council, in which they came to ſeveral reſolutions: firſt, it was agreed, that the Earl of Lenox ſhould remain in the Weſt of Scotland with a body of men, as their Majeſty's Lieutenant, to preſerve order and peace there: next, it was reſolv'd, that the Queen with a part of her forces ſhould croſs the Forth into Fife, October the 9th, to reduce all the gentry and others who had aided and aſſiſted the diſaffected Lords. Grange, Pittmilly, Balcomy, and ſeveral more Gentlemen, with ſome farmers, were taken and committed to priſon. The towns of Perth, Dundee, St. Andrew's and Coupar, were forced to pay into the Exchequer large ſums for receiving and ſupplying the Lords with proviſions and implements of war. Having finiſh'd their buſineſs over Fife, their Majeſties return'd to Edinburgh, and having prepar'd their forces to march, they with reſolution ſet out for Dumfries; but the Lord Herris, upon intelligence of the march of the Royal army toward him, inſtead of fulfilling his engagements to the Lords, betray'd them, made interceſſion for himſelf, and came in to the King and Queen, with ample offers of his future faithful ſervices, and was accepted.

The Lords fly to England, and are there ſupported.

Upon this the Duke of Chatle le Rhault, the Earls of Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, Rothes, and Lord Ochiltry, fled to England; they ſtop'd firſt at Carliſle, where they had an interview with the Earl of Bedford, who then was Lord-lieutenant of the Northern counties of England: from thence they went croſs the country to Newcaſtle; and, being arriv'd there, they forwarded the Earl of Murray for London, with inſtructions to ſolicit Queen Elizabeth in the ſtrongeſt manner to make interceſſion for them with Queen Mary.

The whole of their behaviour to Queen Mary had been carried on by the ſecret influence of the Earl of Bedford; and their ſupport was by money, with which he ſupply'd them in order to embroil the Scots nation, on account of the Queen's choice of Darnly. This conduct, if view'd in an impartial and juſt light, was very provoking, inſulting, and encroaching in the Court of London, and inconſiſtent with good neighbourhood among ſo nighly ally'd and connected crown'd heads; eſpecially, when other more healing, ſoft, and uniting meaſures could have been apply'd with ſucceſs, and with ſuperior advantage to both Kingdoms.

But

But what muſt ſeem moſt extraordinary to every honeſt and unprejudic'd reader is, what is affirm'd and allow'd by Elizabeth's own hiſtorian (Campden) and the other beſt of antient Engliſh hiſtories, that Queen Elizabeth, after Queen Mary had ſent an Embaſſy to notify in form her marriage to the Lord Darnly, and to aſſure the Court of London of their Majeſties fix'd and firm reſolution to cultivate peace and friendſhip with England; that after this, I ſay, the Queen of England ſhould uſe Queen Mary ſo harſhly as, two months or more after the marriage, to make an imperious and arbitrary demand of Lord Darnly now King of Scotland, and of his father the Earl of Lenox, to be ſent back to England; and next to inſiſt, that Queen Mary ſhould pardon and reſtore Murray and all the other rebel Lords; and thirdly, to charge the Queen of Scots, in a commanding and threatening ſtile, to take care to preſerve the peace ſubſiſting betwixt both Kingdoms. The whole of this was an open indignity to the Crown of Scotland; and ſure had the Court of London been ſo us'd by the Monarch of Scotland, the whole ſcene would have been repreſented in very diſagreeable colours. The inconſiſtent conduct of Elizabeth.

Tamworth, one of the Gentlemen of the bed-chamber to Queen Elizabeth, came with theſe notifications into Scotland to Queen Mary; but had no audience of her Majeſty, nor was he allow'd acceſs to their royal preſence. Queen Mary deliver'd to her Secretary her anſwers in writing, which were given in to Tamworth to be deliver'd to his miſtreſs the Queen of England, and were as follows:

That ſhe had notified to the Queen of England her reſolution to marry Lord Darnly, by Lethington; and that her Majeſty of England had been, by Liddington, acquainted with the conſummation of the marriage ſome months agone; and that by this marriage ſhe had comply'd with Elizabeth's requeſt, to marry a native of England: next, ſhe aſſur'd Elizabeth, that neither the King nor ſhe would ever do, or attempt any thing to diſturb or break the peace with England; on the contrary, on all occaſions, ſhew a hearty diſpoſition to enter into all pacific meaſures for eſtabliſhing the moſt laſting and advantageous peace to both Kingdoms: but, laſtly, ſhe beg'd her Majeſty of England not to dictate to her how to deal with or govern her rebellious ſubjects; nor to give them her countenance or protection. Mary's behaviour upon it.

Queen Elizabeth, in juſtification of herſelf for protecting, and ſupporting the Earl of Murray, and the other Lords of Scotland, did make anſwer, that Queen Mary had receiv'd into her protection Yaxly, Standon, and Walſh, Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and O'Neil an Iriſh out-law'd Papiſt, and with them had enter'd into confederacy with the holy father the Pope in ſupport of their Catholic Faith, as they term'd it: but it did not, nor could it be made appear, that Queen Mary had any ſecret connection with theſe exiles; all that could with truth be affirm'd, was, that they had been allow'd to ſhelter and to conceal themſelves in Scotland. Now if this was criminal and unworthy of a crown'd head, to allow any refuge for out-laws and criminals in their dominions; ſure, according to reaſon, it was much more culpable and criminal in Elizabeth to follow ſo corrupt an example, and to improve upon it, by ſetting one powerful faction of the Nobility of Scotland againſt the other, to lead them on to cut one another's throats. Theſe were not good reaſons, nor honeſt in morals, and not to be approv'd of in political behaviour.

Queen Mary's marriage being now publicly declar'd by the Queen of England to her Parliament, the Parliament and Privy-council dealt earneſtly and with importunity to perſwade Queen Elizabeth to marry, in order thereby to defeat the proſpects of King Henry and Queen Mary of Scotland, as to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England; and very opportunely, to ſupport their addreſſes, Charles, brother to Maximilian the ſecond the Emperor, had made very advantageous and honourable propoſals to Queen Elizabeth and the Court of London, for concluding a treaty of marriage with Elizabeth. Maximilian the Emperor, being hearty and concern'd to have this marriage ſettled, made great offers on his part: but all thoughts and conſideration of this important affair were diverted, and at length broke off, by the great and violent rage of party in the Privy-council, who aim'd at nothing leſs than the deſtruction of one another: to wit, by that flaming hatred and enmity which burſt and broke out betwixt the Earls of Suſſex and Leiceſter, which, after much pains and great noiſe, was ſmother'd (but not extinguiſh'd) by the prudent interpoſition of Elizabeth. But to return to open the ſcene of Scots affairs, which, in every honeſt mind, muſt produce the hurry and convulſion of ſo many different and diſagreeable paſſions, betwixt terror, hatred, amazement, compaſſion, and ſorrow, at the variety which preſents itſelf in the following relation of facts. Tamworth return'd to London, not having had acceſs to the Queen's preſence, but with her Majeſty of Scotland's anſwer written with her own hand, and deliver'd by her Secretary. The Parliament importunes Elizabeth's marriage. The Emperor's brother treats with the Queen. The treaty broke off.

The Earl of Murray being now at London, and not knowing well what part to act, to reſtore himſelf to his former condition, he was ſenſible he could have no hopes nor proſpects but by confuſion and troubles. The marriage with Lord Darnly could not be diſſolv'd, nor made void; all Murray's efforts had prov'd of no effect, but to recoil on himſelf; and if he was juſtifiable in former inſtances for oppoſing Queen Mary's meaſures and the Romiſh faction, he was as criminal and culpable now for exerciſing and practiſing unlawful and baſe arts, under colour of compaſſing good ends and producing happy events.

Queen Mary's Secretary, David Rizio, who had been an active promoter of the Lord Darnly's marriage, was now in high favour with both King and Queen; and there was an ir-

reconcilable hatred betwixt him and the Earl of Murray on this account. Several likewiſe of the Nobility of Scotland, who were in ſecret correſpondence with the Earl of Murray, look'd upon Rizio with an evil eye; and, with envy, detraction, and malice, thinking themſelves robb'd of their birthrights by the extraordinary preferments of Rizio a foreigner from an obſcure low original, to him they imputed the Queen's keenneſs and reſolution againſt Murray and his confederates: therefore, ſince they had loſt all proſpects from the diſſolution of the marriage, the Earl of Morton Chancellor, the Lords Ruthwen and Lindſay, and young Lethington, being in confederacy with Murray and the other exil'd Lords, in order to have the Earl of Murray and others reſtor'd, reſolv'd to operate upon the young King. Taking advantage of his eaſy, ductile, and too condeſcending mind, they us'd all poſſible arts to excite in the King's mind a jealouſy and hatred at Rizio; believing him to be no friend, but much the contrary, to all their ſyſtem, and the perſon who had the firſt ear with Queen Mary, whoſe opinion and advice conducted all her behaviour to the Nobility, and who of late had behav'd to the Chancellor and other officers of State in too haughty a ſtrain. Upon theſe accounts the Earl of Morton, who was the Earl of Murray's firm friend and agent, a man of great art and ſubtilty, well adapted for laying down of hidden ſnares, determin'd to bring about Murray's deliverance, and the reſtoration, preferments, and eſtabliſhment of their friends, by inſinuating themſelves into the King's favour, by exciting diſcontents and heart-burnings betwixt the King and Queen Mary, and to execute their deſign by the overthrow of Rizio.

The hatred of the Nobility to Rizio.

The Chancellor meditates his ruin.

Rizio was an impudent upſtart fellow, and though well furniſh'd with wit and judgment, though very diligent and faithful to Queen Mary, yet forgot, or did not underſtand, himſelf: being blinded by unexpected preferments, he did not ſtudy how to conduct himſelf in his preſent elevation toward the Nobility of Scotland.

There had happen'd ſome domeſtic quarrel about a punctilio and formality betwixt the King and Queen Mary: the Earl of Morton from this took occaſion to foment and increaſe the miſunderſtanding by his ſecret influence and ſuggeſtions with the King; and, behind the curtain, at the ſame time excited the Queen to do ſuch things as might provoke and enrage King Henry: for which end the Queen was perſuaded, by Morton moſt likely, and afterward by Rizio, to place her name firſt in grants, deeds, patents, and ſeals, and in many public acts, to paſs them without aſking or allowing the King's ſignature to be join'd. From this the Earl of Morton, who was in high confidence with the King, took opportunity in ſecret to inflame King Henry's mind to a degree of high rage and reſentment, and then to operate upon his weak mind to ſhake off the Queen's partnerſhip in the Government, and to take the ſole management of the State to himſelf; aſſuring the King, that the indignities offer'd him by the Queen his conſort were the ſuggeſtions and devices of David Rizio, who now was the Queen's greateſt confident in all her affairs, and who had acted even inſolently toward his Majeſty. By ſuch arts the Earl of Morton had ſo diſturb'd the King's mind, that he meditated revenge againſt Rizio; great coolneſs appear'd now betwixt their Majeſties in the whole of their behaviour, owing alone to theſe vile and deteſtable arts of Morton and his confederates.

Morton held ſeveral ſecret conferences with the King, untill he form'd his mind compleatly to his purpoſe; and at length prevail'd upon his Majeſty to ſign an aſſociation with him, the Lords Ruthwen and Lindſay, with ſeveral others, to cut off David Rizio, out of no regard to the King, but to pave the way for the Earl of Murray's return and reſtoration. This bond and aſſociation was ſign'd by the King, through the repeated importunity of Morton, who likewiſe, with Ruthwen and Lindſay, ſign'd the ſame bond. This aſſociation was executed, ſign'd, and confirm'd, by a ſolemn oath of fidelity of all preſent, at the Lord Ruthwen's apartments, where the King was brought by the Earl of Morton Chancellor, who, before the bond of aſſociation was preſented and offer'd to the King, had, in the moſt ſubtle manner, and, with all poſſible art, expoſtulated with his Majeſty how he could bear with the encroachments of David Rizio, and ſufficiently prepar'd the King's mind to concur in any meaſure to cut him off. This was, beyond all contradiction, diabolical policy in Morton, and could only have had ſucceſs with a weak Prince. Fearing the conſpiracy might be diſclos'd, and the whole ſyſtem diſconcerted; likewiſe conſidering that the Earl of Murray with the other Lords exil'd, were in few days to be attainted and forfeited; Morton the Chancellor haſten'd on the execution of the tragedy, to put the Nation into confuſion, to render the Queen uncapable of any buſineſs, and to make the Earl of Murray's return, upon the day he was ſummon'd to appear before the Parliament, abſolutely ſafe, without any to call him into queſtion. Becauſe nothing but a general national confuſion and diſorder could have encourag'd him to appear, and truſt his perſon, in the Kingdom.

Succeeds,

The night following the ſignature of the bond of aſſociation, the tragedy was acted, while the Queen ſat at ſupper with the Counteſs of Argyle, upon the ninth of March, Saturday evening, in the year 1566. Matters were ſo concerted, that the King firſt enter'd the anti-chamber, while the Queen was at ſupper, and was immediately follow'd by the Lord Ruthwen, with the other conſpirators. The Lord Ruthwen, with the other conſpirators, came up to Rizio at the ſide-board, where he was at ſupper; and, taking hold of him, order'd him to get up, for ſuch a place did not become him: then, dragging him out of the Queen's preſence, the Queen got up and ſtep'd in betwixt David and the King, with Lord Ruthwen and the other con-

conſpirators, which gave David an opportunity, for his own preſervation, to graſp the Queen by the waſte, in order thereby to ſave himſelf; believing, as her Majeſty was nigh her time, and ſo big, they would venture to do nothing, eſpecially in the King's preſence, which might endanger the Queen's life by frightening her: however, they diſengag'd Rizio from her Majeſty; and, dragging him out to the gallery, they all gave him wounds, and then left him dead in the porch leading to her Majeſty's apartments.

and with the King's aſſiſtance, &c. murders Rizio.

Morton had conducted this affair with ſuch ſecreſy and ſurprize, that none of the other Nobility in the Palace had the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of it; elſe the whole might have been prevented without the leaſt difficulty: for in the Palace of Holyrood-houſe, this night, were the Earls of Huntley, Athol, Sutherland, Cathneſs, and Bothwell (newly, by Queen Mary's permiſſion, return'd from France) with the Lords Fleming and Livingſton, and their men, who were ſuperior to all the force Morton the Chancellor had prepar'd to prevent any interruption. Morton had ſo order'd matters for ſecreſy and ſafety this night, that his men were plac'd as the guards for the outer gates and court to the Palace, ſo as to intercept acceſs of any perſon but their friends.

The ill conſequences of the aſſaſſination.

This ill-concerted and bloody enterprize of Morton's, to ſave and reſtore Murray and his confederates, and to ſerve other ambitious and indirect ſtate-purpoſes, was ill-tim'd, and modell'd in a very unpopular, unpolite, and bare-fac'd manner. Queen Mary could not but take it as the higheſt indignity upon her honour; becauſe, by cutting off Rizio in ſuch a manner, the People in general were led to receive ſome very diſhonourable and diſadvantageous impreſſions againſt her, and to the prejudice of her character: beſides, it was manifeſtly black on the Earl of Murray's part to compaſs his return and reſtoration by bloodſhed. Had the Nobility, who ſet the King on this foul and dangerous expedient, but exercis'd their wit and reſentment in a more artful and polite manner, they could have found means either to have had him arraign'd for miſdemeanors, or expos'd him ſo to popular fury and rage, that he muſt and would have fallen a victim to the reſentment of the multitude; for by them he was hated: in this manner, the King, and the Nobility who aided, would have prevented the laſting blot upon their conduct and character. The Queen, by the fright, was in great danger of miſcarrying; and the conſequences of this muſt have affected the whole Kingdom. Her Majeſty, being of very quick ſenſation, was ſenſible how far this event would affect her reputation, and give a handle to her enemies to reproach her: ſhe therefore burſt out into tears, and was in great agony; bitterly reproaching the Lord Ruthwen with his behaviour. In the midſt of her ſorrow, ſhe ſent one of her maids of honour to enquire about David Rizio: ſhe returned with notice to her Majeſty, that ſhe had ſeen his dead body; on which her Majeſty, wiping the tears from her eyes, anſwer'd, "No more tears;—I ſhall find out a proper reſentment."

The City of Edinburgh, and all round it, were by this time alarm'd; and, being got to arms, came down to the Palace-gates to offer their aſſiſtance to the Royal family; the rumour being ſpread abroad, of an intended aſſaſſination of the Queen and the Nobility: but the King with Queen Mary appear'd at the windows, and addreſs'd the multitude to compoſe them; acquainting them, their Majeſties were very ſafe.

Huntley and Bothwell fly.

The Earl of Murray returns.

There was an order given out for none of the Nobility to leave the Court; upon which Huntley and Bothwell made their eſcape thro' a large window that night, and the Earl of Athol was allow'd by their Majeſties to return home on Tueſday following, i. e. March the 12th, which was the day the Earl of Murray return'd to Edinburgh; having order'd it ſo that, by the confuſion and diſorder the Queen, the Court and all the Nation almoſt were in upon this event, that he might return undiſturb'd. He went to the Parliament-houſe, mark'd down his appearance to his ſummons, and took an inſtrument upon it; but nothing further was done, becauſe of the confuſion at Court. Morton the Chancellor had ſo order'd all, that the Queen was ſtripp'd both of her guards and ſervants, and was incapable to act any how; ſo that ſhe was under neceſſity to ſend for her brother the Earl of Murray, and to be reconcil'd to him.

Reconcil'd to the Queen.

Having ſent for him to Court, ſhe receiv'd him in a tender and kindly manner, without taking notice of his former behaviour. After a long conference with the Earl of Murray in private, the Queen was reconcil'd to him. Immediately after, ſhe with King Henry went to Seaton-houſe, which was an antient and elegant building, eight miles Eaſt of Edinburgh; but now in ruins.

The King's abject behaviour.

From thence their Majeſties proceeded to Dunbar: during their receſs and retirement here, the Queen ſo operated upon the King's weak mind, that he made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of repentance to her, and gave her the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of his future agreeable behaviour, that he would in every point ſtudy to pleaſe her Majeſty; and, as a leading ſtep, he deſerted all the conſpirators concern'd in the murder of Rizio, iſſued out a proclamation diſavowing his giving conſent or order to cut off Rizio; and commanding all concern'd in the murder to be apprehended, in order to take their trial; which falſe and ill-judg'd behaviour loſt the affections of all ranks to the King, and made him appear contemptible. This, in a great meaſure, was the end pointed at by thoſe who dictated this meaſure to his Majeſty to gratify the Queen, but in effect to deſtroy himſelf. The King confeſs'd to his Queen, that he had comply'd with the Lords to cut off Rizio, in order to reſtore Murray, by the perſuaſion of Morton Lord Chan-

Chancellor; and after this, King Henry bore a mortal hatred to Morton, and all their adherents, which they were ſoon made to underſtand: for ſuch keenneſs and ſpirit appear'd in the King and Queen to proſecute all the murderers; and the King's mind was ſo implacable againſt them for drawing him into ſuch a ſnare, that Morton, Lord Ruthwen and Lindſay, with young Lethington, fled to England, and did not ſtop till they came to Newcaſtle.

Lord Ruthwen dies.

Here my Lord Ruthwen had a relapſe of his fever, of which he dy'd: M'Gill, who was Clerk-regiſter, and ſeveral others of the city of Edinburgh of rank and diſtinction, left the place and ſecreted themſelves, being frighten'd by the King's ſtrong proclamation. The Queen having retir'd and recover'd herſelf, for four or five days, return'd to Edinburgh.

Several conſpirators executed.

Upon their Majeſty's return, the Queen hurried on the trials of all ſuſpected and committed for the murder, or being acceſſary to it. Thomas Scot, who was Under-ſheriff of Perth and ſervant to the Lord Ruthwen, was brought to trial for aiding and aſſiſting in the ſaid conſpiracy: he, with Sir Henry Yair formerly a prieſt, were both caſt, receiv'd ſentence of death, and were hang'd, drawn and quarter'd.

Others eſcape.

King Henry ſhew'd great warmth and zeal in bringing the conſpirators, eſpecially the underlings, to exemplary puniſhment; in order thereby to gratify the Queen, and heal the wound and breach betwixt them. Sir James Balfour was declar'd Clerk-regiſter. Calder, Orminſton, Halton, Elphingſton, Brunſton, Whittingham, and Shirreffhall, Eſqrs; were all forc'd to make their eſcape; and, upon not appearing to anſwer their ſummons, they were declar'd rebels, and their eſtates order'd to be levied into the Exchequer: William Harlaw and John Moubray, rich citizens of Edinburgh, were try'd and receiv'd ſentence of death; but when they were brought to the place of execution, by the interceſſion of Bothwell, they were pardon'd juſt as the executioner was to perform his office at the gallows.

The Privy-council came to a reſolution, that all concern'd in this murder, either directly or indirectly, ſhould be proſecuted without delay with the utmoſt ſeverity of law; none to be excepted nor excus'd, but ſuch as came to the Palace by accident, or by the alarm and noiſe. None was more violent than his Majeſty in proſecuting the murderers; thereby thinking to gratify the Queen, and to revive her love and affection: but in vain! they never were thoroughly reconcil'd after this affair; but all the conſpirators, Nobility and Gentry, were in a little time reſtor'd to favour by the Queen, and thereby they were intereſted to load the King with the guilt of all; and for their own eſtabliſhment in the Queen's regard and favour, were forc'd and under neceſſity to exert themſelves with their utmoſt addreſs to produce an irreconcilable hatred in her Majeſty at the King, to ſecure their own ſafety, and to render the King uncapable of executing his reſentment and diſpleaſure effectually againſt them. Young Lethington was reſtor'd (much in oppoſition to Bothwell's inclination) by the intereſt of the Earl of Athol.

The Queen deſpiſes the King.

The winter following, Morton and Lindſay were pardon'd, and return'd to Scotland, thro' the interceſſion of the Earl of Argyle and Huntley. Argyle had good reaſon to be concern'd for them; becauſe he was of the ſame faction, and united in the ſame ſyſtem with Murray, Morton, and their friends, againſt the King and his intereſt. This act of murdering Rizio had ſo exaſperated the Queen, and enrag'd her mind, that ſhe was implacable and irreconcilable; and therefore the King, who was paſſionatly fond of her Majeſty, ſubmitted, condeſcended and yielded, to make all the confeſſions and conceſſions which might regain her love to him. The King, in ſecret, (as is related by Campden and Strangeways) often acknowleg'd in tears to his Queen, that he had committed this raſh act, by the repeated ſolicitation, inſtigation, and importunity of Murray and Morton, to have them ſecur'd and firmly attach'd to his intereſt; but now, finding the bad, yea, moſt pernicious and unhappy effects of their baſe council, he hated both Murray and Morton above all men.

The King's hatred of Murray was now ſo manifeſt, and ſo plainly appear'd to Murray at Court, that therefore Murray found he had no other way left him to provide for his own ſafety, but by concerting an irreparable breach betwixt the King and Queen: and in order to this, he practis'd every art invention could dictate to eſtabliſh himſelf into the Queen's favour, and increaſe her hatred at the King. The Earl of Murray by all his complicated conduct, and his different, very inconſiſtent projections in public life, appears to have been very contradictory now with his former part of life and character; and to have been a compoſition of deceit, of cant, under colour of religion! of little ſincerity; of principles ſcarce intelligible and not to be vindicated; not ſcrupulous about the means to accompliſh his deſigns; much diſpos'd to make the moſt of troubles and confuſion; and therefore very fruitful in his invention to deviſe and concert even bloody meaſures, from his holy zeal.

The King meditates the aſſaſſination of Murray,

who is appriz'd of it by the Queen.

The King, thro' his dotage and feminine ſubmiſſion to his Queen, who was wiſe, witty and cunning, could not conceal his great averſion at Murray; becauſe he had, by his council and for his own ends, been the wicked cauſe of ſo much family diſcord betwixt their Majeſties: and therefore he went ſo far as to intimate to the Queen, that he bore a mortal hatred to the Earl of Murray, and would not be eaſy until he had him cut off. The King unhappily having dropt this his deſign againſt Murray, he being now in great intimacy with the Queen his ſiſter, it is probable ſhe dropt to Murray a hint of the King's diſpoſition toward him; by which Murray was alarm'd, and determin'd to prevent and counteract the deſign. This was proof of the King's weak mind; who truſted a ſecret of ſuch importance to the repoſitory of a female mind, by nature adapted more to blabbing and diſcovery than

than ſecrecy. The artful Earl of Murray knew well how to adapt himſelf to a female mind, and to operate upon her affections; and, being ſenſible of his danger from the King, he determin'd to be as miſchievous, as active and diligent as he could, to accompliſh the King's overthrow; — and the more effectually to compaſs this, he employs and ſets to work all his agents, mines, and engines, to make the King moſt hateful to her Majeſty. The firſt tools he made uſe of were ſuch as he knew were calculated to negotiate any villainy, to wit, Bothwell and Lethington: Lethington was compleatly maſter of what he undertook in this inſtance, to inſinuate and to eſtabliſh himſelf by lies and flattery with the Queen, and to promote diſſenſion and ſeparation from the King. Bothwell was ready for blood, violence, barbarity, and all baſe practices. By entering into any joint meaſures or confederacy with Bothwell, the Earl of Murray demonſtrated an abject meanneſs, and lowneſs of mind, inconſiſtent with the heroic virtue he contended for! That he ſhould have ſecret and important, yea, dangerous connections with Bothwell appears to have been monſtrous, and unworthy in the Earl of Murray; when the whole tenor of Bothwell's conduct was a connected ſcene of practices to diſgrace, deſtroy, and utterly overthrow Murray and all his friends: after this, to enter into concert with ſuch a man upon a diabolical enterprize, diſcover'd Reformation-principles, which wanted much to be Reform'd.

Murray recriminates upon the King and meditates his downfal.

One ſhould be apt to think, notwithſtanding Buchanan's favourable picture of him, that he was a perſon who ſacrificed all virtue, honour, and other conſiderations, to gratify ambition and party-views! From Campden, Queen Elizabeth's own hiſtorian, Murray ſeems to merit this character; for he made friends of his enemies when he thought they could ſerve his purpoſe; and then did ſhake them off with diſgrace, when he found his intereſt concern'd in ſo doing! Tho' at this time the Duke of Chatle le Rhault had join'd him; and tho' the Earl of Arran, who was ſuperior in honour and integrity; tho' they, I ſay, had join'd and ſupported the Earl of Murray in different ſyſtems; yet he found ways and means, with the Queen his ſiſter, to have the Duke of Chatle le Rhault diſcharg'd the Court by the Queen's order, and the Earl of Arran put under arreſt. Murray therefore would appear to have had his political intereſts, his deſigns, and ſecret enterprizes the only principles to direct his conduct.

Reflections on Murray's ſelfiſh conduct.

When this is the caſe and ſpirit of any officer or miniſter of State, that he ſacrifices all, and makes every thing ſubſervient to his ambitious and political intereſts; truth, common honeſty, public ſpirit, nor national happineſs, is not to be expected from the ſucceſs of all his enterprizes and negotiations! The reaſon is evident; becauſe, in ſuch an unhappy ſtate of affairs, neither Religion nor good morals enter the compoſition, or rather confuſion, of ſuch miniſterial conduct, wherever it does exiſt.

Here I can't paſs from ſome juſt obſervations of Campden's, in relation to the Earl of Murray, which gives a lively repreſentation of his compleat experience in the art of diſſimulation and the practice of trimming. Murray endeavour'd all he could (as even his friends and enemies allow) to diſſuade Queen Mary from marrying any perſon. When this had not it's wiſh'd-for-ſucceſs, finding that the Emperor in behalf of his brother Charles, and the King of Spain for his ſon the Prince of Aſturias, had addreſs'd Queen Mary, he us'd all poſſible perſuaſives to break off both the propoſitions, in which he was very diligent and faithful to gratify the inclinations of the Court of London. When Mary's thoughts were turn'd for marriage into the Lenox-family, he firſt us'd his utmoſt efforts to withdraw her thoughts from any ſuch match; and treated Queen Mary like a pupil, or child in leading-ſtrings: finding Queen Mary reſolute to marry the Lord Darnly, and perceiving that his oppoſition to this had diminiſh'd his regard and intereſt with the Queen, he next applies to Queen Elizabeth to croſs and traverſe all ſhe could the projected marriage, and to give Queen Mary all the trouble and oppoſition poſſible: then after the marriage, to lay down a ſcheme in cool blood to ſeparate irrecoverably the affections of the Queen from the King, and to aim at the direct ruin and deſtruction of both, for making a patent-gate to introduce his own political ſyſtem, was ſuch an extraordinary proof of a moſt dangerous and deteſtable ſpirit, that, tho' willing to believe him a Proteſtant, I know not how to reconcile it to common ſenſe and truth to believe him even a diſciple of Rome, or a Chriſtian of the moſt ignominious claſs.

His docile conſcience and exquiſite hypocriſy expos'd.

But leaving the Earl of Murray's character, clouded with all it's black ſhades:—The Queen's pregnancy was ſo far advanc'd, that the neceſſary preparations and accommodations were thought of, for her Majeſty's lying-in: it was agreed upon by her Majeſty's Privy-council, that the Queen ſhould have her apartments, and all neceſſary accommodation and attendance, in the caſtle of Edinburgh; and that the Earl of Arran, priſoner in the caſtle, ſhould be remov'd to Hamilton-caſtle, with guards to attend him, and liberty to ride two miles round the place; provided he did not attempt any thing againſt his houſe, or to make his eſcape: and that, upon twenty days notice, he ſhould be ready to return to the caſtles of Edinburgh, Dunbar, or Dumbarton, as he ſhould receive orders: and, for his fulfilling of theſe articles, the Earls of Murray and Glencairn ſtood bail for him.

The Earl of Murray blam'd.

The Queen was receiv'd into the caſtle with great magnificence and ſplendor, and at her entry to the place did regale all her Nobility and officers of State. The King being, through Murray's ſecret arts, in contempt, and much neglected, ſcarcely was with common decency us'd by the Queen and her favourites; Bothwell having, together with Lethington, got too far the aſcendant in her regard and council, by Murray's ſuggeſtion and encouragement: for Mur-

Her Majeſty retires into the caſtle to lye-in.

ray, having, through his inſinuating behaviour, ſtollen ſo much into the Queen's favour, had diſcover'd by her the King's determin'd reſentment and great averſion againſt him: he therefore enter'd into a written aſſociation, under their hands and ſeals, with Bothwell and Lethington, if poſſible to cut off the King, and to get the whole management of the Queen into their hands; making it a poſitive and expreſs ſtipulation of their infamous coalition and combination, that if the King were remov'd, they would with all their intereſt and addreſs promote Bothwell's marriage with the Queen. This was ſufficient fire and inflammatory incitement to kindle Bothwell, and lead him on to any the moſt deſperate enterprize; eſpecially, having ſuch a large ſhare already in the Queen's favour and eſteem. Murray, to make the Earl of Bothwell the heartier and the more expeditious in this helliſh enterprize, had engag'd to make effectual Bothwell's divorce from his preſent Lady. This is ſo ſhocking a ſcene, that if I had not even the teſtimonies of thoſe hiſtorians who favour'd Queen Mary, and who were in the intereſt of the Court of London, ſuch as Campden, Strangewage, Spotſwood, and other good and undoubted authorities, I could hardly think Nobility capable of concerting ſuch villainy.

Murray the projector of the King's overthrow by Bothwell.

When all matters were prepar'd for the Queen's lying-in, the Council order'd that the Earls of Murray, Argyle, and Athol, ſhould have their apartments in the caſtle to be in conſtant waiting for the Queen's time: Huntley and Bothwell did remain in the city of Edinburgh, with ſeveral more of the Nobility, who came up to be at hand, and obſerve the proceedings of the Court.

Upon the 19th of June, betwixt nine and ten o'clock at night, her Majeſty was ſafely deliver'd of a Prince, to the great joy of the Nation; all ranks teſtifying the greateſt demonſtrations of joy upon this great and promiſing event.

The Queen is brought to bed in the Caſtle of Edinburgh.

Upon the 20th of June, the Nobility, officers of State, and perſons of diſtinction, in great numbers repair'd to the High Church of St. Giles's in Edinburgh, and gave ſolemn thanks to Almighty God for her Majeſty's happy delivery, and the birth of a young Prince ſucceſſor to the Crown: then the Privy-council met, and, having given him proper inſtructions, they order'd Sir James Melvill to the Court of London to notify to Queen Elizabeth the birth of the young Prince; which Embaſſy Queen Elizabeth receiv'd with great ſatisfaction and very graciouſly: in teſtimony of which, her Majeſty of England ſent directly poſt Sir Henry Killigrew to congratulate and compliment Queen Mary. The aſſembly of the Reform'd Church of Scotland, upon this occaſion, to teſtify their loyalty and regard to her Majeſty, met at Edinburgh, and, by a ſolemn deputation of their number, waited of her Majeſty to congratulate her upon this happy event. Her Majeſty receiv'd the Clergy very graciouſly, and ſhew'd them the young Prince: the ſuperintendant of Lothian took the infant Prince into his arms, and, having pray'd with great devotion and propriety over the infant, demanded, in name of the whole body of the Clergy, that the young Prince ſhould be baptiz'd according to the form of the Proteſtant and Reform'd faith. Her Majeſty made no anſwer to this requeſt, but diſmiſs'd them with all marks of affection and kindneſs.

Addreſſes to the Queen on this occaſion.

When her Majeſty had recover'd ſtrength and was in condition to go abroad, ſhe, for her recreation and for a relaxation from the toil and fatigue of the affairs of State, reſolv'd to retire into the country; and it is very probable this her retirement was concerted by the Earl of Murray, behind the curtain, and enforc'd by his agents Bothwell and Lethington: this is more than probable, from the conſequences; for when they had got the Queen to the place appointed, to wit, to Alloway, a delightful pleaſant ſeat of the Earl of Marr's, but few miles from Stirling, Bothwell and Lethington here attended cloſe on her Majeſty, and by their dictated inſinuations ſo corrupted the Queen's mind, that, when the King follow'd her and expected to be admitted to his royal conſort, he was deny'd all acceſs, yea, inſulted and neglected by the Court, and forc'd to withdraw.

The Queen recovers and goes into the Country.

In this inſtance the ſecret, but helliſh intrigues, of Murray and his tools were too manifeſt, as Campden obſerves: Lethington, by his ſordid flatteries, ſo gain'd upon the Queen's affections, that he pretended to dictate to her the neceſſity of an abſolute ſeparation from her huſband; and that ſhe could not reckon herſelf in perfect ſafety until ſhe got rid of him: the Queen often teſtified her averſion to his propoſitions, and beg'd ſhe might not be enſnar'd to do any thing to blemiſh her reputation and honour; but the King's enemies, now her favourites, inſiſted with importunity upon the abſolute neceſſity, for her ſafety, of recalling and reſtoring Morton, Lindſay, and others, and leaving the whole burden and guilt of Rizio's Death upon the King; by which ſhe would ſatisfy the world, and vindicate her own conduct towards the King, for ſuch an heinous indignity offer'd her Majeſty, as was done by his Majeſty in the manner Rizio was cut off. Accordingly, as already hinted, thro' the intereſt of Huntley and Argyle, the Earl of Morton and the Lord Lindſay were reſtor'd and return'd to Court; ſo that every thing ſpoke the approaching unhappy fate deſtin'd and concerting for the King's murder: his enemies alone ſurrounded her Majeſty, and were of her Council; and Bothwell's regard with the Queen made it evident to him, that nothing but the King's life interrupted his full enjoyment of her Majeſty. Such was the unhappy ſituation to which the Queen had now reduc'd her ſelf; to be ſuſpected and blotted in the eye of the world as to her virtue, and in immediate danger of making herſelf a ſacrifice to the ambition of her real enemies; which in a ſhort time appear'd to be the fact, and was the cauſe of her ruin.

Murray is indefatigable to produce an abſolute ſeparation of the Queen from the King.

In

In the month of Auguſt the Queen return'd to Stirling, towards the end of the month, and the young Prince was brought there in order to be baptiz'd at Stirling with great ſolemnity. Queen Elizabeth, by Melvil the Scots Ambaſſador, was invited to ſtand God-mother; and the ſolemnity was fixt to the fifteenth day of December. The French King, to honour the ſolemnity, ſent the Count de Briance Ambaſſador-extraordinary on this occaſion; Monſieur Croc repreſented the Duke of Savoy, and the Earl of Bedford was ſent from Queen Elizabeth, whoſe rich preſent on this occaſion exceeded thoſe of all the other foreign Miniſters; for the Earl of Bedford carried with him a font and baſon of ſolid gold (weighing, according to Spotſwood, two ſtone) for the baptiſm of the infant King. The Queen, tho' imprudently, was reſolute to have the ceremony according to the Romiſh inſtitution.

The young Prince brought to Stirling to be baptiz'd.

Having made all neceſſary preparations, and the Nobility with the foreign Miniſters and officers of ſtate, being all met together in Stirling Caſtle, the proceſſion for the ſolemnity begun in the following magnificent order:

The proceſſion at the baptiſm of the Prince.

The Count de Briance Ambaſſador from France, preceded by the heralds, and other officers of the houſhold, carried the infant Prince, walking to the Chapel betwixt two ranks of the Nobility, or Barons, and Gentlemen, who lin'd all the walk from the palace to the Chapel-royal, all with wax-candles in their hands. Next to the French Ambaſſador walk'd the Earl of Athol, bearing the great ſierge of wax; the Earl of Eglinton carried the ſalt; the Lord Semple the cude, and the Lord Roſs the baſon. All theſe Lords were of the Romiſh faith.

At the entry to the chapel the infant Prince was receiv'd by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, ſupported by the Biſhops of Dunblane, Roſs, and Dunkeld, with the Prior of Whitehorn; with a number of Archdeacons, Deans, and other Clergy, following in their robes; the Gentlemen of the Chapel all attending in their habits. The Counteſs of Argyle, by commiſſion, repreſented the Queen of England, and held up the infant Prince at the font: there the Archbiſhop, with great formality, perform'd the ceremony according to the rites of the Church of Rome, the ſpittle only omitted by the Queen-mother's expreſs order. The Earl of Bedford did not enter the royal Chapel, neither had he any concern with the ſolemnity: he, with all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, of the Proteſtant faith, waited without doors untill the ſolemnity was over.

When the Prince was brought back to the royal apartment, he was, by the Lion King at Arms attended by the Heralds and Purſuivants, declar'd and proclaim'd, James Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothſay, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Iſles, and Baron of Renfrew: then the muſick begun and continu'd ſome hours. For ſome days after the baptiſm of the Prince, there were nothing but feſtivals, rejoicings, and mirth at Court, and over the country: but what was moſt ſhocking in both the Queen and her Councillors, the King, Father of the Prince, was not admitted either to be preſent at the Chriſtning, nor to partake of any part of the rejoicings and ſolemnity; yea, they were all ill look'd upon who waited of the King in his preſent retirement, contempt and ſorrow. The Earl of Lenox was fully inform'd of this groſs inſult upon his ſon, and the unjuſtifiable uſage he receiv'd; upon which he ſent him ſecret notice to come to Glaſcow, and retire from their caballing. It is certain, none can vindicate ſuch barefac'd ill uſage of a King from his own Queen and her Miniſtry, who had now reſolv'd to deſtroy him.

King Henry the father abominably deſpis'd by the Court.

The King repair'd to Glaſcow to viſit his Father my Lord Lenox; but he had ſcarcely got a mile from Stirling, when he was taken ill all of a ſudden, ſeiz'd with pain all over his body, and at length irruptions of a purple and bluiſh colour appear'd in different parts of his body, and with bliſters containing ſome corruption, with ſuch exquiſite pain, that he found himſelf in great diſorder: however, he reſolutely continued his journey to Glaſcow; and, upon his arrival at the Earl of Lenox's houſe, the Phyſicians, who were call'd to attend his Majeſty, gave it as their opinion, that the King had poiſon ſecretly adminſtred to him.

The King goes to Glaſcow.

Now this could not be but by his domeſtics; and, conſidering the King's great affability and mildneſs of ſpirit, could not be the action of any one of his houſehold, without ſecret inſtigation, bribery and corruption, to induce them to ſo horrid an act to their King and Maſter. How to acquit her Majeſty's behaviour at the Chriſtning-ſolemnity, and her neglect and abuſe of the King, I know not; I would if I could, but I dare not ſo manifeſtly oppoſe truth. That the Lord Bothwell had been the projector of this villainy, is what none doubts: that her Majeſty had teſtify'd too particular and too ſuſpicious a regard for Bothwell was evident to all; but to be ſo brutal as to be in concert with Bothwell's wicked attempt, by conveying poiſon to the King by the help of his own domeſtics is a crime of ſo black a nature, that I cannot allow myſelf to think her Majeſty could be capable of it; for nothing could exceed this in cool blood.

The King poiſon'd by the inſtigation of Bothwell and others.

The King continued dangerouſly ill for ſome time now in Glaſcow, while the Queen enjoy'd herſelf in all her ſplendor at Stirling: his Majeſty however recover'd this ſhock by the youth, vigour and ſtrength of his conſtitution; which diſconcerted all the meaſures of his combin'd enemies; the Queen, to ſave her from the clamour of the world, and if poſſible to gild over her blotted reputation, came in January, with all the apparent melting tenderneſs, ſorrow and ſympathy, to viſit her Royal Conſort the King, who was yet in a very weak and ſickly

The King in great danger from the poiſon.

ſickly ſtate of health; and, but too fond of her wandering charms, he receiv'd her with great affection, love and joy.

The Earl of Bedford's good advice to Mary.

After the chriſtning of the young Prince, the Earl of Bedford, by inſtructions from Queen Elizabeth, in a prudent, friendly and affectionate manner, interpos'd with Queen Mary to ſtifle and bury all domeſtic quarrels with her huſband King Henry, and not to uſe him in ſo groſs a manner as to expoſe her own character; intimating, in a friendly and honourable manner, that none but ill-deſigning, vile men had encreas'd this flame, and that ſuch were enemies to them both; and, for promoting vile purpoſes, had broke that love and ſociety which ought to ſubſiſt: however, Queen Mary comply'd with as much of this ſeaſonable admonition as ſuited her taſte. The Earl of Bedford likewiſe demanded a full ratification and explanation upon the treaty of Edinburgh, which Mary abſolutely deny'd; but promis'd to ſend Commiſſioners to England to treat upon this point, and to come to a final and friendly reſolution upon this head.

Mary's fair promiſes to Elizabeth.

Queen Mary made herſelf appear very weak and ſickly to the Earl of Bedford, when, on this occaſion, admitted to his audience of leave; and, in order to amuſe Queen Elizabeth, and to ſooth her over with fair words, Queen Mary not only ſpoke of Elizabeth in the moſt reſpectful manner, but wrote to her Majeſty of England:—that, tho' ſhe was undoubted heir to the Crown of England, and notwithſtanding ſeveral had rais'd falſe objections againſt her juſt and evident title; yet ſhe promis'd to Elizabeth, upon the faith of a Queen, ſhe never would urge any further for a declaration of her title; but, while ſhe liv'd, always aſſiſt Queen Elizabeth, and adhere to her againſt all living! This is poſitively aſſerted by Cambden in his Annals. At the ſame time ſhe commends her young ſon Prince James to the Queen of England's care and protection; finding herſelf in a weak and ſickly condition: how far ſhe was ſincere, the ſequel of the hiſtory muſt declare.

But to proceed with Mary's behaviour toward her huſband King Henry. Before we emerge into the bloody ſcene and dark ſhades of the tranſactions of 1567, let me obſerve, that Mary's hatred was cool, premeditated, deliberate, and therefore moſt wicked and vitious; as will appear from one inſtance, among others, I have already related.

The Queen goes to Jedburgh, but would not ſee the King.

In October of this year 1566, after ſhe had come from Alloway, ſhe went to Jedburgh. To this place ſhe was attended by Bothwell and Liddington: but when the King came up to her, he was order'd to return; ſhe would neither ſee him nor allow him any acceſs: ſo that with ridicule and contempt he was forc'd to return, firſt to Edinburgh, then to Stirling. The Queen in her return ſtay'd ſome time at Craigmillar-caſtle, where Lethington, Bothwell, Huntley, and others, attended upon her Majeſty, and held conſultations upon the moſt direct and effectual means to have her divorc'd from the King her huſband. Here was full demonſtration of the alienation and change of her affections from her huſband, when ſhe allow'd all about her to inſiſt and preſs her to get rid of him one way or other: nothing but public ſhame, and the fear of the laſh of tongues, made her not comply with open violence.

The Queen and Bothwell retire for pleaſure.

When, in the month of January, ſhe had made a pretended viſit of ſympathy and affection to her huſband the King at Glaſcow, ſhe had come directly from her enjoyment of pleaſure with Bothwell: for, after the Earl of Bedford's departure for England, and that the moſt of the officers of State and Nobility had gone from Stirling, ſhe with Bothwell went off to Drummond-caſtle, and from thence to Tullibarne; where they exercis'd ſuch familiarities, and behav'd ſo as even to the common and illiterate to appear even void of ſhame and common decency: when at Glaſcow, ſhe wrote letters to Bothwell; which are inſerted in Anderſon's collections, vol. II. which letters, if authentic, make it evident to all impartial perſons, that they had concerted and wickedly devis'd the murder of the King.

King Henry brought to Edinburgh.

King Henry was ſo dotingly fond of Queen Mary, that tho' not fully recovered, yet, allur'd by her fair, flattering, and amuſing appearances of love, he agreed to go to Edinburgh; but inſtead of going to the Palace-royal, where the air was as wholeſome and ſerene as in any part of the ſuburbs, her Majeſty, to her laſting ignominy and reproach, beſpoke apartments for the King without the city-walls, in an obſcure place, an old houſe, ſolitary and ruinous, having a poſtern or back-gate by the city-walls leading into the fields, retir'd, and every way calculated for the villainy which ſoon was perpetrated therein.

About the 20th of January 1567, the King arriv'd from Glaſcow at his apartments prepar'd for him, and was receiv'd by the Queen with all apparent marks of eſteem and tender affection; he enjoy'd life but a very little time here; all his reſpite was only untill that moſt infamous of all Nobility the Earl of Bothwell, with his confederates, had prepar'd and made all matters thoroughly ripe for this execrable murder of the King.

The Queen ſeemingly very fond, and attends upon the King till the night of his murder.

The Queen, with what deſign, whether true or falſe, in her profeſſion of love to the King, I ſhall not determine: ſhe did reſide with the King and lay in the chamber immediately below his Majeſty for the Saturday and Sunday nights before the murder, and attended theſe two days cloſe upon him. Upon Monday ſhe went to her Palace at the Abbey of Holy-rood-houſe, where ſhe remain'd till evening that ſhe came up to town to the King; ſhe ſtay'd upon Monday the tenth of February with the King till paſt ten o'clock at night; but as Paris, the Earl of Bothwell's Valet de Chambre, came to the King's apartments, ſhe prepar'd to depart, not chuſing to ſtay this night with his Majeſty. Paris's coming was the ſignal, that all the materials, the gun-powder, matches, and all the neceſſary attendants and

and portmanteaux, with the bags of gun-powder, were ready: Paris, Dalgleiſh, Hay of Tallo, and Hepburn of Boulton, with the other ſervants employ'd by Bothwell, upon their trial, yea, and at the place of execution, declar'd, that they had met Bothwell there; that he had receiv'd the portmanteaux from them at the King's lodgings; that after he had chang'd his cloaths, he went out towards the King's apartments in a long cloke diſguis'd, and return'd in ſeeming hurry and diſorder.

The Queen's behaviour the night before the murder, and Bothwell's manner of perpetrating the whole villany.

After the Queen return'd from her Husband this bloody night, the Earl of Bothwell was in private with her Majeſty, none preſent but the captain of the guard; he at length was diſmiſs'd, and then the Queen held a long and ſecret conference with Bothwell: after this it was that Bothwell went out diſguis'd, and the Queen went to bed. Bothwell, after ſtrangling the King, and dragging his body out into the garden, left it there, came off and got to the Palace, hurried to bed, having left his actors to blow up the houſe by a train which had been laid. The noiſe of the exploſion alarm'd and awaken'd city and ſuburbs; the Queen in ſurpriſe affected great uneaſineſs, and ſent one of her bed-chamber to know what the matter was. The Nobility next to the Queen being all ſurpris'd, eſpecially ſuch as were not in the ſecret, call'd upon Bothwell to know what the matter was: Bothwell was the man the Queen made choice of to ſend out to ſee what had happen'd; and, as he could give the beſt account of it, he brought the Queen word, that the King's body was found dead and naked in the garden, and the houſe blown up: but he would have perſuaded the Queen that the force of the exploſion had thrown the body ſo far, which was ſo manifeſtly ridiculous as to gain no credit; for, by the evidence which appear'd, this was an impoſſible caſe. The proof afterward made it appear, that the King had been ſtrangled; and Bothwell's own ſervants, who were executed, confeſs'd, before they ſuffer'd, that they did ſee Bothwell come alone from the King; and that he was the laſt who came out of the apartments before the houſe was blown up. The Declarations of theſe criminals, which are ſet forth in Anderſon's Collections, and taken from the public records of Council, amount to a demonſtration of Bothwell's horrid guilt: and my Lord Morton's declaration not long before his death, ſufficiently fixes the guilt upon him. Bothwell always deny'd the Queen's acceſſion to this murder, or her being in the ſecret of it; but few will regard much the teſtimony of ſo horridly vile and profligate a perſon, who was capable of all manner of wickedneſs. The criminals who ſuffer'd did declare, that they underſtood from Bothwell, who employ'd them, that the tragedy had been committed by the direction and approbation of Murray and Morton, which account of the murder Bothwell artfully propagated, even to England, by expreſſes ſent off for that purpoſe the morning after the murder was committed. The Queen, upon receiving the news of the King's murder from Bothwell, appear'd compos'd and ſedate, and to ſhew that her grief and ſurpriſe had not overcome nor hurt her health, ſhe ſlept ſound and undiſturb'd till next day afternoon at two o'clock. This mournful ſcene ſhews what alterations in the ſpirit and diſpoſition of a mild, wiſe, good, and kind Princeſs, her fooliſh condeſcendence, and allowance to acceſs, and incroaching familiarities from profligate Nobility may produce even from thoſe formerly of virtuous principles. Mary's affability, her ſoftneſs and tenderneſs, and her too acceſſible behaviour was her ſnare and prov'd her diſgrace and ruin! Her female obſtinacy in her revenge againſt her husband, was inconſiſtent with her former apparent virtues: Her criminal and too luſcious, yea her ſcandalous, amorous letters to Bothwell prove her mind to have been debauch'd by Bothwell, and the expreſſions are ſo luſtful as to diſgrace her royal dignity: But Murray I can't excuſe from a heavy ſhare in her guilt; becauſe it is undeniable that he, with a criminal and bloody intent againſt the King, had been reconciled to Bothwell, and that he had enter'd into a ſign'd aſſociation under their hands and ſeals, to procure the Queen to Bothwell in marriage upon the King's removal or divorce, which they were to accompliſh. That the Earl of Murray was in knowledge of the deſign'd murder, is very probable from this, and did promote it, by exciting Bothwell, and by raiſing the utmoſt hatred in the Queen's mind at the King: Campden is plain on this head, and ſo is Strangewage. But after all things were ready, Murray, to eſcape any imputation or credit from the people of being concern'd with Bothwell, got out of town to his country-ſeat about fifteen hours before the murder: That he, with Bothwell, was confederated is undeniable, and evidently prov'd by our other moſt impartial hiſtorians from this; that upon his return to Court by an expreſs ſent him from the Queen, he and Morton among the firſt things recommended Bothwell to her Majeſty as partner of her bed; and it is certain that they forwarded this ſcheme from no regard to Bothwell, whom in heart they abhorred, but only to oblige him to ſecrecy, and not to diſcover the whole plot how they had ſet him upon this helliſh enterpriſe, which in the event they knew would be his overthrow, and would ruin the Queen, and thereby land into their hands the whole government of the ſtate. The behaviour of the Queen, as related by Buchanan in his Detection, if fact, was very extraordinary after the King's death, and inſtead of vindicating her character had a direct tendency to rivet and fix the worſt impreſſions of her in the minds of all, to give credit to all the black accuſations lodg'd againſt her. She behaved ſo towards the King's dead body as was ſhameful, feeding her eyes with the ſight of it for ſeveral days, and afterward gave it an ignominious obſcure funeral, placing it with David Rizio's out of revenge and contempt. The body was carried to be interred on a common bier, ſupported and attended only by ſervants and common people in the moſt contemptible manner.

Bothwell excuſes the Queen.

The Queen's behaviour upon the news of the King's murder, and her character.

Murray's character and ſhare in this bloody affair.

The Queen behaves ill, ſo as to occaſion cenſure.

The Queen's ſecret correſpondence with, and her declared affection for Bothwell before King Henry's murder was ſo well atteſted, and is ſo vouch'd, that it does not admit of any contradiction, but from ſuch as are capable to deny the evidence of demonſtration. When her Majeſty in October, 1566, went to hold courts of juſtice, and upon the aſſizes or circuits to Jedburgh, Bothwell took the opportunity to commit extravagancies, and thereby expos'd himſelf to the rage of the country people in Lidſdale and parts adjacent, ſo that from one of the banditti he received a dangerous wound, which made him be carried to the caſtle of Hermitage until he was recover'd. No ſooner was the Queen inform'd of this event of Bothwell's danger, than ſhe took poſt to Bothwell in very bluſtering, cold, and ſtormy weather, whereby ſhe was expos'd to great hazard. She viſited Bothwell, and when her Majeſty had order'd all neceſſary care to be taken of him to haſten his recovery, ſhe returns and orders an apartment at Jedburgh to be got ready, ſuitable for his reception: but after Bothwell was a little recover'd and brought thither, the Queen's behaviour with Bothwell was ſuch as to be hateful even to the loweſt and moſt profligate claſs of the people. In the midſt of their enjoyments the Queen was ſeiz'd with a dangerous fever and illneſs, which threaten'd her life, and continu'd dangerouſly ill for ſome time. King Henry, from his ſtrong affection for her, came expreſs to ſee her, expecting to be fully reconcil'd to her, and willing to forgive all her former abuſes of him, gave evident proofs of great and ſteady affection and tenderneſs toward her; but ſuch was the virulency and cruelty of the Queen's hatred now, and ſuch the villany of her Court, that King Henry not for one ſingle night was allow'd to have lodgings in the town of Jedburgh: the whole town were order'd to pay him no regard, and to force him to quit the place, in a manner barbarous even to the meaneſt traveler, all inns being expreſly forbid to receive his Majeſty. Upon which his Majeſty, under the greateſt hardſhips, after great fatigue and hard treatment, return'd half-ſtarv'd to Edinburgh, and from thence to Stirling. Bothwell was, during the Queen's illneſs at Jedburgh, allow'd an apartment in the Queen's houſe; and was likewiſe admitted to an apartment juſt below her bed-chamber, when ſhe remov'd to Kelſo. Upon the Queen's return to Craigmillar, ſhe receiv'd a kind and affectionate letter from the King: upon reading it ſhe was ſo ſtung, that ſhe fell into fits, and appear'd in ſuch emotion and diſorder, that ſhe in agony, in preſence of Murray, Bothwell, Huntley, and Lethington, burſt out, proteſting ſhe ſhould never be well until ſhe got rid of his Majeſty, and that ſhe would deſtroy herſelf rather than live in ſuch ſorrow, with the King's ſolicitations and trouble. The next period of her abuſive treatment of the King was at Stirling, before and at the Chriſtening, which was too evident to be deny'd by any, as I have already related. By the authentick extracts and tranſcripts from the books of a journal or records of the Criminal Courts of Scotland, preſerv'd now only intire in the Cottonian Library, and copied by Anderſon in his Collections, vol. i and ii, we have not only the confeſſions and dying words of the Criminals, executed for being party concern'd in this murder, but likewiſe their trials, and their confeſſions, upon oath, upon their firſt examination as evidences againſt Bothwell. We have likewiſe preſerv'd in that great and accurate collection of the Cotton Library, the letters intercepted and taken from Dalgleiſh when apprehended at Dunbar; and likewiſe authentick copies of the ſix letters, which paſs'd betwixt Mary and the Earl of Lenox, concerning the trial of Bothwell for the ſaid murder of the King.

The Queen's unguarded and indecent behaviour before the King's death.

By the evidence upon oath, and by the dying confeſſion of Bothwell's ſervants and vaſſals, with his other confederates, it is remarkable that they directly prove not only the whole ſcene dictated by Bothwell, but circumſtantially they likewiſe fully narrate in what manner and times Bothwell attended; how he went with the Queen down from the King's houſe the night of the tragedy, the Earls of Athol, Huntley, and Argyle attending her Majeſty to her apartments in the palace. That after this Bothwell and the Queen had been in private together, and when Bothwell, about twelve at night, had come from her Majeſty, that he had call'd for a great cloke, his ſword, &c. and went out to the King's houſe with Ormeſton, Sir James Balfour, Hay of Talo, Hepburn of Bolton; and his domeſticks, Dalgleiſh, Powrie, &c. who were in concert with his Lordſhip, and had been employ'd to execute the villany. Paris the Frenchman, call'd Nicholas Hubert, who was valet de chambre or groom of the chambers to Bothwell ſeveral years, with the others mention'd, all declare Bothwell's being the projector of the Murder, and preſent at the execution of it; yea, Hepburn and Talo confeſs, that Bothwell, when he firſt open'd the deſign to them, told them, that it muſt be executed; for if it was not, he could not live in Scotland. They all likewiſe confeſs, that Bothwell told them, he did it by the advice, encouragement, and concert of others of the Nobility: which certainly muſt have been ſuch as were afraid of the King's reſentment, and were in heart enemies to his Majeſty; theſe were the Earls of Morton, Murray, Huntley, Bothwell, and Argyle; the Earl of Athol and Lord Lindſay, with Lethington, who had been recall'd and reſtor'd in oppoſition to the King's pleaſure, and got into favour with the Queen only ſince her ſeparation and averſion from the King. Theſe are the only perſons could in reaſon be thought to be in concert with Bothwell, and whoſe intereſt it was to be ſo.

Proofs of Bothwell's guilt.

When Bothwell, upon the tenth of February, had ſeen all executed, and that the King, with Taylor his body-footman, had been ſtrangled and thrown out naked into the garden, he came down through the nether-bow port to the palace; ordering ſtrictly, to have the

the houſe, where the King was, blown up directly, the train, matches, and all being inſpected and left ready for execution by Bothwell himſelf; when Bothwell came to the palace, attended by Dalgleiſh his footman, he went to bed, but could not ſleep, being uneaſy until he ſhould hear the exploſion: his anxiety made him ſend up Dalgleiſh to know the reaſon of Powrie's, Talo's, and Hepburn's delay; upon which he return'd, and told Bothwell all was ready and would be finiſh'd directly, which was no ſooner ſpoken than the exploſion was heard. The Queen and all the Palace were diſturb'd at the extraordinary noiſe and ſhock. Her Majeſty ſent for Bothwell, and deſir'd him go to the city and know what the matter was: thus they conducted the farce of her pretended ignorance. Bothwell return'd ſoon and came into her Majeſty's apartments, where now were come the Ladies of Mar and Athol, Ladies of the bed-chamber in waiting; and the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, and Athol. Bothwell related, with wonder and ſeeming ſurpriſe, to her Majeſty, that the King's houſe was blown up by gun-powder, and that the force of the exploſion had carried his Majeſty's dead body into the garden, where it then lay. This was monſtrous! for Bothwell's aſſociates confeſs'd, that Bothwell and his companions had ſtrangled the King and thrown him, with his ſervant's dead body, into the garden before that they had blown up the houſe.

Bothwell's counterfeit behaviour with the Queen and the Nobility.

The Nobility and Ladies all, except Bothwell, left her Majeſty and went to reſt; the Queen appear'd quite calm and compos'd, and heard without emotion Bothwell's relation: Bothwell remain'd with the Queen alone ſome conſiderable time and then went to bed.

Next day, about noon, the Earl of Argyle with Bothwell, for a ſham and to avoid, if poſſible, deſerv'd reproach and infamy, pretended to call in ſeveral perſons, and ſome of figure and rank, to make enquiry, under pretence of making diſcovery of the aſſaſſins.

A ſham enquiry by Bothwell and Argyle, concerning the Regicide.

When they proceeded upon their examination, they found ſome of the perſons of ſuch integrity upon oath, that they utter'd and declar'd more than they wanted to hear; ſo Bothwell and Argyle were moſt likely to affront themſelves: they therefore were forc'd, in the moſt abrupt and diſgraceful manner, to break off their enquiry and examination, which rather fix'd the guilt upon them than anſwer'd their ends in any reſpect. The people in general on this occaſion were ſo ſtrongly impreſs'd with Bothwell's guilt, and the Queen's acceſſion, that, to eſcape infamy, the Queen, for her own vindication, was under an abſolute neceſſity to bring Bothwell to trial: but, alas! I am ſorry to ſay it, that her conduct with Bothwell in ſecret, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate, was moſt contradictory to her profeſs'd hatred, deteſtation, and ſeeming reſentment againſt the cruel Murderers. The beauties of her fine countenance, and the former virtues and excellencies of her mind, were now ſo blotted, ſhaded, and corrupted with ſuch ſtains, as were never to be cleans'd nor waſh'd off; her innocent former ſpirit was now putrified and corrupted by the blackeſt habits, and the ſociety of the vileſt of men.

At firſt ſhe put on a ſhow of mourning and widow's behaviour by retirement and ſolitary abſtinence from company; but ſhe could bear this tireſome formality only for a ſhort time: her affections were ſo ſtrong, and her inclinations ſo high toward Bothwell, that ſhe ſoon took off the mask, and in a few days departed for Seaton-houſe, which was a convenient retirement for the enjoyment of her pleaſures: accordingly ſhe ſo accommodated Bothwell here, that his apartment was directly below her Majeſty's bed-chamber; here ſhe, with Bothwell, continued for ſome weeks. Sir Henry Killigrew had come down from Queen Elizabeth, as ambaſſador extraordinary, to condole with her Majeſty, as a compliment of form on ſuch occaſions: but the Court of London had, by this time, full intelligence from the Lenox family in what manner his Majeſty had been cut off: the reports raiſed by Bothwell's emiſſaries on the frontier of England, that the Earls of Morton and Murray had been the projectors of the murder, had loſt ground, and were over England now rejected. But ſo far as I have already obſerv'd, it muſt be own'd that the Earl of Murray ſtands charg'd with the higheſt degree of probability of ſetting on Bothwell, and laying before him and her Majeſty the enſnaring and bloody ſyſtem, which Murray knew well he could improve afterward to the Queen's and Bothwell's overthrow, which he accordingly made effectual, and upon their ruins procured his own eſtabliſhment. But to proceed with her Majeſty's conduct on this occaſion at Seaton. After the King's death, her behaviour here was ſo offenſive to the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, a few of the viler ſort only excepted, that the Queen's conduct was the only thing talk'd of and expos'd in all corners of the kingdom. The French ambaſſador Crocus, took the freedom to repreſent to her Majeſty in private, the wound given to her honour, and her regard both abroad and in her own kingdom, from her preſent familiarity and intimacies with the Lord Bothwell. Crocus likewiſe perſuaded her Majeſty to return to Edinburgh; but before her departure from Seaton, Bothwell and ſhe had concerted all matters how to bring on his trial, to haſten it before the meeting of parliament, to have him acquitted, his divorce from his lady accompliſh'd, and then her capture or her ſeizure by Bothwell, and their marriage following upon it, all were concerted, and it appears from the papers found in the Cottonian Library, and in the Paper Office, that the Earl of Huntley was the only perſon chiefly truſted with their ſecret. The Earl of Murray had ask'd and obtain'd leave to go over to France, that he might the more effectually behind the curtain promote Bothwell's and the Queen's overthrow, whom now he found to be the object of the united

The Queen's ſcandalous behaviour ſoon after her huſband's death.

The Queen by all ranks cenſur'd and evil ſpoken of.

Murray perplexed and goes abroad.

united hatred and reſentment of the better and far greater part of the kingdom. Murray durſt not oppoſe the marriage of the Queen with Bothwell, becauſe that would have been a breach of their firſt agreement, when they were in confederacy to cut off the King: he therefore thought it ſafeſt and moſt for his purpoſe to retire to France, leſt any event might have happened to immerſe himſelf, and that in his abſence, with the greater ſecrecy and ſucceſs, he might ſet his agents to work for the overthrow of Bothwell and the Queen, with whom he never thought himſelf perfectly ſafe. The Queen, by the French ambaſſador's advice, return'd from Seaton March the tenth, having been at Seaton from February the twentieth, ten days after her husband's murder. When her Majeſty return'd to Edinburgh, ſhe employ'd herſelf chiefly to the twenty-fourth of March to make diſcovery and enquiry into the authors and promoters of all placarts and libels againſt Bothwell for murdering the King: then ſhe, with Bothwell, return'd to Seaton, enjoying all her pleaſure with her darling Bothwell until the time of his trial drew nigh, to wit, on the tenth of April. It is to be obſerved, that the ninth of April, the day preceeding Bothwell's trial, Murray embark'd for France, not chooſing to be preſent leſt ſome important diſcoveries might have happened upon the trial, or Bothwell, by an unforeſeen accident, might have been forced to diſcloſe the whole ſcene for his own vindication. While the Queen, Bothwell, and Huntley were at Seaton upon the fifth of April, the Contract of marriage betwixt the Queen and Bothwell was drawn up and written fair with Huntley's hand, and ſign'd, Mary and Bothwell. There had been a promiſe in writing deliver'd to Bothwell by the Queen, of marrying him even before the King's death; which writing was found in the casket or little gilded box which my Lord Morton found with Dalgleiſh when apprehended, and which he had carried from the caſtle of Edinburgh from Bothwell's apartments there, by Bothwell his maſter's order to have them ſecreted: This is the ſmall box which contain'd the amorous letters from Mary to Bothwell, and her criminal intrigues about the King's death ſometime before it happen'd. I know it is commonly affirm'd, that theſe letters are ſpurious and are Morton's contrivance; but this is chimerical and of no foundation, for Dalgleiſh was Bothwell's old ſervant, and in the ſecret of all his hidden and dark projections, had been long in his ſervice, and much truſted by Bothwell. Now this Dalgleiſh after he was apprehended, diſcover'd this box among other things, and the ſignatures with the letters to Bothwell, and love-ſongs were, by the oaths of credible perſons, and of thoſe well acquainted with her Majeſty's hand-writing, declar'd to be the Queen's own writing; beſides Dalgleiſh was apprehended by venturing to Edinburgh-caſtle upon Bothwell's expreſs order to carry off theſe letters, and to have them kept up in a place of ſafety,

The contract of marriage drawn up by Huntley, and ſign'd April 5.

Bothwell's trial, and his arts.

The tenth of April Bothwell was brought upon his trial: he brought to Edinburgh on this occaſion all his friends, followers, and adherents, with a great body of arm'd Men, with evident deſigns to cut off the Earl of Lenox and his friends at this time, if they had ventur'd to approach to Edinburgh. The Earl of Lenox, and his friends and vaſſals had been ſo diſtreſs'd, perſecuted, and impoveriſh'd by the Queen's ſeverities and hardſhips, that he had but a ſmall handful of men to attend him; and moſt of the Nobility and Gentry were afraid to be his friends, leſt thereby they ſhould incur the Queen's diſpleaſure. The Queen's manifeſt deſign was to hurry on the trial of Bothwell, and ſo to have matters order'd as that Lenox, who was the proſecutor, ſhould not be in ſafety to attend, nor have time to find out and collect his evidence. The Earl of Lenox wrote to Queen Mary, praying a delay of the trial, and gave weighty and important reaſons for putting it off. There were likewiſe Letters paſs'd betwixt them of compliment; but Mary was fully determin'd to have Bothwell acquitted any how, and therefore would loſe no time, in order to have her marriage declar'd with ſome ſhew of innocence. The letters, on this occaſion, which paſs'd betwixt the Queen and the Earl of Lenox, are inſerted in Anderſon's Collections, which he had from the Cottonian Library, and ſhew, to demonſtration, how baſely he and his Family were ſerved by the Queen. The jury likewiſe was ſo order'd and pack'd, that they were to do what they knew agreeable to the Queen; ſo that Bothwell was impudent in preſſing for his trial, a delay being dangerous: And conſcious of his own guilt, no ſtone was left unturn'd to defeat the Earl of Lenox's deſign, by inſiſting for his being brought to trial. The Earl of Lenox was ſummoned by the proper officers of the Criminal Court, and Privy Council, to appear, and to arraign Bothwell, at a time when he was not in ſafety to attend. The jury, whoſe names are here inſerted, were of the Queen's and Bothwell's picking, viz.

A liſt of the jury, and order of trial.

Andrew Earl of Rothes.
George Earl of Caithneſs, Chancellor of the jury.
Gilbert Earl of Caſſils.
Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of Aberbrotheck, ſon to the Duke of Chatle le Rhault.
James Lord Roſs.
Robert Lord Semple.
John Maxwell Lord Herris.
Laurence Lord Oliphant.
John, Maſter of Forbes.
John Gordon, of Lochinvar.
James Cockburn, of Lanton.
John Somerville of Cambuſnethan.
Mowbray, of Barnbowgall.
Ogilvie, of Boyne.

The

The court being conſtituted for the trial of the Earl of Bothwell, and the jury being ſworn, the ſeveral officers ſent to ſummons the Earl of Lenox, as proſecutor, to appear and arraign the Lord Bothwell, were call'd in, and gave in a proper inſtrument, certifying their execution of their orders. The Earl of Lenox appear'd by proxy, repreſented by Robert Cunningham, Eſq; who produced his letter of attorney and his orders from the Earl of Lenox, requiring a delay of the trial until he ſhould be capable to attend in perſon and have all his evidence prepar'd; but, notwithſtanding that the Earl of Lenox had given ſufficient and very ſtrong reaſons for not proceeding upon Bothwell's trial at this juncture, yet his trial was brought on, and the indictment ſo cook'd, that the day of the King's murder was inſerted for the ninth of February, whereas the tenth of February was the day on which the murder of the King was perpetrated. Upon this deſigned flaw in Bothwell's indictment, and my Lord Lenox's not appearing at this time, the famous jury acquitted Bothwell from the bar; which acquitment happen'd upon Saturday, April the 12th, 1567, being ſo order'd that Bothwell ſhould be clear'd before the meeting of the Parliament, which was appointed for the Monday following, the 14th day of the ſaid April. I have here ſubjoin'd ſo many of the original Letters which paſs'd betwixt the Queen and Lenox, and will make appear whether the Lord Lenox was well uſed or not, and the trial conducted with honour. Theſe letters are ſtill preſerv'd in the Cotton Library; only this far my reader muſt obſerve, that in the dates of theſe, as copied by Anderſon, there is a miſtake of the year, being dated 1566 inſtead of 1567.

## LETTERS betwixt Queen Mary and the Erle of Lenox, about apprehending and trying ſuch Perſons as were ſuſpected of the King's murder.

### A LETTER from the Earl of Lenox to Queen Mary.

Pleiſit zour Majeſtie,

I Haif reſſavit be this berare my ſervand zour maiſt gratious and comfortabill lettre, for the whilk I raunder unto zour Hienes maiſt humbill thanks, and truſts nevir to deſerve uther at zour Majeſties hands then as zour Hienes offeris in zour ſaid letter; and ſeing it pleiſis zour Majeſtie to accept and take in gude pairt my ſimpill adyis and counſall, it boldens me the mair to continew thairin, and ſpecialie in this following. That quhaires notwithſtanding the travell and laubour quhilk I perceave zour Majeſtie takis for the juſt tryal of this lait cruell act, and zet the offendars not being knawn, to my greit greif, I am thairfoir forcit be nature and dewtie to be ſa bald as to geve zour Majeſtie my poor and ſimpill advyſe for bringand the mater to licht; quhilk is, to beſeik zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie for Godis cauſe, and the honour of zour Majeſtie and this zour realme, that zour Hieneſs wold with convenient dilligence aſembil the haill Nobilitie & Eſtatis of zour Majeſties realme, and thai be zair advys to take ſic gude ordour for the perfit tryall of the mater as I dout not, bot with the grace of Almychty God, his halie ſprit ſall ſa wirk upon the hartis of zour Majeſtie and all zour faythfull ſubjectis, as the bluddie & cruell actoris of this deid ſall be manifeſtlie knawn. And althoch I knaw I neid not to put zour Majeſtie in rememberance thair of the matter tuiching zour Majeſtie ſa neir as dois, zet I ſall humelie deſyre zour Majeſtie to bere with me in trubilling zour Hienes thairin, being the Fader to him that is gone: ſa committes zour Majeſtie to the protection of Almiechie God quha preſerv zou with lang lyf and maiſt happie regne. From ——— ———

The 20 day of Februar ——— ———

### A LETTER from Queen Mary to the Earl of Lenox. An Original.

RICHT traſt Couſing and Counſalour, we greet zou weill, we have reſſauit zour lettre of Houſtoun the xx day of this inſtant, gevand ws thankes for the accepting of zour gude will and counſell in ſa gude part, in that we did onlie it quhilk wes richt & in ſchewing zou all the pleſſure & guid well that we can, we do bot our dewtie, & it quhilk naturall affectioun mon compell ws unto, alwayes of that ze may aſſüire zure ſelf, als certainly at this preſent & hereafter ſo lang as God gevis ws lyff, as euir ze mycht have done ſin our firſt acquentance with you. And for the eſſemble of the Nobilitie & Eſtaits, quhilk ze adviſe ws to caus be convenit, for a perfite triall to be had of the King our husbandis cruel ſlauchter, it is in deid convenient that ſue ſuld be, and evin ſchortlie. Before the recept of zour lettre we had cauſit proclame a Parlement; at the quhilk we doubt not bot thay all for the moiſt part ſall be preſent; quhair, firſt of all, this matter being maiſt deir to ws, ſall be handillit, & no thing left undone quhilk may further the clere triall of the ſame; and we for our awin part, as we aucht, and all Noblemen likwiſs, we doubt not, ſall maiſt willinglie direct all our witts and ingynis to this end, as experience in fyne with Goddis grace ſall gif

witnaſſing to the warld. And ſua we commit you to God. At Seytoun, the xxi day of Februar, 1566.

Zour gud Dohter,
Marie R.

## A Letter from the Earl of Lenox to Queen Mary.

I Rander maiſt humyll thanks onto zour Majeſtie for zour gracious & comfortable lettre quhilk I haif reſauit the 24 of yis inſtant, & quhairas I perſaif be ye ſame that it is zour Majeſties pleſſur to remit the tryal of yis lait odious act to the tyme of a parliament; pleſit zour Majeſtie, althocht I am aſſurit zour Heines thinks the tyme als lang as I do till ye matter be tryit & ye actors of yat deid condinglie puniſit, (zit I ſall humelie craif zour Majeſties pardounis in trubilling zour Hienes ſa oft thairin as I do, for yat ye mater twechis me ſa near) beſeiking zour Majeſtie maiſt humelie to accept yis my ſymple avyſe in guid part as follows; quhilk is, that qhair ye tyme is lang to ye parliament, yis matter bot of ſic wecht & importance quhilk aucht rather to be with all expedicioun and diligence ſocht out & puniſt to the exemple of ye haill warld, as I knaw zour Majeſties wiſdom conſideres ye ſame far mair nor my witts can comprehend, zit for ſamekill as I heir of certain tikatts that hes bene put on ye Tolbuith dure of Edinburgh anſuering zour Majeſties fyrſt and ſecond proclamations qhilks names in ſpeciall certane perſones devyſars of ye cruall murthour, I ſall thairfoir maiſt humelie beſeik zour Majeſtie for the Luif of God, ye Honors of zour Majeſtie & zour Realme, & weill & quyetnes of the ſame, that it will plies zour Majeſtie furthwyth not onlie to apprehend & put in ſuir keeping the perſonis namit in the ſaid tikatts, bot als with diligence to aſſemble zour Majeſties Nobilitie, & yan be oppin proclamatioun to admoneis & requyre ye writtars of the ſaid tickatts compeir according to ye effect thairof. At quhilk tyme gyf yai do not, zour Majeſtie may be ye advyſe of zour Nobilitie & Counſall, releiff & put to libertie ye perſonis in tykatts foirſaid, ſa ſall zour Majeſtie do ane honorable & godlee act, in bringing ye mater to ſic ane narrow point as rather ye mater ſall appeir plainlie befoir zour Majeſtie, to ye puneſment of yame quha hes bene ye actors of yis cruall deid, or alls ye ſaid tykatts to be found vane of yameſelf, and ye perſonis quhilks ar sklanderit to be exonerit & put to libertie at zour Majeſties pleſſur.

26 Feb.——

## A Letter from Queen Mary to the Earl of Lenox. An Original.

RYcht traiſt couſing & counſalour, we greit zou weill. We have reſſauit zour lettre, & be the ſame perſauis that ze have pairtly miſtaken our lait lettre, ſent zou with zour ſervand upon the 24 of Februar, in that point, that we ſuld remit the triall of the odious act committit to the tyme of a Parliament; we menit not that, bot rather wald wyſhe to God, that it mycht be ſuddanlie & without delay try it; for ay, the ſounair the bettir and the gaetair confort for ws; zit becaus zour advyſe was, that we ſuld convent our haill Nobilitie for that purpos, we anſweritt zou, that we had alreddy proclamit a Parliament at the quhilk yai wald convene, & befoir the quhilk we ingeit it ſuld not be able to get thame togidder, ſen yui wald think dowble convening hevy to thame; and ſua in mention making of a Parliament, we menit not, that this tryall wes a Parliament mater, nor that it wes requeſit quhill then to differ it, bot that then the Nobilitie wald be beſt convenit. And quhair ze deſyr, that we ſuld cauſs the names contenit in ſum ticketts affixit on ye Tolbuith dur of Edinburgh, to be apprehendit and putt in ſuir keping; thair is ſa mony of the ſaidis ticketts and thairwithall ſa differit and contrarious to utheris in compting of the names, that we wott not uppoun quhat tekket to proceed, bot gif thair be any names mentionat in thame that ze think worthy to ſuffer a trial upoun zour advertiſement we ſall ſua proceid to the cognitioun taking as may ſtand with the lawis of this Realme, and being fund culpable ſall ſee the puniſment als regoruſlie execute as the wecht of the cryme deſervis. Quhat other things ze think mete to be done to that purpoſe we pray zow latt ws underſtand, & we ſall not omit any occaſioun quhilk may cleir the mater, & ſua fair ze weill. At Seytoun the firſt day of Marche.

Zour gud Dohter,
Marie R.

## A Letter from the Earl of Lenox to Queen Mary.

I thank zour Majeſtie maits humlie for zour gentill anſwer, as twechin the Ward of the Lennox, albeit ye ſamyn dois not ſingnifie onto me quhiddor it be zour Majeſties Will to beſtow ye ſam apoun me or not, or utherwyſe to diſpenſs with ye Prynſis aige comforme to my wrytting, and hwmill ſuit quhairin I wald be gladd to knaw zour Majeſties pleſour. Forther, quhair zour Majeſtie in zour formar lettre wryttis onto me that gif yair be ony names mentionatt in ye tickatts that was affixit apoun the Towbuith dure of Eddinburgh that I think

think worthy to ſuffir a tryal for ye murthorer of the Kyng zour husband, apound my advertiſement zour Majeſtee ſuld proceid to ye cognitioun takin as may ſtand with ye lawis of yis realme, and being fund culpable ſall ſee ye puniſchment als rigorouſlie executit as the wycht of ye cryme deſervis. Pleiſit zour Majeſtee my humill petitioun was onto zour Hieneſs, and zett is, that it may plaiſs zow not onelie to apprehend & put in keipyng the perſonis namitt in ye tickatts, quhilk anſwerit to zour Majeſteis firſt & ſecond proclamationis, but als with diligence to aſſemble zour Majeſties hell nobilitie, & yan be oppin proclamatoun to admonyſhe & requyre ye writtars of ye ſaid tickatts to compeir accordyng to the effect thaireof, at quhilk tyme gyf thay do not, zour Majeſtie may be ye adwyſe of zour ſaid nobilitie & counſell, relief & put to libertie ye perſonis in the tickatts foirſaid, and for ye namis of ye perſonis foirſaid: I merwell that ye ſamyn hes bene keipit fra zour Majeſties aeirs, conſidering ye effect of ye ſaid tickatts, and ye names of ye perſonis is ſwa oppinlie takit of, that is to ſay, in the firſt tickatt, the Earle Bothwell, Maiſter James Belfowr, Mr. David Chalmirs, & Black Johne Spenſs; and in the ſecond tickatt, Symoúr Francis Baſtiane, Johne de Burdeouſs, and Joſeph Daecryis brother; quhilk perſonis I aſſuyre zour Majeſtie I, for my part, greitlie ſuſpect; & now zour Majeſtie knawing yair namis, & being ye partie als weill & mair, nor I am althocht I was ye father, I dout not bot zour Majeſtie will take ordour in ye mater accordyng to the wecht of the cauſe quhilk I maiſt inteirlie & humilie beſeik. Sa committs zour Majeſtie to ye protection of Almychty God.

17 March, 1566.

## A LETTER from the Earl of Lenox to Queen Mary, beſeeching the Queen to continue or prorogue the ſhort day appointed for Bothwell's trial.

PLES it your Majeſtie, I am laitlie informit, that thair hes bene proclamations maid at Glaſgu and Dumbartane, charging me and others, havand or pretendand to haif entreſs, to concure with our Majeſtie and to purſew the Erll Boithwell, and uthers, for the treſonable murther of the King your Majeſtie husband, to compeir befoir your Heines juſtice, or his deputeis, in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, the 12 day of Apryll inſtant; the quhilk I aſſuir your Majeſtie I am not abill to keip: for being preſentlie on my jornay, upon ſett purpoiſe and deliberit mynd to keip the ſaim, am fallin in ſic diſeaſe that I may noway gudlie travell; zeal althocht I war abill I dout not bot in conſideration of the ſhortnes of tyme and importance of this gret and weichtie mater, and alſs in reſpect of ſundre uthers reſonable motivis and cauſis belonging to the ſame, your Majeſtie will bear me in beſeiking your Majeſtie maiſt humelie, for juſtice and ryghtious cauſis, and for your awin honour, being maiſt principall partie, that it will pleis your Majeſtie, conform to my formar ſeverall letters, your Hienes wald cauſe apprehend, and put in ſuir keiping, the ſuſpect perſonis namit in the ſame; avoyding your Majeſties cumpany of them: for it was nevir hard of bot in the tryall of ſic ane odious fact all ſuſpectit perſonis was allwyais apprehendit, quhat degre ſoever thai war of, ſuppois thai war not giltie of the fact, till the matter was trewlie tryit: and alſo, that it wald pleis zour Majeſtie to differ this day of law onto ſic ane reaſonable tyme as I may not onlie convene my friends for keiping of the ſaim, conform to the lawis of this realme, as your Majeſtie ſall appoint; bot alſo that I may haif ſufficient tyme to ſerſs and ſeik trew tryall at all hands and in all parts, for manifeſtation of this maiſt odious cryme, ſwa I ſall not fail, God willing, to keip that tyme appoyntit, and hoippis in God to bring with me ſic pruif as the trewth ſall be knawn; utherwayis the ſuſpect perſonis continewing ſtill at libertie, being gret in court and about your Majeſties perſon, comforts & incoragis thame and thairs, and diſcoragis all utheris that wald gyf evidence agains thame; ſo that gyf your Majeſtie ſuffer this ſchort daye of law to go forwart efter the manner as is appointit, I aſſure your Majeſtie ye ſall haf ne juſt tryall, as ye ſall haiſe heirefter: and this geving your Majeſtie my ſymple advyſs in the wayis I can, for the juſt tryal of this unnaturall and cruall fact, ſa neir as God gives me the grace, according to my dewtie, beſecking alſo your Majeſtie maiſt humelie to grant me your hie commiſſion to apprehend and tak ſic perſonis as I ſall get knawledge that was at the crual Murthour. I committ your Majeſtie to the protexion of Almyghte God. I humelie beſeck your Majeſtie to pas this licence, to the effect of your Hienes laſt letter ſent unto me from Streveling, the 11 day of Apryll.

Monday April the 14th the Parliament met according to proclamation. As it was call'd only to promote Bothwell's marriage, and to reward Huntley for his fidelity and good ſervices, the firſt thing they proceeded to take into conſideration, was the reduction of Huntley's forfeiture and attainder, and his reſtoration to eſtate and honours; which was accordingly voted in Huntley's favour, by a great majority, April the 19th. Immediately after that very night Huntley and Bothwell confederated; procured a numerous meeting of the Lords and Commons of Parliament to a private meeting; and Bothwell having entertain'd them in a grand and elegant manner for his own purpoſes, after ſupper this night, procur'd from them an aſſociation and ſignature of all preſent to promote and ſupport his marriage to the Queen.

The Parliament deliberate only on what the Queen and Bothwell wanted to be done.

The

The Parliament was ſuddenly diſſolv'd upon the Lords aſſociating to ſupport Bothwell's marriage.

The next day, the intentions and views of the Queen by calling of the Parliament being fulfilled, the ſeſſions were prorogued until her Majeſty and Bothwell ſhould have all their ſyſtem put into execution: But to their future ſorrow, it happen'd that the diſappointment of all their patch'd, hurried, and illicit purpoſes produced the total overthrow of this criminal pair. The Parliament being broke up the Queen went to Stirling, according to private concert with Bothwell: here her Majeſty arrived April the 21ſt, and from this place wrote to Bothwell in what manner moſt ſecurely and ſecretly he could convey her off, and ſo as that it might, for the ſaving her honour, paſs under the colour and appearance of a rape, or raviſhing her, that is, taking her by force. Theſe letters are extant in the Cotton Library, as they were taken out of the ſilver box, which was ſeiz'd with Dalgleiſh, Bothwell's favourite ſervant, when apprehended June the 20th of this year 1567, and are faithfully copied by Anderſon in his Collections, vol. ii. They contain the moſt convincing proofs to an unbiaſs'd mind, that the Queen was determin'd to marry Bothwell; but in ſuch a manner as the celerity of her progreſs ſhould defeat all oppoſition to her views.

The Queen contrives her pretended rape.

The Queen reſolute to have Bothwell.

When the Queen retir'd to Stirling on the 21ſt, Huntley repair'd to her Majeſty and teſtified his uneaſineſs and repentance for entering into ſuch a dangerous aſſociation as to ſign the bond, whereby ſo many of the Nobility had bound themſelves to promote and ſupport the Queen's marriage to Bothwell. Bothwell was at Edinburgh at this time, collecting his forces according to concert, in order to meet and intercept the Queen and to make the ſham appearance of a rape. Her Majeſty, on the 23d of April, left Stirling and came to Linlithgow, accompanied by Huntley. Next morning her Majeſty ſent the Earl of Huntley with a meſſage to Bothwell, who now was advanced to Halton, with an arm'd force, to the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, and upon receipt of it Bothwell came up, took her Majeſty off as it were by force, making Huntley priſoner, together with her Majeſty's Secretary, and thus went in triumph with his Royal Captive to Dunbar. It is obſervable, that this very day the ſuit of divorce commenced before the Commiſſaries of Edinburgh, for diſſolution of Bothwell's marriage with Lord Huntley's ſiſter, Lady Jane Gordon; and the next day, April the 27th, another ſuit for divorcing them was carried on in the Primate of St. Andrew's Eccleſiaſtic Court. The judges conſtituted on this occaſion in the Eccleſiaſtic Court by commiſſion from the Primate, were, Robert biſhop of Dunkeld, William biſhop of Dumblane, Mr. Archbald Crawford parſon of Egleſham, Mr. John Manderſton one of the canons of the collegiate church of Dunbar, Mr. Alexander Creighton, and Mr. George Cooke, canons of the cathedral church of Dunkeld. In the Commiſſary Court of Edinburgh the judges nominated by commiſſion from the Queen, were, Mr. Robert Maitland, Mr. Robert Henderſon, Mr. Alexander Sim, and Mr. Clement Litle. Both theſe ſuits were begun and concluded in ten days time; ſuch was the Queen's hurry to be married to Bothwell, that no time was loſt. The divorce was carried on and granted in both Courts upon different grounds: In the Eccleſiaſtic Court the reaſons for the divorce aſſign'd, were, that Bothwell and his Lady were too nearly related, and within the degrees allow'd by the canons of the church; next, that to eſtabliſh the legitimacy of the marriage, Bothwell had not obtain'd a diſpenſation from his Holineſs for his marriage.

Queen Mary's counterfeit behaviour.

Bothwell's divorce from his Lady hurried on.

The judges of the Eccleſiaſtic Court and of the Commiſſary Court nominated by the Queen.

They for different pretended reaſons paſs ſentence of divorce.

In the other Court, the reaſons for divorce aſſign'd, were, adultery and criminal behaviour on the Lady's part: But this was only made appear by knights of the poſt, and evidence of a modern complexion in ſome courts of juſtice. Bothwell's adultery was ſcreen'd, excus'd and white-waſh'd; not to her Majeſty's honour.

The divorce ſhamefully procured.

The Lady Jane Gordon being thus divorc'd from her husband, the Queen and Bothwell thought now no time was to be loſt, to have their marriage celebrated and declar'd: therefore, on the third or fourth of May, Bothwell return'd from Dunbar to the caſtle of Edinburgh with her Majeſty, under an eſcort of a ſtrong body of men arm'd with ſpears and all other military accoutrements. Upon their entry into Edinburgh, however, they thought it moſt prudent not to alarm or provoke the diſcontented part of the city, which was far ſuperior in number; therefore Bothwell gave orders, that they ſhould lay aſide their armour, enter the city of Edinburgh with the greateſt decency and order, and proceed to the caſtle without any ſtop. Which was accordingly executed without any commotion or interruption.

The Queen's behaviour after the divorce was obtain'd.

The Queen comes to the caſtle of Edinburgh.

The day after the Queen's arrival in the caſtle with Bothwell, he ſent an order with proper inſtructions to the clerk or reader of the pariſh church of St. Giles, to publiſh in church the bans of marriage betwixt her Majeſty and Bothwell. The reader declin'd complying with the order, and acquainted Mr. John Craig with it. He, as parſon of St. Giles, did abſolutely forbid any ſuch thing, in regard that the report was current and ſtrong that Bothwell had raviſhed the Queen. Upon this the Queen found it neceſſary to ſend the proper officer, veſted with her authority and expreſs orders, to Craig the miniſter, carrying with him a letter ſign'd by her Majeſty to the miniſter, wherein ſhe declar'd ſhe neither had been detain'd nor raviſh'd, and therefore requir'd him to make publication of her bans of marriage with the Earl of Bothwell. The Juſtice Clerk, who was the officer of ſtate ſent by the Queen, having notified his orders and credentials to the miniſter, Craig made anſwer, that he could venture upon no ſuch ſtep without the approbation of the Church: Upon which, a meeting extraordinary was call'd of the reform'd clergy and elders, conſiſting of many noblemen and perſons of rank. Mr. Craig laid the affair before them, and after great debates it

Bothwell orders proclamation of bans in the church.

The Queen ſends the Juſtice Clerk to the Parſon with her letter, ordering publication of bans; which was debated by the Church.

was

was at length carried to allow Craig, after divine ſervice, to publiſh the Queen's letter, and to deliver his own ſentiments upon the intended marriage which was accordingly executed. Craig was a reformed proteſtant miniſter of ſpirit, of reſolution and fidelity to his truſt, no reſpecter of perſons, nor afraid of the diſpleaſure and threatnings of a debauch'd and profligate Court! true and unbiaſs'd, not a mute, complaiſant, ſmooth and oily teacher in the Church; a biſhop of chriſtian and primitive reſolution, not of royal appointment. He was not afraid to pronounce truth, to expoſe adultery at Court, and to make the moſt elevated in ſtation aſhamed of their pernicious example: Therefore after reading to his congregation or audience the Queen's ſign'd orders to him, he publickly declar'd his diſapprobation of any ſuch marriage, and avow'd publickly his reaſons for his diſſatisfaction, which were as follows: Firſt, that by the rules eſtabliſh'd in the reform'd Church, the marriage of perſons divorc'd for adultery was declar'd unlawful: Next he affirmed, that he did believe the divorce of Bothwell's lawful marriage had been procur'd by baſe practices and colluſion: And thirdly, that this marriage would confirm all ranks in the opinion of Bothwell's murdering the King, and the Queen's acceſſion to it, and of her being raviſh'd by Bothwell. Theſe bold, nervous, and ſtinging reaſons were deliver'd on friday and ſunday following in the high church of St. Giles's to a crouded audience of Nobility, Gentry, and others: Upon which Craig the miniſter was taken into cuſtody and carried before the Privy Council; being asked, how he could venture upon ſuch ſcandalous and horrid imputations upon her Majeſty and the Earl of Bothwell? He with magnanimity and heroic ſteadineſs anſwer'd them, that he own'd and adher'd to all he had aſſerted, and in the name of his Lord and Maſter requir'd Bothwell, as he would avoid the wrath and judgment of God, to amend and to repent of his wicked life, to deſiſt from ſo infamous a marriage which would load her Majeſty with laſting diſgrace, and in the event might prove her ruin: However the Council thought it convenient not to detain but to diſmiſs Craig, and to proceed with the marriage, finding an increaſing flame againſt it to prevent it if poſſible.

Craig allow'd to publiſh the Queen's letter with his own mind.

Craig's character and honeſt behaviour.

Craig carried before the Council, and behaves with reſolution.

He charges Bothwell to break off the marriage.

Next ſunday Craig repeated all he had affirmed to the Privy Council; upon which he was ordered again into cuſtody, and upon being brought before them he was ask'd, how he could exceed ſo far the bounds of decency and his orders? To which he anſwer'd, that the bounds of his commiſſion were the word of God, good laws, and his reaſon. Sure, ſuch a ſpiritual doctor or paſtor of modern production would be declar'd a madman, enthuſiaſt, and fool! yea, he might ſit down fully certain never to be decorated with a mitre or lawns, according to the taſte of ſome Courts.

Craig repeats his former behaviour.

His uncommon ſpirit.

Bothwell having threaten'd Craig in ſtrong and ſevere language, thought it prudent and moſt expedient to diſmiſs him until the marriage ſhould be over. Craig being diſmiſs'd, the Council took the Queen's marriage into conſideration. Her Majeſty notified to them her reſolution for it; and therefore it was agreed upon in Council, that her Majeſty ſhould publickly appear with the Earl of Bothwell, and in preſence of the Privy Council and Officers of State, make public and ſolemn declaration to the Lords of Seſſion or Judges, in the Council-chamber of the City of Edinburgh, that ſhe never was raviſh'd or detain'd violently by Bothwell, but was at full liberty, and had now accepted of him as her choice for her Royal Conſort. Accordingly this was executed in form on the 12th day of May this year 1567, and ſo they paſs'd together to the palace of Holyrood-houſe, where they were married after the different forms of the Proteſtant and of the Romiſh Churches, May the 15th. Adam Biſhop of Orkney performed the marriage-ceremony in the Chapel-royal in the Palace, and afterwards her Majeſty's Confeſſor and Father married them according to the rites of the Church of Rome. Few of the Nobility witneſſed the celebration, and the moſt of them retir'd from court to their country-ſeats. The French ambaſſador Crocus was invited by her Majeſty to witneſs the ſolemnity, and to the grand feſtival which followed; but he excuſed himſelf, and did not go to Court on this occaſion, being ſenſible how diſagreeable the whole ſcene of the Queen's behaviour had been, and how hateful ſhe was become to the far greater part of the Kingdom. Upon this occaſion her Majeſty had oppoſed the gratification of her pleaſures with Bothwell and her paſſion for him, to all the intreating, friendly, and ſtrong ſolicitations of the King of France, and of the Queen of England, by their repeated letters diſſuading her from ſuch a ſtep.

The marriage goes on.

The Queen declares her intentions to marry in form.

The Queen's marriage celebrated with great feaſting, but few rejoicing.

The Queen loſes the affections of her people and allies.

The Nobility of the firſt rank, and of moſt influence in the State, having all now deſerted her Majeſty and the Court, (the Hamiltons alone excepted, and ſome others of the moſt inſignificant) the people begun to ſhew openly their diſſatisfaction and diſcontent: The Earl of Athol had abandon'd the Queen and Court ſome days after the Regicide reſolv'd not to return, and heartily repenting his being at Court at the time the tragedy was acted, yea, and of his giving the leaſt countenance to the intrigues of Murray, Morton, Huntley, and Bothwell, which iſſued forth in ſuch a bloody and black ſcene. Therefore now fearing the ſafety of the young King's perſon, he repair'd to Stirling without loſs of time, and there held a ſecret conſultation with a conſiderable number of the Nobility and Gentry about the moſt effectual means for the preſervation of the King's perſon out of Bothwell's hands. The heads of this aſſociation were the Earls of Athol, Argyle, Mar, Morton, and Glencairn, with the Lords Lindſay and Boyd. But the Earl of Argyle, with Lord Boyd, proving treacherous to their confederates, diſcloſed all their deliberations to the Queen at this juncture, which put them

The Queen and Court deſerted by her Nobility.

The Nobility met at Stirling, but were betray'd.

in agitation, and greatly diſconcerted them in their meaſures; but Bothwell, to defeat their deſigns, engaged her Majeſty to ſend forthwith the Biſhop of Dunblane as her Ambaſſador to France, with ſecret inſtructions to her friends the Guiſes not only to notify her marriage and her reaſons for it, but likewiſe to ſolicit in the ſtrongeſt terms for powerful ſuccours from his French Majeſty, to enable her to ſuppreſs all her rebellious and diſaffected ſubjects. This embaſſy had not the wiſh'd-for ſucceſs, the Court of France being greatly diſſatisfied with the Queen's marriage, which certainly was repreſented much to the Queen's diſadvantage and diſhonour by Murray now at the French Court, therefore they gave no ſatisfactory anſwer to the demands of the Scotch Ambaſſador.

An Ambaſſy ſent to France without ſucceſs.

The Queen much embarraſs'd.

The Queen now much perplex'd, and dreading an inſurrection to ſecure the young King her ſon from her and Bothwell (who now was Duke of Rothſay and the Orkneys) ſhe, I ſay, was willing in ſuch a cloudy ſituation, to calm and regain the minds of the people, firſt, by declaring publickly all privileges and immunities granted to the romiſh Religion, to the prejudice of the proteſtant Faith, to be void and of no future force, and that ſhe would in time coming adhere to the true reform'd Religion.

The Queen's manifeſto did not ſatisfy.

Next ſhe iſſued a manifeſto, declaring to all her ſubjects, that ſhe was determined to ſhew them her ſincere diſpoſition to do every thing in concert with her Council and Nobility which they would approve of for the preſervation and care of her ſon; and this ſhe was induced to by Bothwell to amuſe the nation, but without ſucceſs. Her Majeſty had made but a little before

The new Privy Council;

a new nomination of her Privy Council and Officers of State as follows; the Primate, the Earls of Crawford, Errol, Caſſils, Morton, Rothes, Argyle; Athol, Mariſhall and Huntley, with the Earl of Cathneſs, the Lords Fleming, Herris, Boyd, and Lindſay, with the Biſhops of Galloway and Roſs, and Lord Oliphant: Her Majeſty made the following eſtabliſhment as to their attendance, that a Committee of Council ſhould be ſtill in waiting for the diſpatch

Their manner of attendance.

of buſineſs, but that they ſhould be relieved every three months, and when times were more ſettled every ſix weeks; that upon all extraordinary emergencies, her Majeſty ſhould be at liberty to join any Noblemen ſhe thought proper to the ordinary Committee of Council. But all her Majeſty's oily and ſmooth behaviour was of no ſervice to recover the regard and

The Queen and Bothwell apprehend danger, and prepare for it.

affection of her ſubjects. Therefore her Majeſty, with her husband Bothwell, obſerving the clouds gathering, to be prepared againſt the worſt events, reſolved, under pretence of eſcorting the Queen to hold her Courts of Juſtice againſt the plundering banditti on the frontier, ſhe ordered a general rendezvous of all the ſenſible men to appear under arms, provided with

The Queen and Bothwell levy forces.

all neceſſary ſtores, &c. for fifteen days, to join her Majeſty at Borthwick-caſtle, and thence to proceed to the frontier to hold Courts of Juſtice; but the real deſign was to levy a ſufficient force to repel any attempt from the Lords to carry off the young King, or to ſeparate the Queen from Bothwell. Her Majeſty's ſmooth and amuſing declarations to ſoften the

The Nobility raiſe their men and march to Edinburgh from Stirling.

minds of the people had no ſucceſs. The Nobility were now alarmed, and having aſſembled their Men in arms and being joined by numbers, they paſſed the Forth, and marched from Stirling to Edinburgh, where, upon the eleventh of June, the Nobility and Gentry held a Council extraordinary in the Canongate, in which they drew up and publiſh'd a declaration,

They ſet forth a declaration firſt, and then their proclamation for apprehending Bothwell.

entitled, Their reſolutions concerning the ſtate of the Nation. By this declaration they charge Bothwell and his Servants with the murder of the King, and require all the citizens, inhabitants and others belonging to the City of Edinburgh, forthwith to join them in arms to apprehend Bothwell, and to deliver the Queen out of his hands. This declaration was likewiſe ſent by expreſſes to all quarters of the kingdom, with orders for all their friends to haſten and join them without loſs of any time. Bothwell having got together ſome hundreds of armed men, proceeded againſt the Lords Hume and Ferneherſt, who had raiſed their men, intending to march to join their friends at Edinburgh; but Bothwell, with the Queen, not chooſing to risk an action of ſuch conſequence until they were reinforced, thought it moſt. expedient in the preſent conjuncture to ſecure themſelves with their forces in the Caſtle of

Bothwell and the Queen fly from Borthwick-caſtle.

Borthwick. The Lord Hume advanced with his men to ſurround the place, but not having ſufficient ſtrength to accompliſh his deſign, Bothwell found means to make his eſcape, firſt to Melroſs, and then to Dunbar, and the Queen ſoon followed, having diſguis'd herſelf in mens

The Lords Hume and Ferneherſt join the Nobility at Edinburgh, and proclaim Bothwell a traitor.

apparel; upon which the Lords Hume and Ferneherſt removed to Edinburgh, where they found that the other Lords and Privy Counſellors after deliberation had iſſued out, upon the twelfth day of this June, a proclamation for apprehending the perſon of the Earl of Bothwell, and giving expreſs orders to all officers and others, to uſe all diligent ſearch to diſcover, ſeize, and carry him before the Privy Council, in order to take his trial for the murder of the King. Both the declaration and proclamation, according to the dates mentioned, are in the records of the Privy Council, and copied out by Anderſon in his Collections, vol. I. pag. 128 and 139.

Murray's cunning and addreſs.

Thus now the Earls of Murray, Morton, Huntley, &c. who had ſet on Bothwell to cut off the King, having fulfilled their promiſe of procuring the Queen in marriage to Bothwell, had now raiſed the ſpirit of the Nation, and produced ſuch a dangerous confederacy againſt Bothwell as demonſtrated to him the immediate proſpect of no leſs than his total overthrow,

Bothwell's overthrow evidently approaching.

which they knew well could not but happen; and was the moſt effectual way for theſe Nobility to get rid of him, with whom they could never be ſafe, nor in hearty and cordial friendſhip. It is evident Murray, tho' in France, acted with art and addreſs behind the curtain, for the Nobility, who were in the oppoſition to Bothwell and who animated the body

body of the nation to ſuch vigorous reſolutions againſt Bothwell and the Queen after her marriage, were Murray's intimate friends and his chief confidents. But paſſing this.

The Lords being now aſſembled in the Canongate, and concerting their meaſures, they reſolved to enter the city with all their force: firſt they demanded acceſs; but the gates were ſhut by the orders of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, without any further oppoſition. The Earls of Huntley and Argyle, the Lord Boyd, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the Biſhop of Roſs, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were by the Queen's appointment now reſiding in the city of Edinburgh, in order to take care of the Queen's Intereſt till her return, or in caſe of any ſudden emergency. Upon notice that the Nobility with their army were at the city gates, they went to all the ſtreets and exercis'd their eloquence to the multitudes, now in diſorder, to encourage them to unite in a body, and with reſolution to repel the Lords from the city gates: But the mob and crouds favour'd the Nobility, and were quite diſaffected to the Queen; therefore Huntley, the Primate, the other Clergy and Nobility in her Majeſty's intereſt, thought it moſt proper to provide for their own ſafety, by retiring to the caſtle; accordingly they were all received and protected there by Sir James Balfour, lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh caſtle, who then had the chief command in Bothwell's abſence. This was the ſame Sir James Balfour who aſſiſted Bothwell in ſtrangling the King, and was a perſon of infamous character. The Queen's friends had ſcarcely ſecured themſelves in the caſtle, before that the Lords forced their entrance by one of the poſtern gates call'd St. Mary's, at the foot of St. Mary's wind or lane. Having enter'd the city they by proclamation ſummon'd all the citizens, inhabitants, and others to join their ſtandard in four hours, and to unite with them in the moſt direct meaſures for the apprehending Bothwell, and ſeparating her Majeſty from him; declaring, that ſuch as did not comply within the time limited ſhould be held as Enemies to them and their kingdom; becauſe they were in certain knowledge, that Bothwell by his levying forces pointed at being maſter of the young King.

The Lords with their force enter the city of Edinburgh.

The Queen's friends endeavour to raiſe the citizens, but in vain.

They retire to the caſtle.

Balfour's character.

The Lords enter the city, and ſummon all to join them.

The Queen being now with Bothwell at Dunbar, was diligent and ſucceſsful in aſſembling all the force ſhe could; and Biſhop Spotſwood affirms, that in a few hours ſhe had got together above 4000 effective men, well arm'd. Which ſo encouraged Bothwell and her Majeſty, that they were determin'd to march towards the Lords, and if they did ſtand to risk an engagement. The Queen with her army march'd from Dunbar June the 14th, and advanced towards Gladſmuir and Carberry-hill. The Lords were not far inferior in numbers to the Queen's army; the violence of the mob and ſpirit of the people however began to cool, and ſo ſeveral deſerted the Lords; ſo that if the Queen had delay'd her approach to Edinburgh for ſome days, ſhe had occaſion'd a diſunion and ſeparation of the Lords; but they finding her Majeſty reſolute to attack them, collected all the force they were capable of and march'd to Muſſelburgh, determin'd to ſtand an action. When within a few miles of one another, the Lords by their ſcouts diſcover'd, that the difference of numbers and the Queen's ſuperiority was but inconſiderable, therefore they advanc'd till within ſight of each other. Her Majeſty the 14th of June at night lay at Seaton-houſe, and thence next day at noon march'd for Carberry hill. The Lords, becauſe of the advantageous ſituation of the Queen's army, did not think proper to begin the attack directly, but turn'd to the right and march'd as it were to Dalkeith (which then belonged to the Earl of Morton,) in order to draw off the Queen's army from their ground. The Queen's army accordingly were deceiv'd by this ſtratagem, and imagining the Lords were fled, order'd to purſue them, but they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake. The Lords with their army wheel'd and form'd upon them: the van of the Nobility was led on by the Earl of Morton and the Lord Hume, the center by the Earls of Mar, Athol and Glencairne, with the Lords Lindſay and Ruthwin, Semple and Sanqhuar; the rear was brought up by Douglas of Drumlanrig, Murray of Tullibarden, Selford and Kirkaldy of Grange, Eſqrs. Both armies being now upon the point of action, the French Ambaſſador rode up to the Lords to mediate and to prevent the effuſion of Blood. He propoſed to Morton and the other Nobility, that there ſhould be a mutual forgiveneſs and oblivion of all that had paſs'd, and of the preſent inſurrection: But the Earl of Morton, in the name of the whole Nobility, made anſwer, that they had not taken arms againſt the Queen, but in order to bring the murderer of the King to juſt puniſhment, and therefore if her Majeſty would either deliver him up or depart from him, they were ready to demonſtrate their ſteady loyalty and affection to her. The interview and conference, by means of the French Ambaſſador, continued ſome time, the Queen's army waiting in their entrenchments: The common men of the Queen's army diſcover'd an averſion at fighting; but the Queen was reſolute for it, and ſo were Bothwell's Friends, but they dreaded a deſertion and treachery in their army. Bothwell rode out from the lines in front and offer'd to fight any one of the Lords army, but being taken up, and his challange accepted by Murray of Tullibarden, Lord Lindſay, and other Lords, he ſham'd, and pretended it was diſhonourable for him to fight with any his inferiors. The Queen at laſt finding the Lords reſolute to attack her army, provided for Bothwell's eſcape, and in the mean time, under pretence of treating and capitulating with her Lords, ſhe ſent for Kirkaldy of Grange to make her terms with the Nobility. She talk'd to him for ſome time until ſhe thought Bothwell was well and ſafe off; then ſhe acquainted Grange ſhe was willing to come over to the Lords, and to go with them; expreſſing herſelf in the following words when ſhe came to the Lords.

The Queen is reinforced at Dunbar.

The Queen marches to Seaton, and thence to Carberry-hill.

Her miſtaken conduct.

The ſtratagem of the Lords.

Their order of battle.

The French Ambaſſador mediates an agreement.

The Queen for fighting.

Bothwell ſhams fighting.

He eſcapes.

The Queen comes over to the Lords.

My

My Lords,

'I Am come to you out of no fear I have of my life, nor from any doubts and apprehenſions of the hazard of a victory, but to prevent the effuſion of chriſtian blood, and with full reſolution to commit myſelf to the care of my Nobility, to yield to you, and to be directed by you for the future in all my counſels and deliberations, truſting in your regard and affection to me, as to your rightful Queen and Princeſs.'

The Queen's reception and behaviour.

The Nobility at firſt received her Majeſty with the moſt tender marks of affection and duty; but when ſhe inſiſted to go to the Hamiltons and to confer with them, the Lords would not comply with her requeſt: Upon which her Majeſty teſtify'd her indignation and wrath in ſome ſharp expreſſions. That night her Majeſty was brought to Edinburgh and lodg'd in an apartment of Craigmillar's, then Mayor of the city. Next day, which was June 16, 1567, the Lords pretended that they were afraid of a reſcue from the Hamilton Family and their intereſt, and therefore in the Evening they convey'd her Majeſty over to the caſtle of Loch-Levin, and committed her, by Morton's directions, to the care of her greateſt enemy the Earl of Murray's mother: thither her Majeſty was attended by the Lords Ruthwen and Lindſay, and here her Majeſty remained to the ſecond of May 1568, when ſhe made her eſcape by the favour of George Douglas the Regent's brother. It was very extraordinary, and not ſo dutiful, as they profeſs'd, in theſe nobility, when they had got their Queen into their cuſtody, to lock her up under cloſe and diſmal confinement. If they had been ſincere in what they declared, that they had levied war and taken up arms only to bring Bothwell to juſtice; now that they had their Queen, they might have treated her as ſuch and proceeded with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt Bothwell: He, and not the Queen, was to be proſecuted, and therefore without incroaching upon her royal prerogative, they might have executed their pleaſure againſt Bothwell. Bothwell remain'd ſecreted ſome days at Dunbar in his caſtle, until he ſhould have matters ordered for his eſcape, and have carried off ſome papers of conſequence and effects from the caſtle of Edinburgh, where his lieutenant-governor Sir James Balfour was upon the point of capitulating and ſurrendering to the Lords, to procure terms to himſelf. On this occaſion it was, that Dalgleiſh, Bothwell's truſty ſervant, venturing to carry off papers and effects from the caſtle of Edinburgh, was intercepted and taken priſoner June the twentieth of this year, and with him was found the box with the amorous letters and ſongs from the Queen to Bothwell, written with her Majeſty's own hand, of which I ſhall give my reader the heads, as drawn out and mark'd with Cecil's own hand, and found in the Paper-office, which journal I here ſubjoin under the following title, the letters at large being inſerted in Anderſon's Collections.

The Queen ſtays only one night at Edinburgh.

The Queen is confined in Loch-Levin-caſtle.

Bothwell at Dunbar ſecreted.

His ſervant taken with a box of letters.

A ſhort abſtract and journal of notes drawn from Queen Mary's Letters to Bothwell, which will illuſtrate to all men, whether or not there was any criminal correſpondence betwixt them before the King's death. This abſtract is to be found in the Paper-office, and clears up facts. It is tituled notes drawn furth of Queen Mary's letters to Bothwell, &c. written and mark'd with Cecil's hand.

Imprimis, after lang diſcourſe of hir conference with the King hir huisband in Glaſcow, ſche wreitis to the ſaid Erle in thir termes. This my firſt jurnay I ſall end the ſame the morne I wreit in all thingis, howbeit they be of littill weycht, to the end that ye may tak the beſt of all to judge upoun, I am in doing ane wark heir that I haitte gretlie, haife ye not diſyr to lauche to ſie me lie ſa weil at the leiſt to diſſemble ſo weill, and to tell hym the treuth betwex handis.

Item. Schortlie after. We are coupled with twaefals racis, the devill ſyndere us: and God mot knit us togidder for ever for the maiſt faithful cupple that ever he unitit. This is my faith, I will die in it.

Item. Thairefter. I am not weill at eaſe, and zeit verray glaid to wreit unto you quhen the reſt ar ſlepand ſen that I cannot ſleip as they do, and a I wald diſyr that is in your armis my deir luife.

Item. A littill thaireafter adverteis me quhat ze haif deliberat to do in the mater ye knaw upoun this point, to the end we may underſtand utheris wele that nathing thair throw be ſpilt.

Item. Thus ſche concludis the lettre. Wareit mocht this pokiſhe man be that cauſes me haif ſa meckill pane, for without him I wald haif ane far mair pleſant ſubject to diſcourſe upoun, he is not our meikle ſpilt, bot he is gottin verray mekill, he has almaiſt ſlane me with his braith, it is war nor your unclis, and zeit I cum nae neirar bot ſat in ane cheir at the bedfute and he beand at the uther end thairof.

Item. Thairefter. Ye gar me diſſemble ſa far that I haif horring thairat, and ze caus me almaiſet do the office of ane trahatores. Remember you yf it were not to obey you, I had raither be deid or I did it, my heart blidis at it. Summa, he will not cum with me except upoun conditioun that I ſall be at bed and bourd with hym as of befoir, and that I ſall leif him na efter.

Item.

Item ſchortlie thairefter. Summa he will gae upoun my word to all places; alace I never diſſavit any bodie, bot I remit me altogidder to your will. Send me advertiſment quhat I ſall do, and qhatſumever ſall cum thairof I ſall obey yow advys to with yourſelf, yff ye can fynd out any mair ſecreit inventioun be medicein and the baith in Craigmillar.

Item. Thairefter I ſall draw out all thingis out of hym, gif ye will that I advow all thingis unto hym; bot I will never rejois to diſſave any bodie that truſtis in me, zet notwithſtanding ye may command me in all thingis haif no evill opinioun of me for that cauſe, be reaſon ye ar the occaſioun of it your ſelf, becauſe for my awn particular reveng I wold no do it to hym.

Item after. For certaintie he ſuſpectis that thing ye know, and his lyif, bot as to the laſt how ſone I ſpeak twae or thrie guid wordis unto hym, he rejois and is out of doubt.

Item ſchortlie thairefter. All the Hamiltounis are heir with me, and accompanies me verry honorablay.

Item thairefter. Be not offendit, for I gif not our mekill credyt now, ſence to obey you my deir luife I ſpare nouthing, honor, conſcience, nor gretnes quhatſumever. I pray yow tak it in guid part, and not after the interptetation of you fals guid bruther, to quhom I pray yow gif nae credyns agains the maiſt faythfull luifer that ever ye had or ever ſall haif, ſie not hir quhais fenzeit tearis ſuld not be ſamekill pray ſit nor eſtemyt as the trew and faythfull Travaillis quhilk I ſuſtene to merit hir place for obteyning of quhilk againis my naturall, I betray thame that may impſche me, God forgive me and God gif yow onlie luif the hape and proſperitie that your humble and faythfull luif deſyris unto yow quha hoipis ſchortlie to be ane uther thing unto yow.

Item. In the credit gifin to the berar quhome we underſtand was Pareis. Remember yow of the purpois of the ladie reires——of the ludgene in Edinburt.

Item. In ane uther lettre ſent be Betoun. As to me howbeit I heir no farther newes frome yow; according to my commiſſion I bring the man with me to Craigmillar upoun munday qhair he will be all wedniſday, and I will gang to Edinburg to draw bluid of me, gif in the mene tyme I get no newes in the contrair from yow.

Item verray ſchortlie after. Summa ye will ſay he makis the court to me, of the quhilk I tak ſo gret pleſeur that I enter never quhair he is, bot incontinent I tak the ſeiknes of my ſyde I ame ſoe faſchit with it yff Pareis bring me that quhilk I ſend him for I treaſtin ſall amend me. I pray yow adverteis me of your newes at length and quhat I ſall do in caice ye be not returnit quhen I cum thair, for in cais ye work not wyſelie, I ſie that the haill burthin of this will fall upon my ſchulderis, provyde for all thingis and diſcourſe upon it firſt your ſelf.

Item in ane uther lettre. I pray yow according to your promeis to diſcharge your hart to me, utherwayis I will think that my malhoure and the guid compoſing of thame, that hes not the third part of the faythfull and willing obedience unto yow that I beyra was wyne againis my will that advantage over me quhilk the ſecund luif of Jaſon wair not that I wolde compair yow to an ſa unhappie as he was, nor yeit myſelf to ane ſo unpetifull a woman as ſche, howbeit the cauſe mabe ſumquhat lyck unto hir in ony thing that twichis yow, or that may preſerve and keip yow to hir to quhome ye onlie appertein yf it may be ſuer that I may appropriat that quhilk is woune throuche faythfull yea only luiffing yow, quhilk I do and ſall do all the dayis of my lyif, fors pane and evil that cum thereof, in recompenſe of the quhilk and of all the evill quilks ye haif beine cauſe of to me, remember yow upon the place heir beſyd——

Bothwell finding himſelf beſet, his friends deſerting him for their own ſafety, the torrent high againſt him, and orders diſpatched to all quarters, with offers of large rewards to apprehend him, made his eſcape by ſea with three ſmall ſhips to the Orkneys: Here he expected to be received into the Caſtle of Kirkwall by the Governor, but was deny'd all acceſs or correſpondence; and finding that Kirkaldie of Grange was in purſuit of him with five ſtout ſhips of force, he was under neceſſity to put to ſea; but Grange came up with Bothwell's ſhips, and had taken him if it had not been by their pilot's miſtake, who led them on rocks and banks, ſo that the Unicorn, Grange's largeſt ſhip, was loſt and the reſt in danger. In the mean time Bothwell got off; but putting in on the coaſt of Norway, was taken and committed to priſon; being known by ſome Scotch merchants, he was convey'd, by order from the King of Denmark to a diſmal priſon and there he remain'd delirious for ten years, dying a moſt miſerable and lamentable death, unregretted, univerſally hated and deſpis'd.

Bothwell eſcapes by ſea.

Bothwell near taken.

He is apprehended in Norway and dies in priſon.

The Lords having now baniſh'd Bothwell without hopes or fears of his return, and having the Queen under their command, were reſolved to loſe no time to promote their ſyſtem, and therefore they were determin'd to make her Majeſty grant under her hand and ſeal three inſtruments and writings, the firſt an abſolute reſignation of her Government into the hands of her Son, now ſcarce thirteen months old; the ſecond's a nomination of the Earl of Murray to the Regency during the King's minority; and in caſe of his refuſal, a third inſtrument declaring the Duke of Chatle L'Rhault, Gilleſpie Earl of Argyle, Matthew Earl of Lenox, John Earl of Athol, James Earl of Morton, John Earl of Mar, and Alexander Earl of Glencairn, guardians to the King and Kingdom, while his Majeſty was under age. Theſe writings were preſented to the Queen, and her ſignature extorted by threatnings of proſecutions and ſeverity upon

The Queen reſigns her Government.

The Queen is compell'd to reſign.

The King crown'd.

upon the 24th of July, 1567; and in five days after, viz. July the 29th, the young King was crown'd in Stirling church, and anointed by the Biſhop of Orkney, ſupported by two of his ſuperintendents, and the coronation ſermon was preached by John Knox; the Earl of Morton and Lord Hume took the uſual coronation-oath for the King. Thus her Majeſty was now ſtript of all her power. The foreign Miniſters did not approve of this; neither did the Engliſh Ambaſſador nor the French attend the ſolemnity.

The Queen of England interpoſes.

Queen Elizabeth, upon occaſion of the noiſe and reports of the hard uſage Queen Mary had received from her Nobility, had ſent down to Scotland Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, to expoſtulate with the Nobility concerning their behaviour to their Queen, and to propoſe the reſtoration of the Queen to her Liberty, the providing for the ſafety of the young Prince, and to concert how the regicides might be brought to condign puniſhment. Throgmorton, in his Queen's name, often ſolicited the Privy-Council to ſet Queen Mary at liberty and to be admitted acceſs to her Majeſty, but could not obtain it. What Campden aſſerts of this affair, he ſolemnly affirms he took from Throgmorton's own original letters, which he wrote and anſwer'd when on this embaſſy. Throgmorton reaſon'd the point often with the Lords who were in oppoſition to the Queen; but they were furniſh'd with ſuch topicks from Buchanan's Treatiſe, newly publiſh'd, and purpoſely to ſerve the preſent turn, that the Scotch Nobility in the oppoſition inſiſted, It was their right to give bounds to the abuſes and extravagances of their Sovereigns, eſpecially when the errors and encroachments of their Governors and Princes had a direct tendency to the overthrow of the State; and that they were no further of Divine eſtabliſhment, and veſted with power next to God, but while they exercis'd the power veſted in them according to the Divine laws and reaſon for the welfare and honour of their ſubjects. Throgmorton renew'd his ſolicitations for acceſs to Queen Mary while priſoner in Loch-Levin caſtle, but this was deny'd him; at laſt he had a long memorial delivered to him by Liddington, or Lethington, in name of the Nobility of Scotland, containing reaſons for their refuſal and a long detail of accuſations againſt Queen Mary; which Memorial was not ſign'd, but contain'd a requiſition to Throgmorton to tranſmit this their mind and reſolution to the Queen of England. Queen Mary found ways and means to convey a letter from her own hand to Queen Elizabeth, complaining of her confinement and hard treatment, declaring, that the inſtruments, deeds, and writings ſhe had ſign'd in Loch-Levin caſtle, by which ſhe was ſtript of all her royalty and power, had been extorted from her by threatnings of violence and proſecutions if ſhe did not comply: But Throgmorton had made Queen Mary ſecretly underſtand, that all theſe deeds extorted from her during her confinement were void and null in fact, and whenever her Majeſty found a fit opportunity, ſhe might declare them to be ſuch. Liddington, who was a ſecret confederate of Murray's, and who was ſo baſe an inſtrument in exciting and increaſing the Queen's hatred at her huſband the King, was now become the moſt implacable and ſevere enemy to her Majeſty; acting conſiſtently with his connexions and confederacy with Murray, who now was deſign'd Regent of the kingdom, and had by his agents at home ſo order'd matters as to draw her Majeſty into a Labyrinth of ſorrow and diſgrace. I am ſurpris'd any ſhould call into queſtion Murray and Morton's deſigning and ambitious illicit practices, in the whole of this terrible and ſhameful ſcene; wherein the Queen's honour was blotted, her reputation ſunk, her happineſs deſtroy'd, and the nation diſtracted by party and faction. It is the characteriſtick of great and generous ſouls to compoſe differences, to unite thoſe who are in oppoſition, and to produce, if poſſible, peace upon a ſolid foundation; but the reverſe ſpirit demonſtrates itſelf in all who love and affect to live in troubled waters, and whoſe greateſt proſpects and advantages ariſe from confuſion, as was the caſe of Murray, Morton, and their confederates in the tragical affair of King Henry's murder. I hope my candid reader will not be offended with my impartial and undiſguiſed repreſentation of the true ſtate of matters: I am under no bias nor attachment to one party nor another; my chief pleaſure is to narrate fact, and to make it appear ſuch, to ſupport what I write (as an hiſtorian) for undoubted and certain truth.

Campden's account.

Buchanan's Principles of Government.

The Ambaſſador from England deny'd all acceſs to the Queen of Scots.

Mary writes to Elizabeth.

Liddington's behaviour.

Murray's and his friends practices.

Some neceſſary obſervations.

The Queen's enemies culpable.

An apology for laying open the whole ſcene.

I do not lodge any imputation upon the Earl of Murray, nor upon his party, but what I can't avoid, and what I am ſorry for; and can't depart from, without allowing myſelf to be beſpatter'd with ſordid partiality and concealing of foul practices.

Argyle's and Huntley's declarations on oath.

The proteſtations and declaration upon oath of the two Earls, Argyle and Huntley, contain ſuch evidence as muſt give any honeſt mind a very frightful picture of the Earl of Murray and Liddington. Theſe two Noblemen not only declare upon oath, That in their conſciences they were perſuaded Murray, Morton, and Liddington were the authors and contrivers of the regicide *, but they narrate their reaſons; which ſhew the whole of Murray's and Liddington's criminal arts and practices with the Queen and them, and their confederacy with Bothwell, the only inſtrument they thought calculated for ſuch an abominable and execrable undertaking.

* Campden's Annals, and Records of the Privy-Council.

The proofs of Murray's practices reſumed.

How came Murray to be in friendſhip all of a ſudden with Bothwell the year before the King's murder? Was not Bothwell ever before that, as I make appear, Murray's mortal enemy, one who had conſpired once and again to cut him off? How came Murray to recommend Bothwell to the Queen for a husband immediately upon King Henry's murder? Is not Murray's engagement and aſſociation with Bothwell and the other Nobility of that faction

faction proved beyond contradiction? The records of the Privy-Council, the authority of Campden, Strangewage, Lesly, the vouchers brought by Anderson in his collections, and Bishop Spotswood's History, all concur in making up this evidence: Add to this, what was for certain and most shocking to Murray, when Powry, Tallo, Dalgleish, &c. were lanching into an eternity, at the place of their execution, they declar'd as they were to appear before God, they were solemnly told by Bothwell, That Morton and Murray were the authors and springs of the King's murder. Yea, Bothwell, when in his dismal confinement in Denmark, declared often and persisted in it, That he had executed the whole in compliance with the system concerted by Murray, Morton, Liddington, and himself; always vindicating Queen Mary. I am no party in this much-disputed affair, I only relate upon good authority what appears to be truth and capable of being supported: Yea, the connexion of actions and circumstances, laying aside the direct evidence, must make every person conceive very suspicious notions of Murray and his tribe, whose ambition, pride, and deceit made them not very scrupulous about the means of compassing their ends. I own indeed I am surpris'd a little with Campden, who in most particulars appears to vindicate Mary, that in the first part of his accounts and character of her he should adorn her with these virtues and amiable qualities which are fitting for the character of a great and good Queen; that he should extol her eloquence, meekness and innocence, and yet in the account he gives of her, in her confinement in Loch-Levin castle, he affirms, that when Murray her Brother came to her after his return from France, that he had so closely charg'd her with her criminal behaviour towards her husband, and her illicit practices with Bothwell, that he had brought her in tears to a confession of her sins; and that some she extenuated and others she plainly confess'd. Thus Campden with one dash draws a cloud over all his former character. Here the Queen's good-nature to her ill-deserving and false brother appear'd very evident: His sister the Queen, though sensible of the violence offer'd and accomplish'd against her royalty and power, yet, with a forgiving and kind spirit almost overset with sorrow, intreats Murray, her priestly brother (rather unnatural than natural) to accept of the Regency and Guardianship of the kingdom, to which she had preferr'd him by her royal instrument, of the date already mention'd. But upon this kind and submissive treatment of the Queen towards the holy Earl of Murray, behold what were his returns! Even a series of all the arts and hellish devices which could be concerted by a luxuriant, fruitful, but most wicked invention and imagination, under pretext of religion, to make a Queen, his own sister, first pass through scenes of most acute sorrow, of misery, long confinement, and at last to lead her into the shameful path and fatal necessity of being subjected to the ignominious death of a criminal in a neighbouring kingdom!

The proofs from the Cotton Library, the Records of Council, and the Acts of Adjournal. Vide Anderson, vol. ii.

Campden's Annal. of 1567. pag. 97.

Campden's inconsistency.

Murray's deceit.

His cant.

The Queen good-natur'd to Murray, and he most ungrateful.

Murray acts under cover of religion.

The Queen's sufferings.

The Queen (as I have already observ'd) made her resignation through compulsion and threatnings, and the coronation of her Son was hurried over upon the 29th. The form and particulars of the whole solemnity are faithfully recorded in the Acts of the Privy-Council, yet intire in the Cotton Library and the Paper-Office, and the rest in the Records return'd to Edinburgh in the reign of Charles the Second, as an equitable restitution of these Archives, of which Scotland had been robbed by the religious Oliver. The form of the coronation and the signatures of the great number of Barons, Gentry, and Burgesses is to be seen in Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. taken from the Records of the Privy-Council. The 30th of July this year, that is, the day after the coronation, the young King's authority was declar'd by proclamation; which proclamation is faithfully copied from the records in the same volume of Anderson's Collections, page 249.

Proofs of the order and manner of coronation.

The King's authority declared.

The candid and worthy Earl of Murray being before now fully satisfy'd, that his friends and agents in Scotland had made patent access, and every thing in readiness for his kind reception and his elevation to power and government, he, I say, finding all things fair, had left the Court of France and taken his rout by the Court of London, in order to operate upon that worthy and great Queen, Elizabeth; in order to detach her from any concern, affection, or regard for her sister Queen in distress. Murray was as lucky as bastards generally are, for he had departed but a few hours from the Court of France before the Archbishop of Glasgow had receiv'd orders for his detainure. Being gone and having made all possible dispatch, though a party were sent to overtake him and to bring him back, he had got to Dieppe, embark'd and set sail for England before the messengers from the French Court could come to Dieppe to apprehend him. Having landed in England, he was well receiv'd at the Court of London, because he dissembled to honest Queen Elizabeth, having influenced the Ministry at London: He arrived at Edinburgh in triumph August the 11th, 1567, and there he was met by the Nobility who had procur'd his nomination to the Regency from the Queen. He pretended to take some days to consider whether he would accept of the Regency, which in fact he and his friends had artfully negotiated for him: Upon the 17th day of this August he, out of compliment, would visit the imprison'd Queen; to whom (as I have observ'd) when he came, he administer'd sorrow, condemnation, &c. but no comfort. He propos'd such terms to her very modestly (as related by Campden) sufficient and strong enough, to render her ever incapable for the future, of serving herself, or being any ways happy (vide Campden's Annals, page 97.) He propos'd no less to her, than that she should remain contented to be for ever prisoner for life, and so of no consequence in the commonwealth. Upon the

The manner in which Murray left the Court of France.

Murray escapes being taken.

His progress and success.

Murray pays a deceitful visit to his sister.

His proposals to the Queen.

His acceptance of the Regency.

the 22d of Auguſt he declar'd his acceptance of the Regency, and the day after, his acceptance was ratified by the Privy Council, the records of which acts are inſerted by Anderſon, vol. II. The Earl of Murray had taken care to fortify his intereſt, by a ſtrong bond of aſſociation (called the ſecond bond) which had been agreed upon and ſign'd by a conſiderable number of the Nobility and Gentry the 25th of July, the day after the Queen's reſignation, by which they bound themſelves to ſupport the King's intereſt and his government againſt all oppoſition. This bond they continued ſigning until the meeting of the Parliament in December this year 1567, which by the Earl of Murray's intereſt ingroſs'd the far greater part of the Nobility and the Gentry of greateſt conſequence over the Nation, by which the Queen's friends were greatly diminiſhed.

Murray's policy.

The bond of aſſociation for the King.

The Hamiltons and the Queen's friends diſpirited;

The Hamiltons, Huntley, and the other friends of the Queen's ſide met at Hamilton, and agreed to teſtify their abhorrence of the cruel uſage of the Queen by her cloſe confinement; but finding the oppoſition ſo powerful, their reſolutions could not be brought to bear. When the Earl of Murray arriv'd in Scotland he affected popularity, and wrote his circular letters to the Queen's friends, and his oppoſites, in the moſt obliging terms to gain them over to his intereſt: He deſired a meeting of them all to conſult and agree upon joint meaſures; but they declin'd all meetings and interviews with him, and kept retir'd. The Earl of Argyle indeed, who always was in great confidence with Murray, and at the ſame time play'd his cards with the Queen, join'd the Earl of Murray's intereſt. The Earl of Murray having finiſhed all his introductory formalities and farce, having given in his formal acceptance on the 22d of Auguſt in writing to the Privy Council, and taken the oaths requir'd on this occaſion; the Privy Council having ratified his authority, and ordered the ſame by proclamation to be publiſhed all over the Kingdom, Murray enter'd upon his adminiſtration of government.

They decline a meeting with Murray.

Throgmorton by his letters acquaints us of the manner in which he begun the exerciſe of his power. Firſt he, by Liddington or Lethington, intimated to Throgmorton the Engliſh ambaſſador, by way of warning or threatning to him, not to venture to make the leaſt interceſſion for Queen Mary; for he and the other Nobility were reſolute to risk the greateſt extremities rather than allow of the reſtoration of the Queen to her liberty; and if he ſhould venture to engage the Queen of England his Miſtreſs in behalf of Queen Mary, he would but involve both Kingdoms in bloodſhed, for they were determined never to be rul'd by Queen Mary, but were ſolemnly engaged to ſupport the government of the King as now eſtabliſh'd, and to have the ſame eſtabliſh'd by parliamentary ſanction, the Parliament being ordered to meet for that purpoſe the 15th of December. Lignerol, who was at this time ſent over from the Court of France, was likewiſe treated by Murray with great contempt, tho' in a friendly manner often demanding acceſs to the Queen, yet was abſolutely deny'd the liberty of ſeeing her or of any intercourſe with her. Throgmorton likewiſe affirms, that in all reſpects the Earl of Murray had treated the Queen under her confinement much worſe than ſhe deſerved at his hands. This his inſulting treatment of the Queen gave juſt indignation both to Elizabeth and the the Court of Fance, and they ſignified their diſpleaſure and diſſatisfaction by letters to Murray; yea, the Court of France inſtructed their ambaſſador at London, Paſquier, to ſolicit the Queen of England to join them, and by force to reſtore the Queen of Scots to her liberty and former ſtate.

Vide Campden's Annals, p. 97.

Murray's haughty behaviour to the foreign Ambaſſadors.

The Queen hardly uſed.

The French offer their aſſiſtance to reſtore Queen Mary.

Queen Elizabeth acts with caution.

But Queen Elizabeth choſe rather to make trial of pacifick meaſures, and to convince Murray and his faction how dangerous it would be for them to provoke the united reſentment of England and France, by his encroachments upon their Queen's prerogative and dignity. The Hamiltons, Huntley, and a few more, were the only friends the Queen of Scots had who ſtood by her in her diſtreſs; the Queen of England was diſpos'd at this time to favour them, and to ſupport them againſt Murray; but Murray by his arts and intrigues diverted this blow: and in order to excite hatred and contempt of Queen Mary from the Queen of England and the Court of London, Murray expoſed all the letters and writings taken from Dalgleiſh in the ſilver-box, and ſent duplicates of them to the Engliſh miniſtry. Then he, to make further diſcoveries in order to colour and excuſe his rigidity, proceded to the trials of ſuch of Bothwell's ſervants, as had been actors in the tragedy. Dalgleiſh was in priſon at Edinburgh; Paris, alias Nicholas Hubert, was likewiſe taken up; but Patrick Wilſon, by Bothwell's order, defended the Caſtle of Dunbar, and refus'd to deliver it up or himſelf, tho' ſummoned to ſurrender. The Earl of Murray therefore in concurrence with the Privy Council, ordered him to be out-law'd, and none to ſupply, harbour or aſſiſt him, under pain of high-treaſon. In the records of Council, as copied by Anderſon, is this proclamation of out-lawry againſt Wilſon of Hadington: this Patrick Wilſon had been one of theſe who entered the King's bed-chamber with Bothwell, and aſſiſted in ſtrangling his Majeſty,

Murray proceeds againſt the Regicides.

Wilſon out-law'd.

Murray proceeded againſt Powry, Dalgleiſh, Hay, and Hepburn; and, as I have already obſerv'd, they were executed on their own confeſſions. The next examin'd in this affair was Nelſon, whoſe declaration upon oath is ſtrong againſt the Queen and Bothwell, but particularly her Majeſty. Nelſon declares he was with his Majeſty and the Queen at Glaſcow, and from thence accompanied their Majeſties to Edinburgh, to the houſe prepared for the King; that upon finding it was not his own houſe he was brought to, but another ſolitary dwelling which had been long uninhabited, he was greatly ſurpris'd. He declares that the Queen had called for all the keys of the houſe, of the garden-doors, and of the back-gate from the King's

Bothwell's ſervants executed.

Nelſon's affidavit.

King's ſervants, and had never returned them to any of his Majeſty's domeſticks, but that theſe keys were all in the cuſtody of the Queen's and Bothwell's ſervants; the King's ſervant, Taylor, having only the keys of his Majeſty's own apartment, by which any perſon, without the King's knowledge or conſent, might have come into his houſe at any time by the garden and the poſtern-gate; that from the time the Queen came to the lodgings where the King now was, that the keys of the whole apartments were taken from him the Deponent; that the Queen's gentleman-uſher Archbald Beaton, with Lord Bothwell's valet de chambre, kept the keys of her Majeſty's bed-chamber, and of the back paſſage through the gardens; that the Queen ordered the outer doors of the King's apartments to be taken off, for they had double doors; that Bonkle, one of her Majeſty's confidents, had opened up the paſſage-door from the cellar or vault, and the door through the party wall into the vault under the king's apartments, and pretending the keys were miſlaid or loſt, theſe doors were open; that the Queen had, three days before the murder, taken off the furniture of the King's bed-chamber and replaced it with an old ruſty purple bed and ordinary furniture; that her Majeſty had been with the King there on Friday and Saturday night, and had aſſured his Majeſty ſhe would remain with him on Sunday night; but all of a ſudden in the evening her mind was altered, and ſhe would not ſleep in the houſe with the King that night. Nelſon further upon oath declares, that from the time of the Queen's coming to the houſe, the keys of the whole houſe were taken from his Majeſty's ſervants, and the Queen's ſervants had the keys of all the doors at their diſpoſal; that her Majeſty, with Lady Reres, did of evenings walk in the garden, the Queen and ſhe ſinging love-ſongs; that the night before the King's death the Queen went off, pretending ſhe had forgot to give out ſome things to Baſtiane, who that night was married to one of her maids; and Nelſon further affirms, that this night the Lord Bothwell's valet had the cuſtody of the key of the Queen's bed-chamber, which was directly below the King's chamber; that about an hour after the Queen's departure the King went to bed, Taylor his ſervant only with him in the ſame room with his Majeſty; that he the Deponent with Edward Symmonds, lay in a gallery on the ſame floor, ſouth of the King's apartment, and by them Taylor's boy; that this Gallery was parted from the houſe by a ſtrong party ſtone-wall, through which there was a door of communication to the King's bed-chamber; that this ſav'd them in ſome meaſure; that when the body of the houſe where the King lodg'd had been blown up, that they were awakened in great terror and ſurpriſe, and all cover'd with rubbiſh and ruins almoſt ſuffocated; that his and his companions cloaths being gone, they were forced to ſtand naked on the walls until cloaths were brought them, upon which they came down, and on Monday afternoon he, Nelſon, had been examined concerning the keys of the houſe, and that he had declared the truth; that Bonkle, a favourite of Bothwell's, had the keys of the cellar, and the Queen's ſervant the keys of the Queen's chamber, and Bothwell's ſervant as above, the keys of the garden and of the back paſſage to the houſe; ſo that it appears plain that her Majeſty had withdrawn all keys of the houſe from the King's ſervants, and given the cuſtody of them to her own and Bothwell's ſervants. Thomas Crawford and Symmonds declared much to the ſame purpoſe. This evidence or depoſition is taken from the Cottonian Library, and is marked with Cecil's own hand.

Nelſon's declarations upon oath continued.

The ſcene appears frightful.

Nelſon's depoſition continued.

I leave now my impartial reader to judge for himſelf in the whole of this mix'd, diſagreeable, and tragical affair: I wiſh I could have with truth and juſtice made ſome characters clean and fair; but it is not my part to ſmother or to cloud evidence. Therefore leaving this point, I proceed upon Mary's very diſagreeable and variable fortune. Murray having gain'd over by the arts of policy, by the cloke of religion, and by prieſtly clamour, artifice, and holy zeal, the far greater part of the nation to his intereſt, ſome by favours, others by hopes, and a third ſort by threatnings and fears, were brought over to deſert Royalty in diſtreſs. Mary was confin'd, and none but Murray's partizans had acceſs to her! her affections ſhe was forc'd to diſſemble! her ſentiments to conceal, and her power to reſign, her ſpirit to compoſe, and in ſhort to be deny'd to all her former grandeur! a monumental inſtructing pattern to exemplify, that Monarchy and Power are no way to be ſo powerfully ſupported, ſo ſtrongly guarded, and ſo invincibly fortified, as when founded upon virtue, compaſs'd with truth, and wall'd in by unſpotted heroick purity and religion of mind, prov'd by ſtrict morals.

Murray's behaviour.

The moral to Princes from the whole.

Murray had prepar'd all things for the meeting of the parliament this year December the 15th 1567, and had brought to trial ſo many of Bothwell's ſervants and tools, as I have already mention'd: he rewarded Kirkaldy of Grange, who had ſo cloſely purſued Bothwell, with the lieutenant-governorſhip of Edinburgh-caſtle; Sir James Balfour had ſurrender'd it for five hundred pounds to Murray, and had likewiſe given him by Murray the priory of Pittenweim. Whitelaw, Bothwell's deputy in Dunbar-caſtle had ſurrender'd: Sentence of death had been pronounced againſt ſo many of the Regicides, yet their execution was delay'd till January 1568.

The Parliament meets.

The caſtle of Edinburgh given to Grange.

Dunbar ſurrendered.

The Parliament being met (according to proclamation) upon the 15th of December; the firſt thing proceded upon was to ratify and approve all the inſtruments and deeds granted by the Queen, to wit, her reſignation, her nomination of Murray as Regent, and the coronation of the King, with the Queen's nomination of the guardianſhip of the Kingdom. Next they proceded to conſider of the Queen's behaviour, her inſtructions to Sir Robert Melvill her ambaſſador, or whom ſhe had ſent to the Queen of England to notify and to juſtify her

The Parliament enter upon diſpatch of buſineſs.

Melville's inſtructions affront Mary, and darken her.

marriage with Bothwell. I am ſorry to obſerve, that theſe inſtructions, as before me, which are authentick and ſtill upon record in a State-regiſter of Queen Mary's, and in the publick Archives, contain ſuch ſordid and mean apologies for the Queen's intercourſe and her connexion with Bothwell, as, in fact, are ſhameful: Her Majeſty's excuſes for marrying Bothwell are ſo far from ſuiting her Royalty, that they are unworthy of any private perſon of common decency, and by no means ſatisfactory to perſons of high life, or of true diſcerning into facts of both ſides.

The Parliament of 1567 defended.

The Parliament in this ſeſſion confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd the ſettlement of the Reform'd Proteſtant Religion, and attainted Bothwell, as he deſerv'd. It is affirm'd, that this Parliament of December 15, 1567, was a pack'd Parliament; but I ſhall make appear, by ſubjoin'd liſts, that this was a National Parliament, and that the Parliament which was aſſociated to approve and ratify Bothwell's marriage with the Queen, was a pack'd Parliament, and ſuch a Parliament as gave great diſhonour to the Lords who ſign'd a bond to ſupport the marriage of Bothwell. It is very true and certain, that the Queen did indemnify all the Lords and others who gave bond to Bothwell to ſupport the marriage with the Queen; and that ſhe, by an inſtrument now before me, did, upon royal faith, ſecure them againſt all future enquiry or diſgrace, and to ſtand their friends: But the bond itſelf, by the tenor and words of it, and the obligations which the underſigning Lords engage to perform, are of ſuch a ſcandalous nature, and ſo oppoſite to true Nobility! that I am aſhamed to think Peers, Lords, or Gentry, ſhould be capable of ſigning ſuch a low and ſcandalous inſtrument or writing: The bond of which I have before me, a copy authentick is to be found in the Cottonian Library, and the Paper-Office. And I ſhall here annex the names of theſe Nobility who ſign'd ſuch a bond, to be a caveat to future acts of a like nature.

The aſſociation of the Nobility in favour of Bothwell ſcandalous.

In this Parliament the Earl of Murray carries ſeveral important points.

In this Parliament, and likewiſe by the Church, the Biſhop of Orkney was brought to anſwer for his conduct in marrying the Queen to Bothwell; and the Counteſs of Argyle was forced to make her ſubmiſſion, and teſtify her repentance in the chapel at Stirling, for countenancing the Baptiſm of the young King according to the rites of the Church of Rome.

Several attainted.

Ormeſton, Eſq; in Teviotdale, and his couſin Robert Ormeſton, were forfeited and attainted for aſſiſting Bothwell in the regicide.

The Regent holds a Court of Juſtice.

The Earl of Murray having obtain'd all he could carry in this ſeſſion of Parliament, and being very diligent in ſuppreſſing his oppoſites and reducing the country to his ſubjection, by the exerciſe of his power, in the ſpring, 1568, prepares to go upon his circuit. Commotions and diſorders had broke out in the Lenox County, and other parts of the Weſtern Highlands. The firſt place of his holding a Court of Juſtice was at Glaſgow, where he remain'd ſome days: While here he receiv'd the diſagreeable news, that upon the 2d of this May, 1568, the Queen had made her eſcape from Loch-Levin caſtle. The Regent Murray could not credit the firſt news of this event; but in few hours after, having receiv'd expreſſes with the particulars and manner of her eſcape, he was put to deliberate and concert ſome immediate expedient for his own ſafety, and to traverſe the Queen's deſigns.

The Queen eſcapes.

She comes to Hamilton.

The Queen the firſt night after her eſcape lodged at Nuddrie-houſe in Weſt-Lothian, and next day went to Hamilton-caſte, where ſhe was receiv'd with great Joy and acclamations of crowds of the people rejoicing at her liberty.

Orders her ſubjects to take arms and join her ſtandard.

Her Majeſty iſſued out her orders to all quarters, to notify her liberty, and for all her loving ſubjects and friends to repair to her at Hamilton, in arms, in order to enable her to aſſert her juſt rights and reſume the Government of the Kingdom.

The Lords who firſt join the Queen.

The Nobility and Gentry in great numbers hurried to join her Majeſty. Many of the Regent's friends deſerted him: Liddington departed from Murray, and with him Sir James Balfeur, and Sir William Murray of Tullibarden, from ſome conceiv'd pique at the Regent: The Earls of Argyle and Huntley, though they concurred in all the Regent's meaſures in the late Parliament, yet went directly over to the Queen at Hamilton, who now had got together the following Nobility, the Earls of Caſſils, Eglington, and Rothes; the Lords Somerville, Yeſter, Borthwick, Levingſton, Herris, Sanqhuar, Maxwell, and Roſs; and with them ſeveral more of the Lords and Gentry.

The Nobility reſolute to ſupport the Queen.

Upon which her Majeſty call'd a Council extraordinary, to ſettle and concert the immediate neceſſary operations. In this meeting of Council the Queen gave her ſolemn declaration, That ſhe, under confinement, had been compell'd to ſign the ſeveral inſtruments in favour of the Regent, and her reſignation of the Government. Upon this theſe extorted acts from the Queen were declar'd void, and the Council unanimouſly reſolv'd to ſupport the Queen to reſtore her to her former condition. The Queen daily receiv'd an acceſſion of ſtrength, by a deſertion from the Earl of Murray: Lord Boyd, who all along had been a zealous friend to Murray, now departed and came over to her Majeſty. This ignominious behaviour in Lord Boyd was condemn'd by the Queen's friends,

Murray ſerved with treachery.

and blotted his character ſo as not to be in confidence or regard with her Majeſty, or her Council; for as he was in the ſecret of Murray's councils and deſigns, and chiefly truſted by him, it was judg'd abominable in Lord Boyd to betray his friend; therefore he was juſtly in contempt with both ſides. The Earl of Murray, Regent, was now hardly beſet; his friends dropping off and forſaking him, and even his own brother Douglaſs, governor of Loch-Levin caſtle, falſe and perfidious to him. For Douglaſs was ſo engag'd and enamour'd with Mary's affability, her eloquence, her addreſs, and charming behaviour, that though he had been a few days before diſmiſs'd from his government of the caſtle, and forced to depart out of it,

yet

yet out of compaſſion and regard for the Queen, he had cook'd matters ſo with the keepers and guards as to effect her eſcape. The Lords who were now with the Queen at Hamilton, directed her Majeſty to iſſue out her proclamation all over the Kingdom, commanding them in all Counties to repair in arms and well acoutred, without loſs of time, to the general rendezvous at Hamilton, in order to purſue her Majeſty's enemies, and to quell all rebellion as they call'd it. Upon this great numbers came in and join'd the Queen's ſtandard. Murray the Regent finding matters turn out ſo contrary to his expectations, being a man of reſolution and bravery, was reſolved however, notwithſtanding his preſent diſcouragements, to ſtand his ground with the handful of men he had, and ſuch others of his friends as would join him. The Earl of Glencairn and Lord Semple were faithful and ſteady in the Regent's intereſt: Murray got the men of Lenox with theſe Lords and their men, and ſuch others nigh to Glaſcow as were againſt the Queen. Some of Murray's friends frightned at the ſuperiority of the Queen's numbers, would have perſuaded him to retire and defend himſelf in Stirling-caſtle; but he was fully determin'd neither to retire nor decline fighting. He had got together above 4000 men and a good number of horſe. The French ambaſſador paſs'd betwixt Glaſcow and Hamilton with meſſages from the Queen to Murray and his anſwers, affecting to mediate a reconciliation, but in fact he acted only as a ſpy to find out Murray's deſigns to diſcover his ſtrength, and give intelligence to the Queen of all Murray's deſigns, of his ſituation and force; at length finding the Queen's numbers daily increaſe he perſuaded her to march toward the Regent and to give him battle. Accordingly next morning May the 12th, the Queen ordered her army to march under the command of the Earl of Argyle, and to take their rout by Glaſcow for Dunbarton Caſtle, there to place her Majeſty with a ſtrong garriſon to be ſafe againſt all events. The Queen likewiſe with her Council reſolved, that if Murray did attempt to diſturb them in their march they ſhould attack him with vigour.

The Queen's eſcape effected by Douglaſs.

The Queen ſummons her Nobility and other ſubjects to join her.

Numbers join her.

Murray reſolute to ſtand it.

The French Ambaſſador as a ſpy.

The rout of the Queen's army.

The Regent having intelligence of the Queen's approach, and that her army, far ſuperior to his, were in full march: he on the 13th of May early drew out his army and marched to the heath nigh to Glaſcow, where he formed in order of battle, and waited, prepar'd to receive his enemy, for ſeveral hours; at laſt obſerving the Queen's army in full march on the other ſide the river: Murray, Regent, order'd his cavalry to paſs the river by the fords, it being now low-water, and the tide ſpent, he at the head of the infantry paſs'd over the bridge, then directed his march toward Dunbarton, by a village called Longſide, at the foot of a hill to the weſt; this hill nigh the village was ſteep and almoſt inacceſſible to the eaſt and north, but of eaſy aſcent to the ſouth, weſt, or ſouth-weſt. This being the moſt advantageous ſituation, the Queen's army made all expedition to take poſſeſſion of the hill; but were prevented by Murray, who gain'd this ground. The delay of the Queen's army in their march and miſſing of this advantage, was owing to a ſudden fit of convulſions with which the Queen's general was ſeiz'd upon the march, which occaſion'd a ſtop of the army and ſome confuſion: however the Queen's army poſted themſelves on an adjacent hill and there form'd, being determin'd to diſpute the matter. The Regent himſelf in perſon commanded center, his right was led on by the Earl of Morton, ſupported by the Lords Hume, Semple, and Lindſay, the left was commanded by the Earls of Mar, Glencairn, and Monteith, and in this wing were the citizens of Glaſcow as volunteers; both armies for ſome time cannonaded each other with their artillery. The Queen's army was ſo form'd that her choice and beſt men were in the front, her right and center far ſuperior in number to the enemy, ſo diſpoſed as to make their outmoſt effort and ſtrongeſt puſh at the firſt onſet. The Queen's horſe, being far ſuperior to the Regent's, broke in upon them and put them into diſorder; but the Queen's forces were much gall'd by ſhowers of darts in great clouds well ſerv'd from the archers in the Regent's army; the Regent's artillery was well ſerv'd, and ſo annoy'd the Queen's gunners that they were drove from their cannon; the right of the Queen's army and her horſe tho' bearing hard upon the Regent's cavalry and making them give ground, yet were ſeverely handled by the archers, and ſome of the Regent's men in armour: upon which the Queen's left advanced and came into the plain betwixt the two hills, to ſupport their right wing and to give a total rout to the Regent's army. Upon this the action became general, and the whole of both armies were cloſely engaged ſword in hand, the engagement continued hot for near an hour; at laſt theſe of the Regent's army who were armed with ſpears and Danes axes, made ſuch havock and bore ſo hard upon the Queen's infantry that they were routed. The cavalry, not able to ſtop their flight, were likewiſe put into diſorder. The Regent improving this advantage, charged them ſo warmly, that they could never recover nor rally, and ſo the Queen's army receiv'd a total defeat. Her Majeſty view'd the action under an eſcort, at the diſtance of a ſhort mile. The ſlain of the Queen's army were about 300, beſides ſeveral of diſtinction and note taken priſoners, among whom were the Lords Seaton and Roſs, the Maſters of Caſſils and Eglington, Sir James Hamilton of Avendale, the Sheriffs of Air and Linlithgow. Of the Regent's army, the Lords Hume and Ochiltrie were wounded, and but very few, not exceeding forty or fifty killed; the fate of the day favouring the Regent. The Queen, with Lord Herris and a few friends, eſcaped to the border of England to Kirkubright. Here her Majeſty in fear and anxiety, did not think fit to remain long, but in the mean time her Majeſty ſent one John Beaton her favourite ſervant with Queen Elizabeth's Ring, which ſhe had given as a preſent to Mary, in token of her love and regard; as a mark and

The Regent prepares for battle.

The order of battle, and the ſituation of both armies.

The advantage of ground on the Regent's ſide.

The Queen's order of battle.

Their manner of fighting.

The reaſon of the Queen's defeat.

The killed, wounded and taken.

The Queen with ſome friends fly to Galloway.

and ſignal he came from his miſtreſs Queen Mary, with inſtructions to notify the diſtreſſes to which Queen Mary was reduc'd and ſubjected at preſent. Beaton deliver'd his meſſage faithfully to Elizabeth; and, in return, Queen Elizabeth order'd him to aſſure Queen Mary of her great concern and ſympathy, and that ſhe might depend upon all the good offices, friendſhip, and hoſpitality towards her if ſhe came into England. Beaton, by Queen Mary's orders, had acquainted Queen Elizabeth with her intentions of coming into England for ſhelter and protection; Queen Elizabeth aſſur'd her of welcome, kind reception, and her hearty friendſhip: But Mary, out of too much diffidence and contrary to the advice of her beſt friends, fearful to truſt herſelf in Scotland and not waiting for Beaton's return, embark'd on board an open boat, with the Lords Herris and Fleming, and a few more attendants, and ſail'd for Wirkinton in Cumberland; whence, upon her arrival, ſhe ſent a letter to Queen Elizabeth, written with her own hand, to acquaint her of her arrival in England, in full confidence of her Majeſty's protection and favour; but Queen Elizabeth's anſwer was ſuch as gave her great diſappointment and ſorrow. Sir Francis Knowles was order'd by Elizabeth to acquaint Queen Mary, That it was the Queen of England's pleaſure, ſhe ſhould remove to Carliſle. And, at the ſame time, the Lord Lieutenant was order'd to attend Queen Mary, to ſee her ſafe in Carliſle, until the merits of her complaints ſhould be diſcover'd. This ſurpriſing anſwer gave Mary great concern and pain: Therefore ſhe ſent the Lord Herris to Elizabeth with a letter, intreating, in the moſt ſubmiſſive and affectionate terms, That ſhe might be allow'd to come up to London, to vindicate herſelf to her Majeſty of England, in perſon: Or if her Majeſty would not grant her that friendſhip and juſt ſympathy to hear in her Royal preſence both ſides, and then to be judge of the wrongs done to her, as Queen of Scotland, by Murray and his faction, that ſhe would allow her to depart peaceably without interruption. Mary's affecting letter and the Lord Herris's ſtrong and mournful repreſentation of Mary's ſufferings, ſo mov'd the Queen of England, that ſhe expreſs'd the greateſt concern and moſt tender ſympathy toward her ſiſter Queen, and teſtified her willingneſs to comply with Mary's requeſt; which was either to be allow'd acceſs to Queen Elizabeth, or, if not, to be ſet at liberty, and not detain'd as priſoner in Carliſle caſtle, when ſhe had taken ſhelter and came voluntary into England, out of a perſuaſion and firm confidence of her Majeſty's friendſhip and protection. In this inſtance the Council of London influenced Elizabeth, againſt her own inclination, to a violation of her honour and faith as a Queen to her diſtreſs'd neighbour Queen Mary, whom ſhe had aſſur'd of welcome, of kind uſage, and of all the good offices in her power: To make a priſoner however of Queen Mary under the care of Lowther, the Deputy or Lieutenant-governor of the town and caſtle of Carliſle, and not to allow her to depart in the ſame inoffenſive and friendly manner in which ſhe came into England, was very uncommon and extraordinary hoſpitality and goodneſs.

Beaton ſent to Elizabeth.

Mary comes to England.

Is diſappointed of her expectations.

Mary writes to Elizabeth by Lord Harris.

Queen Elizabeth willing to favour Mary.

Mary's treatment unjuſtifiable:

But Mary is confined by means of Elizabeth's Council and Miniſtry.

Queen Elizabeth's Council ſtarted many objections againſt diſmiſſing Mary; ſuch as, firſt, If ſhe were at liberty to come to London, the eloquence, her elegancy and popularity of her addreſs, and her fine preſence, would ſo enhance the regard of both Nobility, Gentry, and all ranks, ſo that the conſequences might be dangerous to Elizabeth, and to the repoſe of England, by gaining ſo much upon the affections of the people of England. Next, they alledg'd, If ſhe were allow'd to depart from England, and to go to France, Mary, by the Guiſes, might form a powerful confederacy for her reſtoration, and thereby embroil England in war.

Reaſons for detaining Mary priſoner.

3dly, They inſiſted, that if ſhe return'd to Scotland the nation would be diſtracted by civil war, and if Mary did prevail, all of the Engliſh faction in Scotland of the Scotch Nobility and Gentry, would be infallibly ruin'd and rooted out of the kingdom. Theſe and ſeveral other ſuggeſtions ſecretly ſent to the Court of London by Murray, did alter Queen Elizabeth's inclinations to Mary. At this time likewiſe the old Counteſs of Lenox, King Henry's mother, now at London, ſtrongly ſolicited Elizabeth for Mary's detainure, and trial for the murder of the King her husband. Maxwell, Lord Herris, endeavour'd all he could to ſoften Queen Elizabeth, and to repreſent the whole accuſation againſt Queen Mary as a malicious ill-deſign'd contrivance, to ſeparate her from the Queen of England's protection, or friendſhip; and that it was a party ſtratagem of the Earl of Murray's. Herris pleaded hard with Elizabeth to write to Murray, not to hold any Parliament until the affair betwixt him and the Queen of Scots ſhould have a hearing, and be laid before her Majeſty. But Murray went on with rapidity, and ſummon'd the Parliament for the 25th of June this year, 1568, in which he carried matters with great haughtineſs and rigour. Several of the Queen's beſt friends were forfeited, exiled, and their families ruin'd. Queen Elizabeth highly offended with the violent proceedings of Murray the Regent, wrote to him in very ſharp terms, and ſent down her Envoy Midlemore on this occaſion. Sir Francis Knowles had brought letters from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary now in Carliſle-caſtle, to aſſure her of friendſhip, protection, and ſtrict equity towards her, with very ample profeſſions of regard and concern for her preſent diſtreſſes. Midlemore arrived in Scotland with diſpatches from Queen Elizabeth to Murray, requiring him to give her Majeſty of England a ſatisfactory account of his ſeverities, and rigorous proceedings againſt Queen Mary; that he ſhould directly come himſelf, or ſend his deputies with a full vindication of his conduct to the City of York, whither her Majeſty had appointed her deputies to repair with all convenient ſpeed to hear all his complaints; and her Majeſty did by Midlemore certify to Murray, that if he could not give juſt and good reaſons for depoſing the Queen, for

The King's mother influences Elizabeth.

Murray's firſt Parliament.

Midlemore ſent to Scotand.

Elizabeth requires Murray to appear and anſwer for his conduct to the Queen.

for his treatment of her, and for the whole chain of his conduct in Scotland for ſome years paſt, her Majeſty of England was determined to ſet the Queen of Scots at liberty, and to reſtore her to her kingdom with all the force ſhe was maſter of: This put Murray to his mettle, but he was reſolved to ſtand it any how; what could not be defended by truth and equity, he was reſolved to ſhade and veil over, or by ſubtilty and invention to evade: Here we find Queen Mary, an abſolute and imperial Queen, now ſtript of her dignity, of royalty, and becauſe ſhe came to England for protection, friendſhip and equity as to her rights, reduc'd to ſo low a paſs as to be ſubjected to a trial and enquiry into her behaviour, as if ſhe had been a criminal in England, and ſubjected to its juriſdiction as a native ſubject. Campden, Queen Elizabeth's own hiſtorian, does not pretend to vindicate this: It is beyond all diſpute, and it was acknowledg'd by Elizabeth and her council, as can be vouch'd from the publick records, that Murray did not nor could not ſatisfy the diſintereſted and impartial part of mankind, yea did not ſatisfy Queen Elizabeth and her Privy-Council by all he could bring into the field againſt Queen Mary at the conferences of York: Why then, as Elizabeth had pledg'd her royal word, was not Queen Mary diſmiſs'd and ſet at liberty, and not forced upon dangerous expedients? Queen Elizabeth and her Council, upon the report of her Commiſſioners at York, owned that ſhe was not ſatisfied at all, ſo ſhe ought, in ſtrict juſtice to her royal honour, to have ſet Mary at liberty: This Elizabeth was bound to by her promiſe, as Campden acknowledges in his Annals; Mary, I own, did hurt her own cauſe by two articles of her complaint to Elizabeth, which were not fact; ſhe wrote to Elizabeth, and ſent a memorial, in which ſhe repreſented, firſt, that her marriage with Bothwell was ratified, and approved by a full and free Parliament: The contrary of which I ſhall make evident by the liſt of the ſmall number preſent at this Parliament, which was diſſolved April the 19th of the preceding year, and of thoſe who ſign'd the bond for ſupporting Bothwell's marriage with the Queen.

Murray puzzled.

Murray not juſtifiable.

Elizabeth violates her faith.

Queen Mary faulty to her own intereſt.

The next wrong aſſertion of Queen Mary's, in ſupport of herſelf, was that the bond of aſſociation of the 25th of July laſt year, and the Parliament of December, 1567, was only a pack'd meeting of the feweſt and moſt inconſiderable part of the kingdom of Scotland. The contrary of which is evident by the authentick ſignature of thoſe who ſign'd the bond, and the liſt of thoſe in this Parliament 1567, in which the Proteſtant Faith was eſtabliſhed and Popery aboliſh'd.

Now follows the liſt of thoſe who were of theſe Parliaments, and who ſign'd the two bonds, with ſome neceſſary remarks upon them.

True liſts of the nobility and gentry who were in the two laſt Parliaments, and of the aſſociations.

The Bond of Aſſociation, called the Second Bond of July 25, 1567, was Signed by the following Lords, Gentry and Burgeſſes; the original Bond and Signatures being in the Library of the Univerſity at Glaſgow.

Signed by,

1. James Regent,
2. Huntlye,
3. Ar. Argyll,
4. Athol,
5. Morton,
6. Mar,
7. Glencarn,
8. Erroll,
9. Bowchan,
10. J. Grahame,
11. William L. Borthuik,
12. Patryk L. Lyndſay,
13. Alex. L. Hume,
14. W. L. Ruthuen,
15. L. Sanquhar,
16. Sempyll,
17. Lorde Innermeth,
18. Uchiltre,
19. John L. Glammis,
20. Allan Lord Cathcart,
21. Henry Lord Methuen,
22. Hew Lord Fraſeire of Louat,
23. Patryk Lord Grey,
24. Michael Lord Carleyll, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
25. Alexander Biſhop of Galloway,
26. Robert Commendator of Dunfermling,
27. Alexander Commendator of Culroſs,
28. Drybruch,
29. Adam Commendator of Cambuskynet,
30. Jhone Erskyn,
31. Robert Miniſter of Foylfurd,
32. Jhone Wiſhart,
33. George Stratoun,
34. Johnne Craigtoun,
35. Ma. of Newbotll,
36. James Steuard,
37. Bukclewth, Knycht,
38. Tulibardin, Comptrollar,
39. Garlis,
40. W. Maitland,
41. Jo. Ballenden,
42. Sir Ja. Balfour,
43. Walter Ker of Cesfurd,
44. Drumlanrig,
45. Thomas Ker,
46. Craigmillar,
47. Caprintoun,
48. Blairquhan,
49. Mochrum,
50. David Spens of Wormiſtoun, Knycht,
51. Robert Stewart of Roſſyth,
52. Patrik of Howiſtown, Knycht,
53. Patrik Lermonth of Derſi,
54. Borgany,
55. James Chalmer of Gatgirth,
56. James Haliburtoun,
57. Johnne Fullartoun of Dreghorn,
58. Shauſnok,

58. Shaufnok,
59. Canynghim-heid,
60. George Corre of Kelwood,
61. Apylgirth,
62. Jhone Shaw of Sahy,
63. W. Kyrkaldy zonger,
64. Jhone Lokhart of Bar,
65. Hew Wallace of Carnyll,
66. David Durie of that Ilk,
67. James Dalrwmpyll of Staor,
68. Androw Murray of Aringask,
69. Robert Murray of Abircardny,
70. William Moncreif zonger,
71. Johne Cathcart of Cariltoun,
72. Edmiftoun,
73. Quhittingham,
74. Melrofs,
75. George Hum of Spoot,
76. Johne Maluill of Kaith,
77. Andro Ker of Fawdenfyd,
78. Gilbert Kennedy of Dalquharan,
79. John Blair of yat Ilk,
80. Jhone Shaw of Grenok,
81. Jhone Cuningham of Drumquhiffyll,
82. Thomas Difhington,
83. N. Borthuik of Gardinfhall,
84. James Meldrum,
85. Henry Grahame,
86. Jhone Menteth of the Kers,
87. M. Wylliam Lundy,
88. Wilzem Conynghem of Cragenis,
89. J. Mowngumrie Fiar of Hoflout,
90. Andro Wod of Largo,
91. Jhone Colleſs,
92. Jhone Brisbin,
93. Wal. Leflie of that Ilk,
94. Jo. Foularton,
95. Jhone Lowell, with my hand,
96. Jhone Sympyl of Fouilwid,
97. Gilbert Ogiluy of that Ilk,
98. Pittincreiff,
99. George Buchquhanan of yat Ilk,
100. David Tyre of Drumkyllo,
101. Arthur Forbes,
102. Jhone Somerwell of Cambufnathan,
103. Walt. M'Cawlay of Arincapill,
104. Adam———of———
105. Alexander Trayle of Blebo,
106. James Sandilandis,
107. James Forreſter,
108. Henry Foulis of Colingtoun,
109. Georgius Towrs,
110. James Heriot of Trabrown,
111. Jhone Mowbray of Barnebowgall,
112. George Ramfey of Dalhufay,
113. William Murray of Touchadam,
114. James Hamylton of Kyncawill,
115. Jhone Edmiftoun of yat Ilk, Knycht,
116. Willem Wauchop,
117. Jhone Pennycuik of yat Ilk,
118. David Pringill,
119. Andro M'Anpherfon of Colraun,
120. Robert Laufon of Humbey,
121. Wylzem Durham of Grange,
122. Alexander Guthre of yat Ilk, Friar,
123. Toms Kyndy.
124. David Lyndefay of———
125. James Ramfey of———
126. Robert Campbell of Kyngscleuth,
127. Jhone Howm of Coldenknows,
128. David Howme of Wedderburne,
129. John Rayntoun of Billie,
130. David Syntcler of Blans,
131. William Chirnfyde of Eift-Nisbet,
132. Jhone Swyntoun of yat Ilk,
133. Jhon Howm of Blakitr,
134. George Hvme of Atoune,
135. Mathew Sinclar of Langfarmacus,
136. Patrik Cokburn of Clarkyntoun,
137. Alexander Cokburn of yat Ilk,
138. Thomas Ker of Merfingtoun,
139. David Edingtoun of yat Ilk,
140. Williame Sinclar of Herdmeiftoun,
141. ———Lauder of ye Baſs,
142. John Cokburn of Ormyftoun,
143. George Hume of Broxmuth,
144. Peter Hay of Meginis,
145. Patrik Congiltoun of yat Ilk,
146. William Bonar of Roſſe,
147. G. Dundas of yat Ilk,
148. James Cokburn of Langtown,
149. William Ridpath, zounger, of yat Ilk,
150. Thomas Fawfyd of yat Ilk,
151. Robert Lyll of Stanipecht,
152. Alexander Dalmahoy of yat Ilk,
153. James Ramfey of Cokpen,
154. W. Saintclair of Roiflin,
155. Olyfar Sanklar of Quhaytkirk,
156. Alexander Hamiltoun of Innarwik,
157. John Sydſerf,
158. Thomas Makdowall,
159. Robyn Ker of the Wodhede,
160. Thomas Ker of Fernheſt,
161. Andro Ker of Lytilden,
162. Gylbert Ker of Prudenfyd, Knycht,
163. William Dowglas of Cavers,
164. Thomas Turnbull of Badroule, Knycht,
165. Jhone Turnbull of Phillophaw,
166. Robert Grierſon of Lag,
167. Lochinwer,
168. Cardeneſs,
169. Bomby,
170. Brochtoun,
171. Jhone Gordoun, zoungar, of Crechlaw,
172. Closburn,
173. J. Cranftoun,
174. Charles Murray of Cokpuill,
175. Jhone Charteris of Amesfeild,
176. Henry Hepburn of Fortoun, with my hand at the pen,
177. Alexander Creichton of Newhall, with my hand at the pen, Alex. Hay Notarius,
178. Thomas Hanyn,
179. Will. Scott of Thirlſtane, with my hand at the pen,
180. Jhone Stewart of Craighall, with my hand at the pen,
181. James Noble of Ardardan, with my hand at the pen,
182. Tho. Powntoun Proveſt of Hadentoun,
183. James Howme Belzie,
184. Bernard Thomſoun Balie, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
185. Rob. Howm of———
186. Geo. Moutra, zonger, of Seyfeld, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,

186. And.

187. And. Fairny of yat Ilk, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius.
188. Mr. Jhone Logan, and
189. Patrik Locht, and
190. Patrik Hwm, Commiſſioners for Leyth,
191. Pat. Wod of Bonytoun,
192. Jhone Sumerille of———
193. James———
194. Walter Ker of Dolphingſtoun, and
195. James Rig, Proveſt of Drumfreſs, Commiſſioners for Drumfreſs,
196. Tho. Kirkpatrik of Aliſland,
197. Wilzem Banantyn of Corehous,
198. John Makgyll,
199. Wilzem———of———
200. Jhone of———
201. Al. Cunyngham of Corſell,
202. John———of———
203. Pat. Sleich of Minloche, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay,
204. David Barclay of Cullerne,
205. Barnbarrow,
206. Myrtoun,
207. Nic. Rutherfurd of Hundelie, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
208 Jhon Turnbull of Mynto, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
209. Jhon Mow of yat Ilk, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
210. Jhon Haitlie,
211. Jhon Rutherjurd of Hunthill, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
212. Pat. Fraſere of Owertoun, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
213. Wil. Kirkpatrik of Kirkmichell, with my hand at the pen, Al. Hay Notarius,
214. Pat. M'Kei of Larg,
215. J. Wawſs,
216. Al. Blair, zonger, of Balthyok.

The Liſt of thoſe who were preſent in the Parliament held at Edinburgh in Scotland, the 15th day of December, Anno 1567.

REGENTE PRESENTE.

Pro Clero,

Epiſcopi.

Moravien.
Candidæ Caſæ,
Orcaden.
Brechinen.

Abbates.

Dumfermlin,
Melroſs,
Cambuskenneth,
Newbottle,
Dryburgh,
Jedburgh,
Kynloſs,
Balmerino,
Inſulæ Sanctæ Columbæ,
Culroſs,
Pettinweem,
Inſulæ Beatæ Mariæ,
Coldinghame,
Portmooke.

Pro Baronibus,

Comites.

Angus,
Huntlye,
Argile,
Crawfurd,
Errol,
Athole,
Morton,
Glencairn,
Marre,
Caithneſs,
Menteith,
Buchan,

Domini.

Hume,
Ruthven,
Glamis,
Grey,
Lindſay de Byeris,
Sempill,
Saltoun,
Lovat,
Innermeith,
Cathcart,
Herries,
Yeſter,
Sancti Johannis,
Methven,
Ochultree.

Magiſtri.

Montroſe,
Sinclair,
Drummond,
Theſaurarius Dundee,
Secretarius,
Tullibardin Rotulator,
Clericus Regiſtri,
Clericus Juſticiariæ,

Pro Commiſſariis Burgorum.

Præpoſitus Edinburghi,
Jacobus Barroun,
Mr. Johannes Preſtun,
Perth,
Stirling,
Dundee,
Aberdeen,
Montroſs,
Hadingtone,
Linlithgo,
Glaſgow,
Air,
Peebles,
Drumfreis,
Enerneſs,
Elgin,
Forres,
Coupar,
Inerkeithing,
Lanrik,
Jedburg,
Selkirk,
Bamf,
St. Andrews,
Creil,
North Berwick,
Lauder,
Dumbar,
Narne,
Tayne.

Domini electi ad Articulos.

Pro Clero,

Epiſcopi.

Moravien.
Candidæ Caſæ,
Orcaden.

Abbates.

Dumfermlin,
Melroſs,
Newbottle,
Balmerino,
Inſulæ Sanctæ Columbæ,
Pittenweem,
Portmooke,

Pro Baronibus,

Comites.

Huntlye,
Argile,
Morton,
Athole,
Glencairn,
Marre,
Caithneſs.

Domini.

Hume,
Lindſay,
Sempill.

Pro

Pro Commiſſariis Burgorum.
Præpoſitus Edinburghi,
Jacobus Barroun,
Patricius Murray,
Præp. de Perth,
Præp. de Dundee,
Præp. de Stirling,
Præp. de Aberdein,
Præp. de Montroſs,
Præp. de St. Andrew,
Præp. de Ayre,
Præp. de Coupar.

Theſe Liſts are taken from the Records of Parliament, ſign'd by J. Macgill of Rankillor, Clerk of the Regiſter and Records of Parliament.

In the Cottonian library next to a copy of the firſt bond is the following paper.

A copy of the names of ſuch of the Nobility as ſubſcribed the bond, ſo far as John Read might remember, of whom I had this copy, being in his own hand, and being commonly termed in Scotland, Aynſteis Supper.

THE Earls. Murray, Argile, Huntley, Caſſiles, Morton, Sutherland, Rothes, Glencairn, Cathneſſe.

LORDS. Boyd, Seyton, Sinclare, Semple, Oliphant, Oglevy, Roſſe-Hacat, Carliſle, Herris, Hume, Innermeith. Eglinton ſubſcribed not, but ſlipped away.

N. B. 'Tis by all acknowledged there was ſuch a bond granted by ſundry of the nobility to the Earl of Bothwel, upon the 19th day of April, 1567, when there was a parliament; but Mr. Read's memory might have ſlipt another Nobleman's Name, as he ſeems to have done in the firſt that he ſets down as a ſubſcriber, viz. the Earl of Murray, for there is an act of parliament upon the ſaid 19th day of April, 1567, wherein it is expreſly ſaid, that the Earl of Murray was then out of the realm of Scotland, nor is he mentioned in the rolls of that parliament, as will appear by what follows.

Liſt of the Members preſent in the parliament of *Scotland*, beginning the 14th day of April, 1567; and ending the 19th day of that month, with ſome acts made in that parliament.

From the Records of Parliament.

In parliamento excellentiſſimæ principis Mariæ, Dei gratia Scotorum reginæ, tento apud Edinburgh decimo ſexto die menſis Aprilis, anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo ſexageſimo ſeptimo per eandem, tribus regni ſtatibus præſentibus.

REGINA PRÆSENTE.

Pro Clero.
Archiepiſ. Sancti Andreæ,
Epiſ. Dunkeldenſis,
Ep. Candidæ Caſæ,
Ep. Dumblanenſis,
Ep. Brechinenſis,
Ep. Orchadenſis,
Ep. Sodorenſis,
Ep. Abirdonenſis,
Ep. Roſſenſis,
Abirbrothok,
Melroſs,
Poſtulatus de Dumfermling,
Jedburgh,
Kelvynning,
Kinloſs,
Balmerinoch,
Sancti Columbæ,
Glenluiſs,
Prior inſulæ Sanctæ Mariæ.

Pro Baronibus, Comites.
Ergadiæ,
Craufurde,
Boithuell,
Caſſillis,
Mortoun,
Errole,
Caithnes,
Rothes,
Sutherland,
Eglintoun.

Domini.
Flemyng,
Levingſtoun,
Setoun,
Ruthven,
Symple,
Roſs
Saltoun,
Lindeſay,
Glammys,
Ogilvye,
Borthuik,
Hereiſs,
Uchiltre,
Boyde,
Sancti Johannis,
Sanchquhare.

Pro Commiſſariis Burgorum.
Præpoſitus de Edinburgh & Alexander Clerk,
Willelmus Flemyng pro Perth,
Gilbertus Meinzies pro Abirdene,
Richardus Blyth pro Dunde,
Joannes Lockart pro Aire,
Carolus Drummond pro Lynlythgow,
Joannes Forhouſe pro Haddingtoun.

Domini electi ad Articulos.

Pro Clero.
Sancti Andreæ,
Ep. Roſſenſis,
Ep. Orchadenſis,
Ep. Inſularum,
Abbates de Abirbrothok,
Kilwynning,
Balmerinoch,
Sanct Columbfynche.

Pro Baronibus.
Ergyle,
Bothuell,
Crawfurde,
Mortoun,
Caſſillis,

Domini.
Merchell,
Flemyng,
Herreiſs.

Pro Commiſſariis Burgorum.
Præpoſitus de Edinburgh & Alexander Clerk,
Willelmus

Willelmus Flemming pro Perth,
Gilbertus Menzies pro Abirdene,
Richardus Blyth pro Dunde,
Joannes Lockart pro Aire,
Carolus Drumond pro Linlythgow,
Joannes Forhouſs pro Hadingtoun,
Una cum officiariis, viz.
Theſaurarius,
Secretarius,
Cuſtos ſecreti ſigilli,
Clericus regiſtri,
Clericus juſticiariæ,
Advocatus.

Pro Clero.

Archiepiſ. Sancti Andreæ,
Epiſ. Dunkeldenſis,
Abirdonenſis,
Candidæ Caſæ,
Brechinenſis,
Roſſenſis,
Dumblanenſis,
Sodorenſis,
Orcadenſis.

Abbates.

Abirbrothok,
Sanctæ Crucis,
Poſt. Dumfermling,
Melroſs,
Jedburgh,
Balmerinoch,
Glenluiſs,
Kilwinning,
Kinloſs,
Sancti Columbæ
Ardchatten,
Ferne.

Pro Baronibus.

Huntlie Cancellarius,
Ergyle,
Bothuell,
Craufurd,
Errole,
Caſſillis,
Mortoun,
Merſchell,
Rothes,
Eglintoun,
Sutherland,
Caithnes.

Domini.

Flemyng,
Ruthwen,
Glammys,
Ogilvie,
Borthuick,
Symple,
Lindeſay,
Roſs.
Levingſtoun,
Sancquhair,
Boyd,
Hereiſs.

Pro Commiſſariis Burgorum.

Præpoſitus de Edinburgh & Alexander Clerk.
Willelmus Flemyng pro Perth,
Gilbertus Menzies pro Abirdene,
Richardus Blyth pro Dunde,
Dominus Craigingelt pro Striviling,
Joannes Lockart pro Aire,
Carolus Drummond pro Linlythgow.
Joannes Forhous pro Haddingtoun.

Murray was under a neceſſity of punctuality to Elizabeth's orders for his own intereſt and ſafety, and therefore procured by his Parliament of June 25th, this year 1568, ſuch a nomination of deputies join'd with him, as he knew would in all points be agreeable to his deſigns, and ſupport his meaſures; but he had diſobeyed and offended Elizabeth in part, by calling a Parliament the 25th of June, in which he had paſſed ſeveral oppreſſive acts againſt Queen Mary's friends in Scotland, contrary to the expreſs order of Elizabeth, ſent to him by Midlemore, at the earneſt ſolicitations of Queen Mary, and her Ambaſſador the Lord Herris, now at London: The Commiſſioners and Deputies joined in commiſſion, under the great ſeal of Scotland, with the Earl of Murray, were the Earl of Morton, Adam Biſhop of Orkney, Robert Commendator of Dumferling, Patrick Lord Lindſay, and James Macgill, with Henry Balnaves, Eſquires; together with Secretary Lethington, and George Buchanan. The Commiſſioners of Queen Elizabeth's nomination were the Duke of Norfolk, Ratcliff Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. For Queen Mary's intereſt there appeared as Commiſſioners, the Lords Levingſton, and Boyd, Gawin Commendator of Kilwinning, the Biſhop of Roſs, John Gordon, and James Cockburn, Eſquires. The firſt meeting of theſe Commiſſioners was October 7, 1568; after opening their ſeveral commiſſions, the firſt place and rank being allowed the Queen of Scots Commiſſioners, they all took in the proper places, the Oaths of Fidelity to their reſpective truſts; and the Deputies from Queen Mary, proteſted in her name, that her conſenting to lay the whole of her treatment before the Queen of England and her Council, ſhould be conſtructed by no means any acknowledgment of her ſubjection to the Crown of England, nor of her being under their ſovereignty, but as a teſtimony of her ſincere and full truſt and confidence in the friendſhip of Queen Elizabeth, and her ſympathy, as a neighbour Queen, with her cruel and hard treatment, from a firm perſuaſion of Queen Elizabeth's great honour, equity, and regard which ſhe had often, and particularly on this occaſion, teſtified and repeated to her the diſtreſſed Queen of Scotland: The punctilios and formalities at the opening of their Congreſs being over, they proceeded to hear Queen Mary's complaints againſt the Regent and all his faction, conſiſting of the long detail and hiſtory of her treatment ſince the murder of Rizio, which was a narrative of known and notorious facts. Some time was ſpent in anſwers and replies on both ſides; but when the Engliſh Commiſſioners had heard all on both ſides, and made report of them to Queen Elizabeth, and the Privy-Council, they by authority, were ordered to acquaint the Regent Murray, that the Queen of England and her Miniſtry were by no means ſatisfied with Murray's conduct, and gave it as their opinion, that they thought the reaſons alledged by Murray the Regent, were by no means ſufficient nor ſuitable to juſtify the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the Queen, and the hardſhips put upon her; the Queen of England further inſiſted that Murray with ſome of the Queen's Deputies ſhould repair to London, to give her and the Miniſtry of London, a more ſatisfying account of ſeveral particulars: Murray and Lethington came to London, to anſwer Leſly Biſhop of Roſs, and Lord Boyd, who were of Queen Mary's commiſſion. Here both parties were heard: Murray was cloſely preſs'd and put to a pinch how to ſtand his ground, therefore he produc'd the confeſſions and depoſitions of thoſe ſervants of Bothwell's, and others who had been executed, for aiding and aſſiſting in the murder of the

Murray call'd for by Elizabeth.

He ſummons a parliament to meet.

Commiſſioners of both ſides nominated.

Their order and manner of Procedure.

Mary truſts in Elizabeth as her friend.

The report of the Engliſh Commiſſioners.

Murray called for to London.

Elizabeth and her Council greatly perplex'd.

Murray's arts.

Murray produces his full evidence.

Murray at first much blamed.

Vide Anderson, Vol. IV.

He is sharply reproved.

The English Ministry change their sentiments.

They act inconsistently with their own answers and promises.

The answers of the Privy-Council of England to Mary's Commissioners.

But this answer not fulfilled.

Mary hardly used.

Her treatment not justifiable.

Mary's detainure contrary to promise.

The ill-grounded pretensions of the Court of London.

Mary considered as a Queen, yet used as a criminal.

King, with the several writings he affirmed to be Queen Mary's own writing which pass'd betwixt her and Bothwell; her Letters, and their several private contracts of marriage. Queen Elizabeth and her Council having look'd into all the papers and writings delivered by Murray were puzzled how to act; they were willing to have a pretext for continuing Queen Mary in confinement: Murray had influenced the minds and affections of the English Ministry, particularly of Cecil, against the Queen of Scots. The depositions and declarations of the persons executed for King Henry's murder were read to the Commissioners in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, where the Commissioners were now appointed to sit; and here all the writings and letters which could make for the Earl of Murray, were laid before the Commissioners, December the 8th and 9th, 1568; but before this time from the first sitting of the new Commissioners at Westminster which was upon the 25th of November this year, nothing satisfactory could be brought by Murray and his associates in their own vindication: for by the Journals extant from the Records of the Privy-Council and from other authentick Records of their proceedings published by Anderson, it does appear that the Queen and Privy-Council of England, from the 25th of November to the 6th or 8th of December, shew'd a disposition to favour Queen Mary, and from the report made to them by their Commissioners, they were unanimously of opinion, that Queen Mary had been grosly maltreated and very much impos'd upon, yea distress'd by her enemies in Scotland, particularly by Murray and his adherents.

By the original Journals of the proceedings at Westminster, and by the Records yet extant in the Paper-Office and the Cotton-Library, it appears, that after the Earl of Murray had, upon the third and sixth of December, given in his answers to the Commissioners of the Queen of Scots, Queen Elizabeth, by her Ministry's approbation, sharply reproved the Earl of Murray with his adherents for their usage of Queen Mary. From December the 8th and 9th, when Murray exhibited all the letters, sonnets and private writings which had pass'd betwixt the Queen and Bothwell, and that the Earl of Morton had given in a solemn declaration in writing, that these letters, papers, &c. he had intercepted and taken with Dalgleish Bothwell's servant, who had been executed for his accession to the Regicide, I say after this, and by other secret arts, the inclinations and affections of the Court of London seem'd to fix in the opposite scale: And Queen Mary's Commissioners had not that hearing and attention to their representations which they had hitherto been favour'd with: but what is most surprising is the conduct of the Court of London after the declaration and answers given in by the express order of the Queen of England, and her Ministry, from the English Commissioners, upon the 26th of November at Westminster, to the articles and demands of the the Earl of Murray, that, I say, after the Court of London had, by their answers to the Earl of Murray! pledg'd their faith and honour, that even supposing the worst, that is, that the chief article of Mary's impeachment should be found to be fact, that she was accessory to the murder of the King her husband, even in this case, they the Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth gave solemn assurances to the Earl of Murray, in name and by the authority of their Queen, that Queen Mary should be deliver'd up to Murray; he giving the best security for the preservation of Queen Mary's life, and of using her suitable to her Royal Dignity, tho' divested of the government of the nation. And further, if the Court of London did not think this expedient upon more mature consideration, then that Queen Mary should be detain'd safe in England with an allowance of support out of her revenues in Scotland, so as that her life and safety might be secured without any danger. As the English Commissioners had given so plain an answer to Murray, and to the protestation made by Queen Mary's Commissioners, it is very extraordinary, that after this Mary should be doom'd to close confinement in England, and instead of preserving her life, should be forc'd by incroachments and disconcerting measures, upon such expedients for the restoration of her liberty, as might give a handle, and furnish with a pretext to cut her off, after a long and tiresome imprisonment of eighteen years, in the nineteenth year of her confinement to make her end her days upon a Scaffold, was such a masterly, uncommon and extraordinary accomplishment of promis'd, yea solemnly sworn friendship, equity and hospitality; that I know none but the evil genius of an exalted hypocrite, and the artful apologies of a cunning and designing Ministry, could pretend to support or defend the inconsistencies of the whole scene in those times!

Mary was detained prisoner contrary to the faith of Princes, to Royal honour and veracity! Queen Elizabeth was drove into this measure, contrary to her own human, kind and honest disposition, by her Ministry, who proceeded upon a conceiv'd and assum'd superiority, which England (as they affirm'd) had over Scotland, over even their Sovereigns and Princes, and their right to judge of them and their Subjects! This pretended right never was granted by Scotland. What by violence and conquest had been extorted, was retreived and void: it could not be made appear from the Law of nature, from the Laws of nations, from the Roman Law, nor from any pacts and contracts, that England was vested with the superiority claim'd in this instance over Scotland: By which the Ministry of London then pretended to authorize and support their proceedings against Queen Mary, whom they did not pretend to judge of as a private person, but in quality of a Queen, and considered her as such under their stigmatizing and usurp'd jurisdiction. The answers I just now mentioned of the English

liſh Commiſſioners are to be ſeen both in the Paper-Office and in the Cottonian Library, and are evident proofs, that the then Miniſtry of London deviated from the faith and ſolemn promiſes they had given for the ſafety of Queen Mary's life.

Two of Queen Mary's Commiſſioners, the Biſhop of Roſs and Lord Levingſton, December the 3d, 1568, went privately to Hampton-Court to Elizabeth, and preſented a memorial by order of their Miſtreſs, which Elizabeth having read, refer'd for anſwer to her Commiſſioners now at Weſtminſter; upon this it was, that Murray exerted himſelf, ſo as to leave no ſtone unturn'd to detach Cecil and the other Officers of State from any favourable diſpoſition to Mary: but the Journal of the Privy-Council extraordinary, called the next day by the Queen's order, in which her Majeſty of England was preſent and the following Privy-Counſellors,

Mary's Commiſſioners unſucceſsful.

Preſent, The Queen's Majeſty,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The Lord High Chancellor Bacon, | Earl of Eſſex, | Lord Chamberlain, |
| Duke of Norfolk, | Earl of Bedford, | Sir William Cecil, |
| Earl of Pembroke Lord Steward of the Houſhold, | Earl of Leiceſter, | Sir Ralph Sadler, |
| | Lord Clinton Lord Admiral, | Sir Walter Mildway, |
| Marquis of Northampton L. Treaſurer, | | |

December the 4th, contains ſuch ſtrong expreſſions in favour of Mary, ſuch explicit and repeated profeſſions of their concern for Queen Mary, and their opinion of her innocence and ſufferings, and ſo hearty and apparently ſtrong a diſſatisfaction with Murray, that it would be almoſt incredible to think how ſoon, and how unaccountably their ſentiments were changed, even before the Conferences at Hampton-Court.

A ſurpriſing and ſudden change in the Privy-Council.

The Conferences at Hampton-Court begun December the 14th, thoſe of Weſtminſter having ended the 10th. After Murray had brought forth all he was capable of againſt Mary, and having done this, ſo as to alter the affections of the Engliſh miniſtry, he prepares to go to Scotland, becauſe of an inſurrection and aſſociation of ſome of Queen Mary's friends: But to fortify the prejudices he had rooted in Queen Elizabeth's mind, and in the minds of the majority of the Privy-Council of England, Murray, who was very ready and alert in forming expedients, conceiv'd letters, and concerted their being ſent from Queen Mary, now at Bolton Caſtle belonging to the Lord Scroop, to the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, and others of her Majeſty's friends. It was ſo order'd, that theſe letters of Queen Mary's, ſaid to be hers, but not proved to be ſo, were intercepted by ſome of Murray's agents, and immediately diſpatch'd to the court of London to Queen Elizabeth: By theſe ſuppoſed real letters of Queen Mary's to the Earls of Huntley and Mary's other friends in Scotland, ſhe is made to ſpeak loudly her complaints againſt Elizabeth for not fulfilling her faith and repeated promiſes of friendſhip and equity; and to utter the moſt mournful repreſentations againſt the falſity of Elizabeth's and her Miniſtry's friendſhip; at the ſame time aſſuring theſe Lords of Scotland of her ſupport and relief from another quarter. Theſe letters (as Campden obſerves) whether true or falſe Murray by this time has witneſs'd, could not be prov'd genuine and authentick, but Murray, who carefully intercepted them, as diligently diſpatch'd them to Queen Elizabeth, and here they operated very effectually to gripe Elizabeth, and ſo ſoured her affections againſt Mary, that after this Elizabeth was ready to receive all impreſſions, ſurmiſes, and falſe informations to the diſadvantage and diſhonour of Queen Mary.

Murray prepares to go to Scotland.

Murray's character and conduct.

Letters of Mary's intercepted.

Queen Elizabeth much offended at Mary

Mary's bad ſituation.

About this time the Duke of Chatle L' Rhault had return'd from France, with proper Inſtructions from the Duke of Guiſe and Cardinal of Lorrain, and had taken his rout by the Court of London: He waited on Queen Elizabeth and the Miniſtry of England, who receiv'd him in a very polite and affectionate manner. After the formalities were over, the Duke intimated to the Queen and the Miniſtry his juſt title, and preferable pretenſions to the Regency as the next heir to the Crown of Scotland, deſign'd and ſettled by Parliamentary conſtitution. This oppoſition gave the Earl of Murray great uneaſineſs, and put him into agitation; but as religion was his cloke to cover and excuſe all his ambitious projections for engroſſing of power and royalty to himſelf, ſo here he was ready in invention, and found out very opportunely a new plot againſt Queen Elizabeth for his own ends; for he acquainted Queen Elizabeth and the Court of London, that the French, the Pope and the Duke D'Alva were concerting meaſures to relieve Queen Mary of Scotland, and to reſtore her by a powerful confederacy; that in order to this they were tranſporting arms, ammunition, and all other neceſſary ſtores, with ſupplies of money, to Scotland, to ſupport the Scots in Mary's intereſt to raiſe a powerful army. This ſuggeſtion gave the alarm to the Court of London. Murray had rais'd the Hue and Cry for the proteſtant religion, and therefore they kept a very watchful eye over Queen Mary, and ſoon moved her to Tutbury, under the inſpection and guardianſhip of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who continued in this office until he was at his own requeſt replaced, and ſucceeded by that moſt merciful and tender-hearted man Sir Amias Powlet, who with rigidity and ſtrict attendance had the care of Mary at Fotheringay to her laſt moments. But to proceed with the progreſs of the conferences.

The Duke of Chatle L'Rhault returns by London from France.

Is well receiv'd.

His claim to the Regency.

Murray's new plot to defeat his views.

Queen Mary mov'd to Tutbury.

Thoſe of the Commiſſioners at Weſtminſter ended, to Mary's great and juſt diſſatisfaction, (as I have obſerved) on the 10th of December, 1568, and executed nothing but to Murray's gratification. Here it is proper to acquaint my reader, that Queen Elizabeth and

The conferences end at Weſtminſter, and are renew'd at Hampton-Court.

and her Miniſtry, as appears from the authentick journals of the Commiſſioners, and the records of the Privy-Council, excuſed themſelves from admitting Queen Mary to appear in perſon to anſwer her accuſers, leaſt the admittance of ſo foul and defiled a perſon as Mary was repreſented to be, might corrupt and poiſon the pure and undefiled Court of London! and leaſt the noxious air from Mary might affect Elizabeth or her neighbourhood: But in common trials is it any diſhonour to a Judge and Superior? Does it reflect reproach upon him to admit, and to ſee a criminal at the bar make his defence in perſon? What then could the Engliſh Miniſtry mean by ſuch partial chicanery, as to perſuade good and honeſt Elizabeth not to admit Queen Mary in perſon to make her defence? Murray was accus'd of the King's murder, and his conſenting to the whole conſpiracy, at leaſt conniving at the whole ſcene, yet he, without ſcruple, is admitted to Elizabeth's royal preſence to repreſent as he thought fit; and is indulged to be allowed to appear in perſon before the delegated Court of Commiſſioners, to plead his own defence, and to influence all he was capable of gaining over to his ſupport; while Mary Queen of Scotland, his ſuperior and oppreſſed Siſter, is detain'd in cloſe cuſtody, having no opportunities of making friends, uſing intereſt, or counteracting her enemies. I own and avow myſelf a ſtrict and firm proteſtant, and I hope never to depart from that pure religion in which I was firſt inſtituted; and therefore I am aſhamed, and I bluſh, when I think of ſuch partial proceedings toward Mary becauſe a papiſt, and under the pretence of ſupporting and eſtabliſhing the reformed proteſtant religion! True religion, which is the proteſtant, is innocent, ſtrictly juſt, equitable, reſpects not perſons, hurts none, promotes good, always does good, yea, adminiſters the ſtricteſt juſtice even to enemies: Therefore it is evident from the whole tenor and progreſs of theſe proceedings, that there was no religion in fact the guide of their conduct, but that religion was abus'd to be the cloke and cover to excuſe iniquity and partiality. Cunning and deceit are no parts of religion, yet theſe were the weapons of the Earl of Murray's right-hand; for before he went to Scotland this ſeaſon, in January 1568, he, at Hampton-Court, to lay a ſnare for the Duke of Norfolk, ſecretly propos'd and mov'd to his Grace to marry the Queen; and if his Grace did agree to it, that he would do his utmoſt to promote it. Yet, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate, Murray only did this to encourage his Grace of Norfolk to truſt his friendſhip, that thereby he might enter into ſecret correſpondence and confidence with the Duke, and hereby have an opportunity to diſcover his deſigns and affections, and ſo to enſnare him which policy, ſure, none can denominate to be fair, nor worthy of any noble perſon. But as I have affirmed that Murray had certainly connived at and known of the deſigned murder of King Henry, and as I have given already good and convincing vouchers for my aſſertions, I ſhall here only add Murray's own declaration and acknowledgment, an original dated at Hampton-Court, January 19, 1568-9, marked with Cecil's hand, and to be found in the Paper-Office and Cottonian Library: In this declaration Murray firſt ſolemnly diſavows his ſigning any bond, writing, or aſſociation with Bothwell, Huntley, Argyle, &c. or entering into private intrigues and meaſures with them relating to King Henry; but in the ſequel of his declaration he expreſsly acknowledges and confeſſes, that he ſet his name to one bond in October or November before the King's murder in conjunction with Bothwell, Huntley, Argyle and Morton, and that he had aſſociated with Bothwell by this bond to eſtabliſh a future ſtrict union, and to bury in forgetfulneſs all former animoſities; yea, he owns his chief motive by it was to procure him the greater confidence and familiarity with the Queen. So that his own declaration confounds him, and, in the opinion of the diſintereſted, fixes his guilt; for this was the bond, and the only bond, by which they all ſtood engaged to ſecrecy, fidelity, and mutual friendſhip, in order to carry their ſyſtem with the Queen into execution. The manner in which Murray procured the farce of the conferences upon the 14th and 15th of December, 1568, to be carried on at Hampton-Court, is ſo evidently partial and ludicrous, that the influence he had procured himſelf is but too manifeſt, and the journals of theſe proceedings muſt make one in amaze: For to make a ſhew and feint of equity the Privy-Council inſtructed Queen Elizabeth to ſummon a Council extraordinary, to which, by Cecil's advice, were called the Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Shrewsbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon and Warwick, with the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earls of Bedford, Suſſex and Leiceſter; with Clinton, Lord High Admiral; Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State; Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Walter Mildmay: In the preſence of theſe Lords, the 16th of December, 1568, the Queen of England delivered her laſt anſwer, and the mind of her Miniſtry, to the Commiſſioners from Queen Mary. In this anſwer, which one would conceive to have been dictated by a canting and impoſing clergyman, not by ſuch an auguſt and noble aſſembly of men of wit and honour as a Privy-Council of England has been, and is allowed to conſiſt of; her Majeſty of England profeſſes great regard, concern, and ſympathy for her ſiſter Queen, and makes ſuch proteſtations of her inclinations to ſee juſtice done her, that any one would believe her Majeſty was ſincere: She extols the fidelity, the honour and integrity of Leſly Biſhop of Roſs to his miſtreſs Queen Mary; but after all, and giving a long and indirect preamble, evaſive, and nothing to the point, concludes and ſums up all with a recommendation to Mary's Commiſſioners to deal earneſtly with the Queen of Scots, to write to her, Elizabeth, and to ſend without delay ſome ſatisfactory and convincing vindications and evidence to take off the influence of Murray's accuſations, and his proofs in ſupport of them.

Mary's efforts without ſucceſs.

Murray, by his own declaration, fixes his guilt as to the murder.

The inequality with which Mary is us'd.

True religion is pure, and without deceit or partiality.

Murray's deceit to Norfolk,

And his deſigns upon him.

Murray's declaration contradictory.

The particulars fix guilt on Murray.

The proceedings at Hampton-Court evaſive, but not equal.

The conduct of the Court of London extraordinary.

The Queen of England's notification of the reſolutions of her Council.

Elizabeth's anſwer to Mary's Commiſſioners, as dictated by her Miniſtry.

This

This piece of Romiſh Jeſuitiſm, ſure, never was of good Queen Elizabeth's own cooking, but the conception and formation of a deſigning, cunning, and ambitious Miniſtry. Queen Elizabeth, I dare not blame, but her Miniſtry muſt bear their own load. It has been, and in many more modern inſtances has been and is the caſe and diſagreeable fate of good, honeſt, and upright Sovereigns, that they have been ſometimes bullied, at other times blinded, and in the third inſtance teazed, flattered, yea moſt indecently hurried into meaſures not conſiſtent with royal honour, ſtrict faith, nor national proſperity and welfare. Theſe anſwers, and the conduct in the conferences at Hampton-Court, with the reſolutions of the Privy-Council of London, I have now before me, which are to be ſeen in the Journals of theſe proceedings, the records of the Privy-Council, and the papers ſtill extant in the Cotton Library, which are undoubted vouchers to prove what I obſerve. The Earls and Lords called to the Privy-Council extraordinary being ſuppoſed friends to Queen Mary, were under neceſſity to join in their approbation of the Privy-Council's proceedings and reſolutions, being afraid of any ſuſpicion, and aware of the arts of Cecil, Leiceſter, and all of that ſide. Queen Elizabeth's letter to Queen Mary, December the 21ſt, dated at Hampton-Court, after Elizabeth had intimated her mind and the reſolutions of her Privy-Council to Queen Mary's Commiſſioners, is ſuch a piece of compliment, ſuch an inſtance of ſympathy, with a mixture of ſuch inconſiſtency and ſtate-formality, void of ſincerity, that the only and true apology for the ſtile and ſpirit of ſuch a letter can be, that it was dictated by an ambitious Miniſter of deſigning and artful projections, but not agreeable to the honeſt and generous ſoul of Elizabeth, who knew not how to do an unkind or unfaithful action, unleſs drove to it by a Miniſter of State and a ſelf-deſigning Counſellor.

Elizabeth vindicated.

Obſervations on the Conferences at Weſtminſter and Hampton-Court, and their reſolutions.

Queen Elizabeth's letter to Queen Mary conſider'd.

Her Miniſtry blam'd.

But paſſing this I go on, after looking into the fruitleſs, yet formal Conferences at York, Weſtminſter, and Hampton-Court, to conſider the conduct of the then Miniſtry of London, and the Regent Murray, towards Queen Mary; and as I affirm nothing but upon the beſt vouchers, and from good authority, I ſhall, without regard to either party, ſet forth the ſcene of Mary's hoſpitable treatment in England, until ſhe was brought to the Scaffold; and do juſtice to Murray her brother, until he received his laſt compliments from the Hamiltons!

Mary's ill treatment by the Conferences.

Mary was now ſatisfied by Queen Elizabeth's letters, and her anſwers to the Biſhop of Roſs, the Lords Boyd, Levingſton, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, how far ſhe might depend upon friendſhip from the Miniſtry of London; and how far the power and influence of Murray extended and tallied with Cecil's affections and projections. Mary, from a native deſire of liberty which was not to be blamed, and from a feminine vivacity and lively ſenſation, could not bear confinement, ſo oppoſite to her former degree of life; therefore was reſtleſs, and (as Baker juſtly obſerved) too keen, ſanguine and active, in ſhewing her deſire of liberty; for it is highly probable, that had ſhe appeared more indifferent, cool and unconcerned, eaſy and contented with her preſent condition, ſhe much more eaſily and effectually might have procured what otherwiſe ſhe never was capable to accompliſh. The Romiſh Prieſts in this directed, yea over-ruled Mary to her ſorrow and ruin; for their expedients were, by repeated plots and conſpiracies, to procure her freedom; and at the ſame time ſome of theſe very aſſociates, Romiſh Prieſts, and confidents, by the accuracy of the Engliſh Miniſtry, were the perſons who betray'd all their councils and meaſures, and who gave a total defeat to all the confederacies in favour of Mary. There was one healing, and I think very fair propoſition, made by Liddington, while the conferences at Hampton-Court depended, and was the only juſt and honeſt meaſure ever propounded by this man, which, if it had been accepted, would have prevented much trouble and juſt reproach to the Court of London, as well as the future ſorrow and fatal end of the Queen of Scots. This paper, endorſed with Secretary Cecil's own hand, is in the Paper-Office and the Cotton Library, and verbatim copied by Anderſon, Vol. 4. towards the end; the ſubſtance of which conſiſts of the following articles: That Queen Mary ſhould be reſtor'd to her liberty: That ſhe ſhould allow her ſon to remain in the poſſeſſion of the Government of Scotland: That all commiſſions, deeds, acts, grants, *&c.* ſhould paſs under his royal Signature: And during his Majeſty's being under age, that the Regency ſhould continue eſtabliſhed as it now was; but that her Majeſty Queen Mary ſhould be acknowledged by Scotland, and all other Princes and States, in quality of Queen of Scotland, and her right to the ſucceſſion, and of any of her iſſue, declared, in caſe of King James her ſon's death: That the exerciſe of government ſhould remain as it now was: The Queen ſhould have only the honours, appointments, and attendants allow'd her ſuitable to her royalty: She ſtanding engaged not to diſturb England nor Scotland in any particular, but to live peaceably and ſatisfied with her condition. Had this meaſure been carried into execution, it had been happy for both Kingdoms; but its miſcarriage was owing to Murray, and the jealouſies artfully conveyed into Elizabeth's mind.

Mary ſees her cauſe deſerted.

The falſhood of the Romiſh Prieſts.

Liddington's good and equitable propoſals

The articles of it.

Mary's liberty and peace hereby ſecured, but this not agreed to.

Murray was now gone for Scotland to reduce the Queen's friends, who, from encouragements ſent by Queen Mary of foreign aids, were aſſembled in bodies in different quarters, in order to compoſe a formidable force to ſuppreſs Murray and his party. Queen Mary had given the Duke of Chatle L' Rhault her commiſſion to act and govern as Regent of Scotland, to collect her friends, and to oppoſe the Earl of Murray. He was arrived in Scotland, and had got together ſeveral of the Nobility of Scotland in Queen Mary's Intereſt:

Murray's behaviour in Scotland.

His ſucceſs againſt Chatle L' Rhault.

But Murray's celerity and diſpatch did exceed Chatle L' Rhault, for he arrived at Berwick February the 1ſt, and the next day at Edinburgh, then proceeded to Stirling where the Parliament was called to meet, in which Murray procured the full ratification of all his proceedings and tranſactions in England, and ſecured the intereſt, affections, and clamour of the Clergy from their pulpits to ſupport his power. The Duke of Chatle L' Rhault did not arrive at Hamilton-Caſtle before the 20th of February this year: Upon his arrival, he iſſued out his circular letters over the kingdom, notifying his powers from the Queen of Scots to act as Regent, and commanding all not to obey nor acknowledge the regent Murray as their ſuperior and governor. Upon this Murray orders his proclamation over the kingdom, ſummoning all the ſenſible able-bodied men to appear in arms againſt the 10th of March, to join the King's ſtandard, and to defend his government. Chatle L' Rhault had written to the Aſſembly of the Church to ſoften them, and if poſſible to ſecure a neutrality from them; but in this he had no ſucceſs, for they were firmly attached to Murray and his intereſt: Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and others of diſtinction at the Court of London, had by this time ſo gained upon Elizabeth, as to procure letters to the Earl of Murray, propoſing and urging Lethington's or Liddington's ſcheme for the reſtoration of Queen Mary, which ſcheme I have already mentioned. Murray, to ſhew regard apparently to Queen Elizabeth's commands, ſummoned the Parliament to meet, but when met, he had ſo ordered it, that they rejected Queen Elizabeth's offers for an accommodation of all differences, tho' the conditions were conceived in fair and equitable terms, as I mentioned, but did not anſwer Murray's deſigns. Murray had likewiſe broken and defeated all the confederacy of the Duke of Chatle L' Rhault with the other Nobility of the Queen's party, ſo that they were ſeparately making the beſt terms they could. The holy Superintendents of Lothian and Fife, as ſpiritual mediators, effected an accommodation upon certain articles betwixt the Duke of Chatle L' Rhault and the Earl of Murray: The Duke, upon the faith of this, came to Edinburgh with the Lord Herris, to treat with Murray, and to ſettle all matters upon the foundation of a new and thorough friendſhip: But Murray, not regarding public faith! apprehended the Duke and Lord Herris, and committed them both to Edinburgh Caſtle; which, with his commitment of Lethington, and his tyrannical behaviour toward the Earl of Huntley, and the other Nobility, haſtened his overthrow. Having defeated all the efforts of the Hamiltons, Gordons, and other her Majeſty Queen Mary's friends, and having gained over the Earl of Argyle to join him with all his power, which was at this time very conſiderable, not only by his eſtate and vaſſalage, but from his great qualifications and endowments of mind, Murray now thought himſelf ſafe and ſecure. In this his ſuppoſed ſafety, all of a ſudden many of his friends deſerted him, Kirkaldy of Grange in particular, by counterfeiting Murray's hand-writing, procured Liddington's delivery out of confinement in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, the Keeper having delivered him up to Kirkaldy of Grange as the Earl of Murray's intimate friend, upon the ſuppoſed veracity of Murray's written order.

Chatle L' Rhault too ſlow and indolent.

Murray's intereſt with the Clergy.

Queen Elizabeth by letters to Murray favours Mary.

Murray defeats all.

Murray now carries all in Scotland,

But at length becomes hateful and obnoxious.

Murray's friends, from all quarters, began to obſerve a powerful and keen reſentment in the Nobility and Gentry, in many places, againſt him: They therefore warned him of danger, and to be aware of his perſonal ſafety. He was by many diſſuaded from going his uſual circuits to the borders, and other parts; but he was reſolute, and proceeded firſt to the eaſtern frontier, and took up his quarters at Hume-Caſtle, which had been deſerted by the Earl of Hume, who now had taken himſelf to the oppoſite ſide. After this he went to the middle frontier, where he had great regard and honours paid him. The Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, and others aſſociated with them in the late rebellion in England, being ſcattered and broken, the two former made their eſcape into Scotland at this time. The Earl of Northumberland was hid at Harclow, but betray'd and deliver'd up by the Grayhams, then a powerful name, to Murray the Regent, who committed him to Lochlevin Caſtle, and ſent immediately notice of his commitment to the Court of London. Murray's conduct and fidelity to England was returned by a letter of thanks and approbation from Elizabeth's own hand, ſent by the Abbot of Dumferling, Murray's Ambaſſador. But notwithſtanding Murray's ſucceſſes ſeemed to increaſe, yet his enemies behind the curtain, in Scotland, were not idle. Murray returns from his eaſtern and ſouthern circuits, and being reconcil'd to Grange for his great treachery in allowing of Liddington's eſcape, he prepares to have Liddington's trial come on; the Earl of Murray had come to an accommodation with Kirkaldy of Grange, governor of Edinburgh-Caſtle, upon this condition, that he would deliver up Lethington or Liddington, whenever he was called upon to take his trial. As Murray was then ordering his trial, finding great caballing, frequent meetings, and great agitation among the Nobility and Gentry his oppoſites, who were deſign'd to witneſs the trial of Liddington, he thought it moſt expedient to delay and prolong the trial to a further day, until he ſhould make diſcovery of what the oppoſite faction were meditating and preparing for him. His enemies, afraid of his increaſing power, and reſolute to ſtop the torrent of his uſurpation, employ one Hamilton a deſperado, who, thro' the oppreſſion and tyrannical behaviour of the Earl, had been render'd implacable againſt him, yea, enraged to a degree of madneſs, to execute their reſentment againſt the Earl of Murray, he faithfully undertook to cut him off, and as faithfully and effectually executed his deſign: For when the Earl of Murray, upon the 23d day of January, 1569-70, was riding thro' the town of

Murray hated by the Nobility of the Queen's ſide, and in danger.

Murray goes on his circuits.

Murray apprehends the Rebels of England.

Elizabeth approves of Murray.

Murray agrees with Grange.

Murray beſet with enemies.

Murray is cut off by one Hamilton.

The tragedy acted at Linlithgow.

of Linlithgow, James Hamilton of Bothwell-Haugh, being concealed in one of the front houſes in the principal ſtreet of Linlithgow, obſerving the Earl of Murray as he rode along, diſcharged a musket at my Lord; the ſhot entered Murray's body a little below the navel, paſs'd quite through, and killed a Gentleman's horſe riding by my Lord Murray on the oppoſite ſide. The houſe from which Hamilton ſhot, was the late Primate of St. Andrews apartment, *viz.* John Hamilton's, whom Murray had executed for his acceſſion to the King's murder.

The manner in which he is kill'd.

The Hamiltons, the Gordons, the Stewarts of Lenox, the Humes, Maxwells, Leſlys, Seatons, Murrays, and others had been ſubjected to great hardſhips under the late Earl of Murray's Regency; and now being relieved, their ſpirits and hopes revived of reſtoring their former power: But Queen Mary in England now under confinement had been ſo embarraſſed and entangled, that inſtead of preparing matters for her reſtoration to liberty, ſhe by her miſtaken and ill conducted Councils ſo involved herſelf, as to make it almoſt impoſſible for her friends to execute any effectual meaſure for her relief and advantage. The Rebellion in the North of England under the ſupport of the Earls of Northumberland, Weſtmorland, Leſly Biſhop of Roſs, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, was now defeated and extinguiſhed: The good and honeſt Duke of Norfolk was innocently drawn into a ſnare againſt his choice, by the ill-timed projecting and enterpriſing ſpirit of Queen Mary's friends, particularly Leſly Biſhop of Roſs and Liddington or Lethington, who in conjunction with Sir Nicholas Throgmorton propoſed to the Duke of Norfolk a match with Queen Mary, at a time and in a manner which was the moſt imprudent. The Duke of Norfolk was not an ambitious deſigning man, but of a calm and peaceable, humane and generous honeſt ſpirit; loved no troubles nor diſorder, but very ſtrict and true to his Religion, the Romiſh faith, which he profeſſed. When in 1568 and 1569 this match was at firſt mentioned to the Duke, he declin'd it as foreſeeing the danger of ſuch an attempt; but being envied by ſome in the Miniſtry of London, and Queen Elizabeth with her favourite Officers of State dreading his power, becauſe of his attachment to the Romiſh faith, they kept a watchful eye over him and the Lords of the ſame perſuaſion: Cecil and Walſingham particularly were determined to retrench as much as poſſible Norfolk's power and influence. At this time there happened a convulſion and oppoſition in Queen Elizabeth's Cabinet; the Earls of Leiceſter, Pembroke, Shrewbury, Arundel, and others found a party to oppoſe Cecil, and if poſſible to remove him from Elizabeth's confidence and favour; therefore the better to effect a powerful oppoſition to Cecil and Walſingham, they joined themſelves to the Duke of Norfolk, and to ſupport the views of Queen Mary and her friends: Campden, who had ſeen all the Duke of Norfolk's papers and confeſſions, makes this very plain in his Annals of 1569, and his teſtimony is ſupported by Baker, Speed, Strangewage, and other Engliſh as well as Scotch Hiſtorians. After I have ſhortly narrated the Duke of Norfolk's unhappy fate upon this occaſion, I ſhall return to the relation of the principal tranſactions of State in Scotland, connected with theſe events.

Murray's enemies now in high ſpirits.

Mary's bad conduct.

The Engliſh rebels broken and diſconcerted.

Mary's Miniſtry manag'd badly.

Norfolk's character.

And the reaſons of his misfortunes.

The Miniſtry of London jealous of Norfolk.

And divided in the Cabinet.

Leiceſter's ſyſtem in oppoſition to Cecil and its conſequences.

The Duke of Norfolk, when upon the Commiſſion at York, had this match propoſed by Queen Mary's friends; but he did not give the ſmalleſt attention nor encouragement to it at that time. When upon this Commiſſion, ſeveral Letters paſt betwixt the Duke and Cecil, the originals of which are extant in the Paper-Office and the Cotton Library, in theſe Letters, faithfully copied by Anderſon, the Duke of Norfolk teſtified a mildneſs and tenderneſs of ſpirit, which had an averſion to the ſeverities and hardſhips put upon Queen Mary by the Earl of Murray: The Duke ſignified his uneaſineſs with the perplexity of the truſt, and his deſire to be recalled from the Commiſſion at York. When Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of her Privy-Council had moved the Commiſſion from York to Weſtminſter, upon hearing the report of her Commiſſioners, and their proceedings at York, together with ſome propoſals offered in Mary's behalf by the Duke of Norfolk; Elizabeth in great emotion and anger anſwers, that ſhe believed, while my Lord of Norfolk lived, Queen Mary would not want a friend! Though all that the Duke had ſaid and acted, was from his natural mildneſs and humanity of ſpirit; but ſtill, for the future, Elizabeth conceived ſuſpicions of Norfolk's attachment to Mary's intereſt; and theſe jealouſies Queen Elizabeth's Miniſtry artfully increaſed by proper repreſentations to promote their own ambitious purpoſes, to eſtabliſh their confidence with their Queen, and to abridge or confine Norfolk's greatneſs and grandeur as too formidable an oppoſite: This is the true ſpring and riſe of what followed. The conferences being all over, and the Rebellion in the North of England, as I have obſerved, ready to appear, Queen Mary's friends urged and promoted, with all their art and diligence, a mutual love and correſpondence betwixt her Majeſty and Norfolk by letters; but it is to be obſerved, what Campden, Baker, and all the beſt Engliſh Hiſtorians allow, that the Duke of Norfolk never wrote any love-letters to Mary, nor gave the leaſt attention to the propoſition, until he had the propoſal made, yea repeated to him, approved, and preſſed by the Earl of Leiceſter, with the concurring approbation of the Lords Pembroke, Arundel, and Dacres. Leiceſter at this time oppoſed Cecil in the Cabinet, and by his confederacy with Norfolk and all the Lords of Mary's intereſt, projected Cecil's removal and overthrow: But in this, finding himſelf diſappointed, and his ſyſtem totally cruſhed, he moſt unfairly and ungenerouſly deſerted and forſook the Duke of Norfolk, leaving him to be ſacrificed and ruined by theſe devices and

Norfolk's conduct at York.

Norfolk's behaviour, and the cauſe of his being ſuſpected.

Elizabeth's Miniſtry afraid of Norfolk.

Norfolk vindicated, and Leiceſter blamed.

The ſtate of the Cabinet at London.

Leiceſter behaves ill.

and inſnaring traps into which the Duke had been innocently plunged, without hopes of recovery. Campden and Baker agree in this, and affirm it upon the beſt Vouchers: That the Earl of Leiceſter, in order to procure the Duke of Norfolk's conſent to marry Queen Mary, had promiſed and undertaken to acquaint Queen Elizabeth, and to procure her opinion, yea approbation. Upon the faith of this alone it was, that the Duke of Norfolk made any ſteps, and moved in his addreſſes to Mary, relying upon it, for certain, that Leiceſter would fulfil his engagements; and as it was a motion from Leiceſter, he had the ſtronger hopes of Queen Elizabeth's ready compliance; but Leiceſter, inſtead of acquainting Queen Elizabeth, delayed from time to time, with a fallacious intention toward Norfolk; ſo that the intrigue betwixt Queen Mary and the Duke being come to ſome length was noiſed abroad, and at length came to Cecil's ears; and next by the Ladies of the Court was whiſpered to her Majeſty; Leiceſter finding this was forced to communicate the whole to Sir William Cecil, who acquainted Queen Elizabeth. Her Majeſty upon this called for the Duke of Norfolk, and in her cloſet ſharply reproved his Grace; at the ſame time inſiſted his Grace ſhould for the future deſiſt from any attempts to be married to Queen Mary, or any intercourſe with her: Queen Elizabeth reproached his Grace bitterly for attempting any ſuch thing, without her Majeſty's approbation firſt received. Upon which, in his own juſt vindication, the Duke narrated the whole of Leiceſter's conduct, and how he had taken upon him to acquaint her Majeſty, and to procure her conſent; and at the ſame time the Duke ſolemnly promiſed to Queen Elizabeth, never to have further concern with Mary nor her friends; which apparently at this time fully ſatisfied Elizabeth, eſpecially, when the Duke ſummed up his apology with acquainting her Majeſty, that he was by no means for it, but far the contrary; for he reckoned the revenues of his own inheritance equal to theſe of the Queen of Scots revenue: That it had been chiefly through the allurement of Leiceſter, he had made any progreſs in the affair. This being over, however, the Duke obſerving the countenance and behaviour of the Court and Officers of State altered toward him, begun to be uneaſy and dejected; Leiceſter had almoſt now wholly forſaken him, and the appearance at Court promiſed ſome bad deſign againſt him; therefore his Grace departed from the Court in a private manner, and retired to Norwich, having not the ſmalleſt intent to raiſe commotions while at Norwich; but keeping correſpondence by letters (conveyed in bottles) with the Earl of Pembroke, the Biſhop of Roſs, and Throgmorton; and what is moſt ſurpriſing, with even Leiceſter, who renewed his profeſſions of friendſhip with the Duke and ſome other Lords. They frightened him, put the Duke into confuſion, and perſuaded him to thoſe meaſures which drove him to extremities to avoid danger. All this ſcene was of the production of the year 1569; and now in the Autumn, the event of Northumberland's and Weſtmorland's Rebellion in the North, unhappily concurring with this unfortunate ſituation of Norfolk, put the Court of London in great agitation, and made them at this juncture the more ſuſpicious and afraid of the Duke of Norfolk, which gave Elizabeth's Miniſtry, as I have obſerved already, the proper handle they wanted to operate and effect Norfolk's deſtruction, by their Queen's diſpleaſure. The Rebellion in the North had been ſuppreſſed by the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Hounſden, Henry Earl of Rutland, and the Lord Eure, who likewiſe, without ceremony, to gratify the Earl of Murray, entered Scotland, and committed depredations upon the Eſtates of Scot of Buccleugh and Ker of Ferneherſt, two of the moſt powerful families upon the border; but they ſoon made large repriſals on the Engliſh: Immediately after the Earl of Suſſex's return into England, and diſmiſſing his army for the next year, Scot of Buccleugh and Ker of Ferneherſt, who were always true and faithful to Queen Mary as their Sovereign: Upon notice of Murray's death, in February, as I have related, they joined their forces, making a compleat army of ſome thouſands, and made retaliation for the civilities the former year received from the Earl of Suſſex, and after they had taken adequate ſatisfaction, they returned in triumph. But leaving this, I proceed to the Duke of Norfolk's unhappy fate immers'd and plung'd into inextricable difficulties. The Duke of Norfolk returned to Court by the advice of ſome friends, but had been in London very few days until he was ordered to the Tower. On this occaſion were likewiſe taken into cuſtody the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel. Leiceſter was examined and diſcloſed all, but was not committed. The Biſhop of Roſs was put in cuſtody of the Biſhop of London, and afterward cloſely examined by Cecil and a committee of the Privy-Council. The Duke of Norfolk was in cloſe cuſtody in the Tower, his letters, papers, and writings all ſeized. Ridolphus, the Florentine Merchant, who acted as agent for the Pope and the French and Spaniſh Kings with the Romiſh faction in England, was likewiſe apprehended and examined. Here I muſt obſerve a very extraordinary article of Murray's behaviour, which happened a ſhort time before his death. Having received notice of the Duke of Norfolk's being ſuſpected, and that the Miniſtry of London were deſign'd to ſend Norfolk to the Tower, in order to excite and forward Elizabeth's ſpirit againſt Norfolk, Murray writes to Queen Elizabeth, that Norfolk had importuned and ſolicited him, by rewards and promiſes, to ſupport him, and to promote his marriage with Queen Mary; but that he had only encouraged Norfolk with hopes and promiſes of friendſhip, in order to detect and diſcloſe Norfolk's whole ſyſtem, and his connection with the Nobility of his confederacy, and to procure himſelf a ſafe journey to Scotland. Now I ſubmit it to my candid reader,

His treachery and breach of faith fully told.

Norfolk in danger of the Queen's diſpleaſure.

Norfolk ſharply reproved by Elizabeth.

Norfolk diſcloſes all to the Queen.

Norfolk promiſes fidelity for the future.

Norfolk's declaration.

Norfolk in dread, leaves the Court.

Norfolk retires to Norwich.

His unhappy ſituation.

Elizabeth and her Miniſtry much perplexed.

The Officers of the Engliſh forces, their progreſs and oppoſition in Scotland.

Suſſex repaid by the Scots.

Norfolk's Misfortunes related.

The Commitment of his friends.

Murray's deceit to Norfolk

Murray groſly perfidious.

reader, if this inſtance and article of the Earl of Murray's behaviour be not the ſcripture direct emblem of the Devil: For his Letters to Elizabeth are extant in the Records of the Privy-Council of England, and well-vouched. His mention and firſt propoſal of a marriage with Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, is a fact equally certain from the concurring teſtimonies of Campden, Baker, and all the other beſt Engliſh Hiſtorians. Campden is ſtrong on this head, yea, the Duke of Norfolk to his laſt moment inſiſted upon this point as the ſtricteſt truth, that Murray was the man who firſt encouraged his Grace to think of that match, by his ſo hearty promiſes of friendſhip and ſupport: This was diſſimulation fitting for a Prieſt, but not for public life and high rank: However Murray ſoon after this had his fate determined, and ſo this embelliſhment in the character of his life and actions added to the extraordinary and heterogeneous mixture which clouded his memory, made the exhalations from it nauſeous.

Murray's conduct black.

Norfolk's confeſſion.

Murray's behaviour to Norfolk diſgraces his memory.

The Duke of Norfolk being now confined, and his friends either in cuſtody or carefully watch'd, his enemies wanted to have cut him off; but Sir William Cecil and Walſingham, who knew the natural, generous, and honeſt diſpoſition of the Duke of Norfolk, but a youth, yet of good underſtanding, and of great and high endowments of mind, were willing to excuſe him: The Duke's enemies who wanted to try him by the Statute of the 25th of Edward the third, and that of Henry the eighth, by which it had been declared Treaſon to marry any related by blood to the Sovereign without the Sovereign's conſent, under pain of High-Treaſon: They were diſappointed, theſe Statutes being repealed by Edward the ſixth: The Duke was acquainted by Cecil, that no hurt ſhould be done him; and by Cecil's means, after ſome months confinement in the Tower, he was ſet at liberty, and allowed to go into the country under the inſpection of Sir Henry Nevil; in a little time after the Biſhop of Roſs was ſet at liberty. Cecil acted in this affair very prudently, and with great mildneſs, but by the Queen of England's direction; for Elizabeth and her Privy-Council were very ſenſible, that the Duke of Norfolk had been enticed and importuned to a marriage by Leiceſter and his confederates. In the month of May 1568, near two years before this commitment of Norfolk to the Tower, Leiceſter had ſent, as he gave out by allowance from the Queen and Privy-Council, Richard Candiſh with an offer to Mary Queen of Scots, conſiſting of ſix Articles, to which, if Mary did agree, Leiceſter and the other Engliſh Nobility of his ſide, did aſſure her, that they would ſecure to her Queen Elizabeth's conſent, and her reſtoration to her liberty and former condition. The Articles written with Leiceſter's own hand, and ſent by Candiſh, Campden did ſee and read, and affirms poſitively they were Leiceſter's own hand-writing: They are as follows:

Cecil is for Norfolk.

Norfolk relieved.

Leiceſter juſtly blamed for Norfolk's proceedings.

Leiceſter and his party's propoſals to Mary.

First, They require of the Queen of Scots, that ſhe ſhould ſolemnly engage never to attempt any thing to the prejudice of Queen Elizabeth or to the children born of her, as to the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England.

The ſix Articles of the propoſed treaty.

2dly, That Queen Mary ſhould enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with England.

3dly, That ſhe ſhould eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion in Scotland, upon her reſtoration to her liberty.

4thly, That ſhe ſhould receive into her Royal favour thoſe of Scotland who had been formerly in oppoſition to her Majeſty: This included Murray.

5thly, That ſhe ſhould declare void and renounce her alienation of the Kingdom of Scotland to the Duke of Anjou, if ever granted: Note, This was one of the Earl of Murray's artful fictitious trump'd up to ſerve his turn, but found to be a chimerical falſity.

6thly and laſtly, That Mary Queen of Scots ſhould take ſome Nobleman of England to be her Royal Conſort, of the firſt Rank, and in particular they expreſly recommended the Duke of Norfolk, which Queen Mary therefore underſtood, and with reaſon to have been by Queen Elizabeth's approbation: For it is hardly conceivable how without acquainting Elizabeth any Privy-Counſellor could have ventured ſo far: Theſe were the conditions, the terms of peace, and in order to her liberty propoſed to Queen Mary of Scotland, modelled, framed, and ſent by the Privy-Council of London.

Here Mary is vindicated by her conduct.

Queen Mary did agree to theſe Articles, and only deſired leave for a piece of good manners to the Court of France the ally of Scotland, that ſhe might be allowed to notify the Articles to the French Court: Mary continued reſolute to ſign and to execute all the Articles: I deſire to know, by what reaſon, equity, and religion, it was determined not to terminate and end all matters amicably according to their own propoſals: Here Mary was not in fault, but her compliance was conſtructed to be a ſubmiſſion from force, and therefore the Miniſtry of London found out a way to make the whole pacific negotiation vaniſh into diſappointment to Queen Mary. The next inſtance I mention of the ſincerity, faith, and honour of the then Cabinet and Miniſtry of London was, when Queen Elizabeth found herſelf in 1569 and 1570 beſet with rebellion, Norfolk's friends numerous and very powerful at home and abroad, upon his firſt commitment, great danger threatning her Crown and Throne: That then their demands ſhould be ſo exorbitant as they were! I deſire to know, what equity, honeſty, equality, or good neighbourhood, was it among thoſe who had ſincere intentions to live for the future, as neighbouring Princes in harmony, peace, and good alliance; that Queen Elizabeth with her Miniſtry ſhould once propoſe ſuch ridiculous and ſordid terms of peace and friendſhip as ſhe did in 1570, when ſhe was in great

The Court of London not ſincere.

Another inſtance of very unequal conduct in Elizabeth's Miniſtry.

danger, and ſurrounded with powerful enemies. Queen Mary, upon Norfolk's commitment, had been roll'd or toſs'd from Tutbury to Coventry, as a ſtronger and more ſecure priſon; and next, upon Leonard Dacres's ſecond rebellion in the North, ſhe was removed to Chatſworth in Derbyſhire. Here Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay waited on Mary by the Queen of England's and the Council's order, and offered to make a final and full ſettlement of all differences. They came to Mary in the Month of October, 1570. The propoſitions here made to Queen Mary by Sir William Cecil were not the ſame with the articles offered by Leiceſter, but conſiſted of a multiplicity of articles added to their former demands, as appears from Campden's Annals of 1570, pag. 149. Cecil very modeſtly demands, firſt the King of Scotland to be delivered up to the care and guardianſhip of the Court of London; next, that ſome of the moſt important fortreſſes, not only upon the frontier, but in the innermoſt parts of Scotland, ſhould be delivered to the Engliſh; next, that Queen Mary ſhould deliver up the Duke of Chatle L' Rhault, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lenox, Glencairn, and others of the chief Nobility of Scotland, as hoſtages to England, there to remain as ſecurities for the performance of all the ſtipulations: The articles as to the treaty of Edinburgh, and of Queen Mary's not doing or projecting any thing againſt England or Elizabeth, and of their mutual friendſhip and alliance defenſive, and of reſtitution for damages and mutual depredations. Theſe were all agreed to, and readily receiv'd by Queen Mary's Deputies, viz. the Biſhop of Roſs, the Lord Levingſton, and the Biſhop of Galloway: But the former three articles were of ſo incroaching and unreaſonable a nature, that Mary's Deputies were under a neceſſity to reject them. Upon which this hoped-for accommodation broke off the ſecond time; the fault of which evidently not chargeable upon Scotland, nor Mary, at this juncture. If the Miniſtry of London had approved and ratified their own firſt propoſitions by Leiceſter, without the ſmalleſt difficulty, both nations would have been reſtored to friendſhip.

Mary removed to Coventry.

Norfolk's ſecond plot in 1571.

Cecil's propoſitions to Mary.

The particulars unreaſonable, exorbitant, and incroaching.

The Articles of Cecil's compoſure unfair, and ill deſign'd.

The Scots agree to what is reaſonable.

The diſappointments of theſe promiſing proſpects of peace and liberty to Mary and her friends, with the incroaching unequal conduct of the Engliſh Miniſtry, tho' artful, yet produced a powerful confedracy of France, Spain, and other Catholick Princes, to ſupport Mary, whom they evidently ſaw deſtin'd for a ſacrifice by the Miniſtry of London. Her friends in England, particularly ſuch of them as were of the Romiſh perſuaſion, Nobility and Gentry, began now to cabal, and to renew their efforts to have Mary delivered, and if poſſible Popery reſtored. The Conduct of the Court of London forced and ſet Mary and the Duke of Norfolk on dangerous expedients. Mary was highly exaſperated with her treatment. The Duke of Norfolk, tho' ſet at liberty, was not ſummoned as the other peers to ſit in Parliament: He was looked upon and treated as a ſuſpected perſon, and no friend to the Court: Thoſe about him, particularly Ridolphus the Florentine, Merchant, who was in ſtrict friendſhip with his Grace, ſo influenced him, as to make the Duke view the conduct of the Miniſtry of London as the higheſt neglect and inſult upon his Grace. Ridolph uſed all his art to make his Grace receive the higheſt diſtaſte at Elizabeth, and the whole of her Miniſtry. But I can't vindicate nor excuſe the Duke of Norfolk for having any intrigues, and carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with Mary, with France, and the Biſhop of Rome, to attempt an innovation of Government, after that he had been ſet at liberty, and that his Grace had pledg'd his honour by giving his ſolemn faith and promiſe to the Court of London and the Privy-Council, that he would never attempt to carry on any intrigue with Mary; neither would he diſturb Queen Elizabeth in the exerciſe of her Government. Queen Elizabeth's Miniſtry, I own, were greatly in fault, and gave great provocation to Norfolk by their neglect of him, and their treatment unſuitable to his rank. But what animated and ſpirited up the Popiſh Faction chiefly this year, 1571, was the Bull of Excommunication thunder'd out and blunder'd by Pope Pius Quintus againſt Elizabeth the preceding year, diſſolving the allegiance of all her ſubjects, and authorizing them to rebellion, and to the dethroning of their lawful Sovereign. This thunderbolt of Rome, and ſpiritual Anathema, however, had not the ſucceſs intended, tho' placaded in London in the moſt impudent manner, and particularly, in defiance of public authority, ſtuck up by one Felton upon the front of the Biſhop of London's houſe; for which, he avowing the fact, and boaſting of the merit of his impudence! ſuffered as a ſuppoſed martyr to his cauſe. This Bull, which ended in a blunder, did at firſt give great concern to Queen Elizabeth, as threatning to give ſpirit, encouragement and reſolution to her enemies, to unite, arm and promote freſh commotions over the kingdom, which might endanger, at leaſt ſhake her crown and throne. But theſe gloomy and dark proſpects were prevented by the wiſe and foreſeeing conduct of a Cecil and a Walſingham, who, with the moſt refined addreſs and ſecrecy, purchaſed ſuch good intelligence, and procured ſuch diſcoveries from even the Prieſts and Jeſuits, as thereby to make them the real inſtruments of the overthrow of their own cauſe and intereſt: In all Governments where danger is either apprehended or threatned, intelligence, procured and carried on with impenetrable ſecrecy and penetrating judgment, is the greateſt ſecurity and defence, and therefore ought to be the chief talent of a Miniſter of State.

Mary betakes to foreign Princes to relieve her.

The Papiſts now turbulent.

Mary and the Duke of Norfolk drove to violent meaſures.

Norfolk in fault.

His breach of faith.

He is provok'd to it by the Court of London.

The Pope's Bull placaded. Felton ſuffers.

Elizabeth afraid.

Queen Elizabeth's Miniſtry defeat the intentions of the Pope's Bull

Ridolphus the Florentine had been over in Spain, Italy and France, by the ſecret directions of Queen Mary and the Biſhop of Roſs, with her other friends in England, to ſolicit theſe Mary's allies, to join in a hearty and vigorous ſupport, and to procure her liberty. Norfolk had

Ridolph the agent and negotiator of the ſecond plot.

had not yet concerned himſelf in the affair; but Ridolphus having brought letters to Queen Mary from the Pope and the French King, from the Guiſes and her other friends in France; and the Duke D'Alva having conveyed to Scotland ſecretly, by ſhipping great quantities of arms, ammunition, other warlike ſtores, and money, there were great hopes with Mary's party: They were in high ſpirits: The Pope had made large remittances to England; and Queen Mary upon receipt of the diſpatches by Ridolphus prevails upon him to go in perſon to the Duke of Norfolk, to carry ſome very affecting and moving letters, full of love and fondneſs toward the Duke, with her commentary or obſervations concerning all her Councils and private tranſactions: This Ridolphus was ſecret Agent from the Pope, France, and Spain: He addreſſed himſelf to the Duke of Norfolk upon his arrival with ſuch manly and nervous expreſſions as operated effectually to gain over the Duke: Queen Mary's fond and amorous letters captivated the Duke's affections: The florid and dazling repreſentation given by Ridolphus of the vigorous and timely ſuccours from Spain, the Pope and France, together with the great numbers at home, now confederated to relieve Mary; theſe altogether, carrying ſuch ſtrong appearances of ſucceſs, engaged the Duke of Norfolk to be ſet at the head of this conſpiracy, which produced his ruin, and brought him to the ſcaffold; the Queen of Scots, and her Ambaſſador Biſhop Leſly were by theſe arts juſtly to be blamed for the Duke's fatal end. This conſpiracy of the Papiſts was formidable; Queen Mary was well ſupplied by Ridolphus with money; ſhe had ſent large remittances to Scotland to animate and raiſe her friends, but the money was intercepted by the treachery of Higford and Barker, particularly Higford, the Duke of Norfolk's Secretary: The money had been firſt ſent to the French Ambaſſador, and by him delivered to the Duke's Secretaries, of which they acquainted the Duke, and they, by his Grace's orders, delivered the money to Brown a Citizen of Shrewsbury; Brown ſuſpecting by the weight that it muſt be gold and not ſilver, conceived ſecret apprehenſions of ſome extraordinary enterpriſe; therefore by Higford's advice, as was thought, he diſcovered the whole to the Council: Upon which Barker and Higford were taken into cuſtody and examined; Higford confeſſed all, and diſcovered where he had hid (as if of deſign) all Mary's letters, and other papers of conſequence delivered by Ridolphus to the Duke of Norfolk, particularly her ſentiments and opinion concerning the different parts and articles of the conſpiracy, and the manner in which Queen Mary was inclined to execute the whole of their deſign. Theſe were originals written with Mary's own hand, which the Duke of Norfolk had made Higford copy to him, ordering that the originals might be deſtroyed; but thus treacherouſly was Norfolk ſerved by his own private Secretary, who, the moment he was taken into cuſtody, made a full diſcloſure of all his maſter's ſecrets: This was the fruit of Walſingham's wit and ſagacity. This ill-concerted ſcheme of Norfolk's, thus diſcovered, occaſioned his being committed to the Tower a ſecond time September 7, 1571, from which place he never came, but to his trial and the ſcaffold. This treachery in the Duke's family by his domeſticks produced ſuch evidence againſt Mary and the Duke of Norfolk as gave ſufficient ground to impeach the Duke of High-Treaſon; but to the Duke's great ſorrow, his dependence and truſt had been too much on immediate foreign ſuccours, on the powerful confederacy at home, and the Queen of Scots friends in Scotland.

The Papiſts ſupplied with arms and ſtores.

Mary's letters and addreſſes to Norfolk.

The Duke over perſuaded by female eloquence.

Mary the cauſe of Norfolk's ruin by Leſly's perſuaſion.

Mary's friends always plotting.

Mary's ſupplies intercepted.

Her letters to Norfolk and all her ſecret Councils.

Higford's roguery.

Norfolk ordered to the Tower the ſecond time.

The heads and aſſociates of this conſpiracy.

Upon the Duke's commitment, the day after, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, the Lords Lumley and Cobham with Thomas his brother, Henry Piercy, Lauder, Powel, and Goodyer, with Banniſter Norfolk's Counſellor, were committed to priſon: The Duke of Norfolk was attended and conducted to the Tower by Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Henry Nevil, and Dr. Wilſon; who delivered his Grace by the Queen's order to the cuſtody of the Conſtable of the Tower: Here he remained cloſe confined to the 16th day of January 1572, when he was brought to trial, for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with Mary Queen of Scots and the Queen of England's inveterate enemies abroad and at home. The Duke, and others concerned with him, lodged the whole contrivance and formation of this confederacy upon Leſly Biſhop of Roſs, who ſcreened himſelf under the protection of an Ambaſſador, and for his intriguing and illicit practices to diſturb Queen Elizabeth's government, had very near ſhared with the Duke of Norfolk in his untimely fate. I do not vindicate Mary under her confinement for encouraging and promoting conſpiracies and violence as the means to procure her eſcape: But the Miniſtry of England on this occaſion were in reaſon and equity anſwerable, and in fault for all, as by their very unwarrantable detainure of Mary, and by their inconſiſtent and inexplicable behaviour toward her, to put her to ſuch extremity, and to drive her to ſuch a dilemma, that ſhe muſt attempt to force her eſcape or die in confinement! Hard treatment of a Queen! Upon the diſcovery of this new enterpriſe of Norfolk's, and ſuch a conſiderable body of the nation, Queen Elizabeth, by the advice of her Privy-Council, ſent orders for Queen Mary to be kept in cloſe cuſtody at Chatſworth in Derbyſhire; and to be allowed only one Prieſt and ten Domeſticks. About this time the Earl of Shrewsbury became tired and wearied of his attendence, and deſired to be removed from having the care and overſight of Queen Mary: Finding the Court of London very much enraged at her, upon the diſcovery made of her writings to Norfolk, and her negotiations with foreign powers to procure her liberty by a powerful attempt upon England, he did not chooſe to be the inſtrument of rigidity againſt her: The Duke of Norfolk had good reaſon to load Queen Mary's intoxicating and attracting behaviour with the chief cauſe of his

Many taken into cuſtody.

The Duke's trial.

Norfolk blames Leſly.

The Miniſtry of London in fault.

They forced Mary to deſperate expedients.

Mary more cloſely confined.

Norfolk's fatal end owing to Mary's inticement of him.

his fatal end, together with Ridolphus by enſnaring and artful practices, and conveying letters from the Biſhop of Rome and the Court of Spain to the Duke; exerciſing his utmoſt art and wit to enſnare his Grace, to make him neceſſarily embark in the Pope's projected ſyſtem againſt Elizabeth and her Government. The Duke of Norfolk blamed Ridolphus much, when upon the Scaffold, for enſnaring and ſeducing him. His Grace profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant; owned himſelf juſtly condemned to die, becauſe he had been ſo unwiſe as to be ſeduced to join the meaſures of the Papiſts and Queen Mary's friends, in order to procure Mary's liberty, contrary to his ſolemn engagements to Queen Elizabeth. Thus by Norfolk's too much condeſcenſion, by the art and cunning of enſnaring Prieſts and Jeſuits, and the powerful charms of a beautiful but unfortunate Queen, Norfolk loſt his life. The proof was too ſtrong to ſave him, but the treachery of his own domeſticks procured the chief evidence for cutting him off.

Ridolphus artful and much concerned in this affair.

The Duke of Norfolk's character.

The Duke of Norfolk was a Nobleman of great endowments of mind, of a generous, kind, and affable ſpirit, ready to do good, averſe from cruelty or bloodſhed, of comely ſtature, fine preſence, and noble addreſs: But having this great failure and weakneſs ariſing from his mild and condeſcending nature, that he was too eaſily perſuaded and carried off by the artful ſolicitations and addreſſes of deſigning and eloquent perſons, who blinded and perſuaded him by falſe colours into meaſures contrary to his own natural inclinations, which were great and generous.

Was deceived by Ridolphus.

Mary in great ſorrow and dejection.

After this tragedy Queen Mary led a very mournful life, greatly ſunk in grief by the death of Norfolk, of which ſhe was the cauſe, or at leaſt the inſtrument and occaſion. From this year ſhe continued confin'd until the 8th of February, 1787, when ſhe was executed at Fotheringay-Caſtle, for her acceſſion to and concern in a plot and conſpiracy to cut off Queen Elizabeth, and to overturn the proteſtant intereſt. The chief evidence brought againſt Queen Mary on her trial, by the Queen of England's Commiſſioners, was Babington's confeſſion at the place of execution, and at his trial, wherein he confeſs'd he had received many letters, by the hands of Nawe and Curl her Secretaries, from Queen Mary. The other evidences were Nawe and Curl, Queen Mary's Secretaries; the firſt a Frenchman, and the latter Scotch. Theſe her Secretaries had been corrupted by Walſingham and Cecil, as Campden acknowledges: For Curl charged Walſingham afterwards, as Campden relates it, with the not accompliſhment of promiſes and rewards aſſured to him for ſervices done; but Walſingham ſerved him as he deſerved, after he had made all the uſe of him he deſigned. Here it is neceſſary, and cannot be avoided, to obſerve, That a perſon who will not be true to his truſt, nor to a Maſter or Sovereign, will never in equity and reaſon be reckoned true to hiis oath: Therefore the admitting of corrupted, falſe and treacherous ſervants and domeſticks againſt their Maſters when they may have an intereſt to cut them off, I think every one muſt allow to be a very doubtful, yea cruel, if not unjuſt evidence where life is concerned, and the proſpect of ſtrong rewards ſupporting ſuch witneſſes, may engage them to make a falſe ſtep: Queen Mary made very judicious obſervations on this; and at the commencement of her trial ſhe proteſted againſt the uſurpation and incroachment upon her royal Dignity, by bringing her to trial, becauſe ſhe was an independent free Monarch, kept from the poſſeſſion of her crown by violence, and who had been ſo long injuriouſly detained in confinement. Her behaviour upon the trial was majeſtick, graceful, wiſe and compoſed. Upon the day of her execution, in the morning, and through the whole, ſhe behaved with the greateſt decency: with a moſt heroic and chriſtian ſpirit, undiſturbed, ſhe met puniſhment and death. She with the greateſt ſincerity, in the ſtrongeſt manner, and with a ſolemn appeal to almighty God, declared to the Nobility attending her, that ſhe never hearkened to any thing detrimental to Elizabeth; that ſhe never would conſent nor allow of any thing, yea abſolutely diſcharg'd and forbid the leaſt attempt to the hurt of Queen Elizabeth or her Government; that ſhe had apply'd to the Court of London for her liberty, yet they had delay'd, trifled with her, and at laſt given her evident proof they were reſolved never to conſent to her liberty. Babington's deſign to cut off Elizabeth, with Stafford's aſſiſtance, afterwards ſhe ſolemnly declared ſhe knew nothing of. There was no evidence to ſupport this againſt her but Nawe and Curl. She took God ſolemnly to witneſs, that ſhe never would hear of, nor never did encourage, but on the contrary always expreſsly charged her friends, and all concerned for her liberty, not to attempt the leaſt againſt Queen Elizabeth; and from Campden, and other Engliſh Hiſtorians, it is moſt probable that theſe deſigns were formed and promoted only by the violence and hatred of the Engliſh who were enemies to Queen Elizabeth and her Government, but made Mary Queen of Scots and her cauſe the cover, and an acceſſory pretext to promote their own bloody inclinations againſt Elizabeth their Queen.

Mary's ſtate till executed.

The evidence againſt her not direct nor clear

Curl and Nawe corrupted.

The nature of true evidence.

Queen Mary's heroic conduct

Mary's ſolemn declaration.

Mary's vindication of herſelf.

Mary falſly accus'd.

When Queen Mary was cloſely taxed and examined in 1572, concerning the conſpiracy for which the Duke of Norfolk, and many more, loſt their lives, ſhe did ſo vindicate herſelf to William Lord Delaware, to Sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilſon, and Bromley the Queen of England's Solicitor-General, concerning her acceſſion to any thing againſt Queen Elizabeth, that nothing could be made appear in the leaſt which could lodge ſuch an imputation upon Mary. That the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and other Engliſh concerned in this conſpiracy, did reſolve upon an overturn of Elizabeth's Government, and even at the expence of her life, can't be deny'd: but this part of their helliſh contrivance, and the moſt ſecret of their deſigns,

Mary's ſatisfactory vindication in 1572.

The Romiſh Prieſts in fault of all.

ſigns, were always concealed from Mary; only the whole ſcene was to be carried on and executed under the colour and pretence of relieving the Queen of Scots, which, in fact, was doing Mary the greateſt diſhonour: And it is not to be ſuppoſed that Mary, endow'd with ſuch wiſe and judicious ſentiments, would fall in with meaſures ſo detrimental to her cauſe with all good men. But the great argument, and the only one brought in ſupport of the barbarous and unjuſtifiable treatment of a confin'd Queen was, that ſhe plotted ſo often to cut off Queen Elizabeth, and to reſtore Popery. That the Romiſh faction, and their adherents abroad and at home, had made repeated attempts againſt Queen Elizabeth's life and government is undeniable, it has been evidently made appear: but it never could be, nor never was cleared up, nor was it ever ſupported by proper and full proof, that Queen Mary was in the ſecret or knowledge of theſe dark and bloody articles of the popiſh conſpirators; yea there was not the leaſt evidence to prove any thing relating to theſe bloody meaſures in Babington's letters to Queen Mary, as Cambden honeſtly acknowledges, and Baker too: But it is not denied that the Romiſh emiſſaries, and Ridolphus with his tools, and the agents of the Spaniſh and French Ambaſſadors, had deſigned and concerted to cut off Queen Elizabeth, and that the aſſaſſins had been provided and beſpoke: That this part of the Romiſh conſpiracy, it appears to be moſt reaſonable, they would carefully conceal from Queen Mary, for fear of giving her pain, and that ſhe might break and diſconcert the chain and link of all their bloody deſigns, and undo the whole, rather than run ſuch risks. So that upon the matter, the Queen of Scots was brought and adjudged to ſuffer and loſe her life by the ax, for the puniſhment which Romiſh Prieſts and Jeſuits, and Engliſh traitors and aſſaſſins, in fact, alone merited! But to judge the matter impartially, according to the received, common, conſtant and uniform practice and conduct of Sovereigns and Princes, when in a ſtate of war with one another: Suppoſing (but not granting) that Mary had projected ſome violent and deſperate efforts for her liberty, when treated as an enemy and not with friendſhip! Is this any more than what is the common, authorized and uniform behaviour of all Princes and States at war with each other? Don't they do all they can to annoy and weaken their enemy? Mary can't be ſaid to be in any other ſtate; for England uſed her as an enemy; ſhe was confined, all treaties broken off without any good reaſon for ſo doing! All Mary's confeſſions and her ſubmiſſions were rejected; ſo being in an enemy's country, ſhe was forced to act as towards an enemy; and therefore friendſhip being deny'd her, ſhe was under neceſſity, by the conduct of the Court of London, to the behaviour of an enemy; and in this did no more than is common, and in all ages practiſed by one Prince or King at war and in enmity with another. There could be no plainer, more ſincere, and direct anſwers than ſhe gave to Elizabeth's Deputies, the Lord Delaware, Sir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilſon, and Bromley, in 1572. The French and Engliſh Ambaſſadors united to have Mary then reſtored, becauſe the Court of France would not acknowledge King James as King of Scotland on account of his manner of coming to the throne. The French inſiſted that ſubjects had no power to depoſe or dethrone their Sovereigns, and that James had no right but by his Mother to the Crown of Scotland. Yea, Queen Elizabeth was diſpoſed to ſympathy and friendſhip toward Mary at this time, and was in a very mild, ſeemly kind temper towards her, until ſhe had made ſome diſcoveries of an attempt by Lord Seaton to engage Spain to intereſt herſelf powerfully for Mary: But Elizabeth, according to the formal civility of Courts, declared to the French Ambaſſador, that ſhe meant only to detain Mary in an honourable and eaſy confinement; and that alone for the preſervation of her own life and government in peace. This was the proper topick and ground-work of all the defences made by the Engliſh Miniſtry. Mary was accuſed of all, yet the Romiſh faction, the Prieſts, Jeſuits, and agents from France and Spain, were guilty of all the conſpiracies! Mary not being in the ſecret of their intentions. New conſpiracies and attempts almoſt every year were formed, and as often diſconcerted, for the relief of Mary.

Mary ignorant of the villany of the Prieſts and Jeſuits.

Their plots diſcovered and evident.

Mary in a troubled ſituation by baſe practices of the Papiſts.

Mary ſuffers what the Pope merited.

Her conduct excuſed.

The uniform behaviour of Princes.

Mary anſwers Elizabeth's Deputies.

The notions of the French.

Queen Elizabeth willing to reſtore Mary, but changes ſoon.

The Romiſh Prieſts alone in fault.

In 1583, when Sir Francis Walſingham was in Scotland upon an Embaſſy for a treaty of peace, and reſtoration of the Queen Mother, matters (as Campden, Baker, and others allow) were in a fair way of being ſettled to mutual ſatisfaction; but Walſingham's demands were too incroaching (as Campden owns) and he was found to have come to Scotland with deſign chiefly to corrupt by money the Nobility of Scotland of the King's Miniſtry, and to excuſe the Nobility concerned in Gowrie's conſpiracy; which was an artifice and contrivance of Engliſh policy to be maſters of King James, and to embroil Scotland, in order to diſtract that Kingdom, and ſo make it always dependent upon England, and in no capacity to aſſert her juſt rights. But Gowrie, who was in conjunction with Glames, Mar, Angus, and others, this year, 1584, was taken at Dundee, tried by his Peers, and found guilty of treaſon and rebellion againſt his Sovereign, and of miſpriſion of treaſon; upon which he was condemned at Stirling, and the ſame evening beheaded. However, good Queen Elizabeth, who was averſe to cut off her ſiſter Queen, and willing to reſtore her, ſent this year Beale, together with the Earle of Shrewsbury, to Queen Mary, to acquaint her that ſhe would ſend Sir Walter Mildmay to Queen Mary in a few days to conclude a definitive treaty of peace and friendſhip, upon the terms which Mary had agreed to with William Waad, who was ſent by Elizabeth ſome weeks before with articles; the chief of which were, that Mary ſhould enter

Walſingham's Embaſſy to Scotland.

Gowrie's conſpiracy.

His fate, and the baniſhment of his aſſociates.

Queen Elizabeth willing to reſtore Mary.

into ſecret friendſhip with Elizabeth, and never attempt any thing againſt England: That ſhe ſhould engage for her ſon King James I, that he ſhould pardon all the fugitives concerned in Gowrie's conſpiracy: That neither King James nor Mary ſhould have the leaſt future correſpondence with Engliſh rebels, and that the Biſhops of Glaſgow and Roſs ſhould be for ever forbid and tied up, from joining with France or Spain againſt England in any undertaking. Queen Mary agreed to the whole: Queen Elizabeth and Mary ſeemed now to underſtand one another; and both were hearty and forward to have this treaty ſigned and ratified: Mary preſſed for the concluſion of it.

The treaty of peace and friendſhip with Scotland and Queen Mary.

But as the firſt of Mary's misfortunes came from Scotland, ſo now the Scotch Nobility, in the intereſt of England under Morton's patronage, raiſed all the oppoſition and jealouſies poſſible to diſconcert and break off this treaty. The clamour of the Clergy was raiſed, and ſo became national and univerſal among the Proteſtants: That if Mary were ſet at liberty, Queen Elizabeth and the Proteſtant intereſt would be in immediate danger; and to eſtabliſh their oppoſition to Mary's liberty, there happened at this time a diſcovery by papers taken on board a Flemiſh Pirate, which had intercepted a trading veſſel, on board of which Creighton a Scotch Romiſh Prieſt was paſſenger: Theſe papers taken from Creighton diſcovered a new deſign formed by Spain, the Pope and the Guiſes to invade England. This occaſioned a powerful and formidable Aſſociation of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy over all England of thoſe well-affected toward Elizabeth, which was promoted by Leiceſter, by which they bound themſelves under their hand and ſeal, to proſecute to death all who ſhould be found to attempt any thing againſt Queen Elizabeth: This was the aſſociation which ſpirited up the Engliſh Court to cut off Mary upon the diſcovery of Babington's plot, through the watchful and wiſe intelligence of Walſingham and Cecil, who were men of great penetration and exalted underſtanding, of thorow diſcerning and judgment in State-Affairs, but not over-ſtocked with ſincerity, nor regardful of punctuality to ſolemn faith.

Mary and Elizabeth apparently agreed and reconciled.

TheScots ruin Mary.

Creigton's papers ſeized.

The grand aſſociation promoted by Leiceſter.

The reality and truth of Babington's plot and conſpiracy I cannot doubt of; the evidence againſt him and the Romiſh Prieſts and emiſſaries was direct and full; but Mary's being in concert and in knowledge of the ſecret and bloody articles in their conſpiracy, I cannot find proved by the Engliſh Hiſtories nor other Vouchers, yea not ſo much as inſiſted upon further than by conjectural ſuppoſitions and inferences: It is plain, that the deſign hatched by the Papiſts abroad, to be executed by Parry, one of Queen Elizabeth's own domeſticks, and of her houſhold, was never notified to Queen Mary, neither knew ſhe any thing of the deſign until he was taken up upon Nevil Earl of Weſtmorland's information in 1585.

Babington's plot real.

Mary not in the ſecret of the bloody deſigns of the Engliſh Papiſts.

Mary's fate was drawing nigh its criſis, by all concurring events: The fellow, whom her ſon King James had ſent this year 1585, one Patrick Gray, to ſolicit in behalf of the King's mother, to have her ſent back to Scotland, and upon this to have a treaty offenſive and defenſive eſtabliſhed for the ſtricteſt friendſhip betwixt both Kingdoms. This falſe and treacherous Ambaſſador from King James, as Campden and other Hiſtorians do not deny, became ſoon corrupted by the Engliſh Miniſtry; and inſtead of procuring the ſettlement of the treaty which he was ſent to negotiate and to have Queen Mary reſtored, he proved to be the greateſt ſecret enemy to her liberty, and fortified by ſecret whiſpering the Queen of England's averſion to favour Mary: But what was moſt ſurpriſing was, that after King James and the Queen of England had entered into treaty, concluded, ſigned, ratified, and exchanged the articles of peace, friendſhip, and ſtrict alliance in 1586, that this very year, and the ſame month there ſhould be diſcovered ſo dangerous a conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth's life, and the Proteſtant faith, by the holy influence of the Pope, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at the Court of France, Mendoza, and the Guiſes: The proofs brought againſt Ballard, Pollie, Barnwell, and Gifford, who were in ſecret correſpondence with Walſingham; and of Savage whom they had employed as a tool to murder the Queen of England; theſe proofs, I ſay, were found out by the diligence of Walſingham's ſpies, who had been well choſen by him; particularly by Maud a notable fellow, who diſcovered Ballard's mind, and all his correſpondents at the Court of France, and in England. This conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth was moſt dangerous and deeply laid; ſix had agreed to be the aſſaſſins of the Queen, by Babington's perſuaſion and eloquence; namely, Tilney, Tichburne, Abington, Barnwell, Charnock, and Savage, who took a ſolemn oath to cut off Queen Elizabeth. Walſingham having allowed the plot to go on until he had diſcovered all the chiefs concerned, and had ſecured full diſcoveries concerning Queen Mary's confederacy with them, by the means of Nawe and Curl her Majeſty's Secretaries, whom he had made betray their Royal Miſtreſs, then ſtopped ſhort upon them, and brought the conſpirators to the puniſhment they deſerved for ſuch bloody enterpriſes: But not with humanity and equity they determined Queen Mary's fate, to be puniſhed for the crimes and cruelty of the Pope's emiſſaries, of cruel Engliſh Papiſts and foreign Jeſuits, to which Mary to her dying moments declared ſhe never gave the ſmalleſt encouragement, yet was puniſhed by death for the treachery of her corrupted ſervants; all the proofs againſt Mary did never amount to any evidence of her knowledge or notice of a deſign againſt Elizabeth: Mary now was by a ſpecial commiſſion under the Great Seal ordered to be brought to a trial for High-Treaſon, crimes, and

PatrickGray's treachery.

His falſhood to KingJames.

A new conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth.

The perſons concerned in the plot detected.

Walſingham diſcovers the whole by Maud.

Queen Mary impeached by herSecretaries.

Mary loaded, but the Papiſts chiefly criminal.

and miſdeamours; ſhe was delivered up to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Powlet and Sir Drew Drury, and by the former treated as the meaneſt, moſt abject and confined criminal until ſhe came to the ſcaffold; treated with inſolence, denied the uſual privileges and indulgences, for proof of which I refer to Campden, Baker, Strangewage, Spotſwood, and other good Hiſtorians who can vindicate Amias Powlet's rigidity and brutality to a diſtreſſed Royal perſon, and the rudeneſs of their behaviour to all about her as the Queen of Scots: The commiſſion for her trial did ſit October the 11th, 1586, and having brought her in guilty, they returned to London, had a Parliament called, and their ſentence not only ratified but ordered to be put in execution without delay, to which Elizabeth was excited and importuned by the Scots who called themſelves Proteſtants. King James, though faithful and ſacred to every title of the treaty ſigned and ratified in 1585, yet was not indulged ſo far as to have his mother's life ſpared; though he had ſolemnly promiſed to give the beſt ſecurities, if the execution of his mother was reſpited, that he and his mother Queen Mary ſhould never attempt any thing to the prejudice or hurt of Elizabeth or England, but live in ſtrict friendſhip; yet all would not prevail, Patrick Gray and Robert Melvil, had been ſent on this Embaſſy extraordinary, but had not ſucceſs. Upon the 25th of October ſentence of death was paſſed by the commiſſion againſt Mary in the Star-Chamber at Weſtminſter. On the tenth of December this ſentence was affirmed by Parliament and communicated to Mary, having been proclaimed firſt all over London and Weſtminſter. On the 19th of December Mary wrote to Queen Elizabeth a full, ſincere and honeſt declaration, denying the leaſt concern or knowledge, much leſs approbation of any deſign to cut off Queen Elizabeth: But in oppoſition to the ſolicitations of King James, and the terms offered, which had been formerly demanded of her by the Engliſh; Mary the next and rightful heir to the Crown of England and Queen of Scotland is beheaded as a State-criminal in England, to the laſt aſſerting her innocence with intrepedity, compoſure, majeſty and heroic reſolution. Thus ended her hoſpitable treatment, when retiring to her neighbour Queen for relief. Queen Elizabeth with reluctancy ſigned the dead-warrant, gave charge to Davidſon not to uſe it until further orders, yet by the violence of the Earls of Leiceſter and Kent with ſeveral others, and by the art of Walſingham and Cecil the warrant was executed to Elizabeth's great ſurpriſe and ſorrow, yea to her irredeemable reproach, though not chiefly in fault; having now brought Queen Mary to an end of the ſorrows of this life.

Mary ill-uſed.

Queen Mary's trial.

Found guilty.

King James's ſupplication rejected.

King James's Ambaſſadors had not ſucceſs.

Mary after ſentence writes to Elizabeth.

All efforts to ſave her life fruitleſs.

Elizabeth impoſed on by her Secretary.

Mary's death blots the Court of London.

Let me but in few words only add, how the Miniſtry and Councils of London behaved by their influence in Scotland after Murray's death. From the moſt of the Engliſh Hiſtorians it is evident, as well as from Scotch Hiſtories, that from the Earl of Murray's death to Mary's execution, the Court of London were artful and active in ſupporting a powerful party in Scotland, which gave riſe to ſuch commotions and party-broils, as to make a faction of the kingdom always in the Engliſh intereſt. Lenox was now Regent, and declared by the Parliament of Scotland to be ſo after Murray's death: But ſuch was the intriguing and meddling ſpirit of the Engliſh Miniſtry at the Court of London, that they influenced their friends in the Privy-Council of Scotland to ſuch oppoſition, that Lenox was ſecretly cut off at Stirling in 1571.

The behaviour of the Court of London.

Lenox made Regent.

The Earl of Mar ſucceeded him in the Regency, September the 3d, but being ſo affected with the divided, diſtracted, and reduced ſtate of his country, was ſeized with grief and ſorrow, ſo as to droop and die broken-hearted, in thirteen months after his acceſſion to the Regency, October the 8th, 1573. To him ſucceeded the Earl of Morton, who was intirely in the intereſt of England, and dependent upon them. Elizabeth's intereſt, and her Miniſtry, procured his elevation to this dignity in the ſtate; and under his adminiſtration the Engliſh meaſures prevailed in the Privy-Council of Scotland, until Morton was impeached by the Earl of Arran, and committed to priſon. This Earl of Morton, after nine years adminiſtration, was at laſt brought to the block. He was a Regent of the Engliſh nomination and choice, and therefore traverſed all meaſures favourable to Mary Queen of Scots: But when brought to ſuffer, at his execution acknowledged, that Bothwell had tamper'd and dealt with him earneſtly about killing of King Henry; yet this Morton was waſh'd as innocent for many years. During Morton's Regency, it is evident from Campden, Spotſwood, Baker, and others, how much Scotland was diſtreſs'd by Engliſh armies; their devaſtations and arbitrary proceedings, all ſupported by Morton, who had recalled and reſtored ſeveral of Queen Mary's bitter enemies, which was of Walſingham's formation. But Morton truſting too much to the ſupport of the Court of London, to the broken and weakned condition of his oppoſites, who were in Queen Mary's intereſt, ventur'd ſo far as to impeach the Earls of Argyle and Athol to King James. Argyle being a man of great ſpirit, wit and ſagacity, came directly, upon notice of this, to Court, vindicated himſelf to the King at Stirling, and reminded his Majeſty of his many faithful and eminent ſervices to him and the Queen his Mother, and inſiſted to have his accuſation cleared in full Parliament. It was ſo ordered, that the Earl of Athol came next day to Court: The King communicated to Athol what Argyle had come for to Court, and the whole affair, deſiring Athol's opinion. Athol told his Majeſty, it was his fix'd opinion his Majeſty ſhould diveſt Morton of the government, and take upon him the adminiſtration of government in perſon. This hint pleaſed the King. The Nobility, Barons and Burgeſſes

Character of the Earl of Mar.

Morton's promotion and behaviour.

Morton diſtreſſes his own country by the Engliſh.

Argyle and Athol overthrow Morton.

The King calls his Parliament.

geſſes were ſummoned to meet at Stirling March the 10, 1579, which being met, the propoſition of his Majeſty's taking the government upon him was approved and ſettled by a great majority, and his Majeſty's entry upon his government of the Kingdom immediately notified by proclamation over the Kingdom. At the ſame time a meſſage was ſent to Morton from King James, to acquaint him he was diveſted of his adminiſtration. Morton uſed all his art and efforts to delay or embarraſs this great alteration to him, but without ſucceſs. The King and Parliament drew up their reaſons, which are inſerted in Spotſwood from the public records of the Privy-Council of Scotland, which they ordered to be publiſhed and notified to all their neighbours and allies. The Lord Boyd was for Morton's oppoſing the King and the Nobility in this affair; but the greater part of the Nobility over the Kingdom were diſaffected to Morton. The Earl of Mar, governor of Stirling, as well as Argyle, Athol, Lord Herris, and many more, inſiſted ſtrongly for the King's entry upon the government. So to go off with a good grace, after the Lord Chancellor, with Lord Herris, had intimated by authority the reſolutions of the King and his Parliament, and their reaſons for this alteration, Morton, with the preamble and introduction of an apology for himſelf, ſmoothly inveighing againſt their reſolution, ſent his formal reſignation and demiſſion of his Regency to the King by the hands of the Earl of Angus and Lord Glames, and they returned to him with a full acquitment and approbation of his adminiſtration. Thus upon the 12th of March, 1577, King James the Sixth of Scotland, in the 12th year of his age, took the government of the Kingdom upon him in perſon, diſſolving the government of a Regency, and immediately appointing his Privy-Council, Officers of State, and Houſhold.

The King's propoſal approv'd of.

Morton fruſtrated.

His reſignation,

And the approbation of his adminiſtration.

King James now begins the exerciſe of his government in perſon.

*FINIS.*